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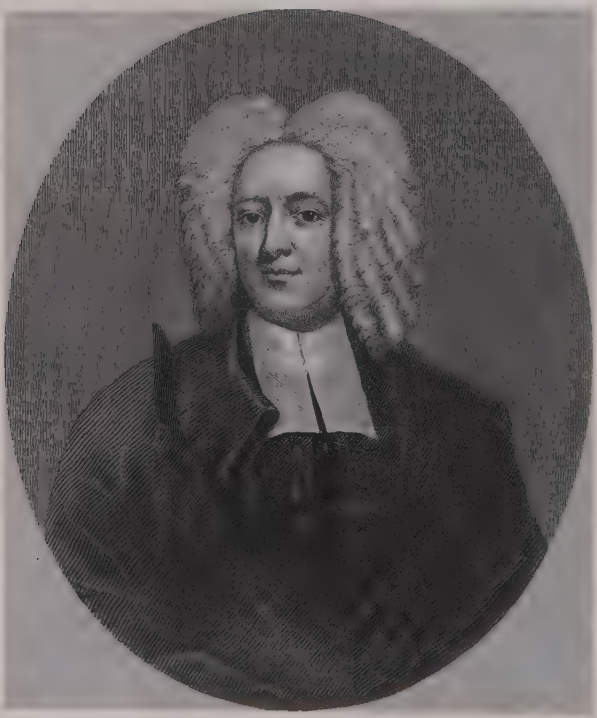

COTTON MATHER, D. D.

MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA;

OR,

The Ecclesiastical History of New-England;

FROM ITS FIRST PLANTING, IN THE YEAR 1620, UNTO THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1698.

IN SEVEN BOOKS.

BY COTTON MATHER, D. D., F. R. S.,
AND PASTOR OF THE NORTH CHURCH IN BOSTON, NEW-ENGLAND.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND OCCASIONAL NOTES,
BY THE REV. THOMAS ROBBINS, D. D.
AND
TRANSLATIONS OF THE HEBREW, GREEK, AND LATIN QUOTATIONS,
BY LUCIUS F. ROBINSON, LL. B.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A MEMOIR OF COTTON MATHER,
BY SAMUEL G. DRAKE, M. A.;
BY WHOM THE ERRORS IN FORMER EDITIONS HAVE BEEN CAREFULLY CORRECTED,
ACCORDING TO AN EXTENSIVE ERRATA PREPARED BY DR. MATHER HIMSELF.

ALSO, A COMPREHENSIVE INDEX, BY ANOTHER HAND.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

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ANTIQUITIES.

THE FIRST BOOK

OF

THE NEW-ENGLISH HISTORY:

REPORTING

THE DESIGN WHERE-*ON*, THE MANNER WHERE-*IN*, AND PEOPLE WHERE-*BY*, } { THE SEVERAL COLONIES OF NEW-ENGLAND WERE PLANTED.

WITH

A NARRATIVE OF MANY MEMORABLE PASSAGES

RELATING TO

THE SETTLEMENT OF THESE PLANTATIONS,

AND

AN ECCLESIASTICAL MAP OF THE COUNTRY.

BY THE ENDEAVOUR OF

COTTON MATHER.

TANTÆ MOLIS ERAT, PRO CHRISTO *CONDERE GENTEM.*

[SO MIGHTY WAS THE WORK TO FOUND CHRIST'S EMPIRE HERE.]

HARTFORD:
SILAS ANDRUS & SON.
1855.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST AMERICAN EDITION.

THE Publisher of this second Edition of Dr. Mather's Magnalia, has long been sensible of the great demand for the Work, both by literary men and all others who wish to be acquainted with the early history of our country. The first Edition was published in London in the year 1702, in a Folio Volume of 788 pages. A considerable number of Copies were soon brought into New-England; yet, as many of these are lost, and the work is not to be obtained in England but with difficulty, it has become very scarce. In some instances it has been sold at a great price, but, in most cases, those who have been desirous to possess, or even to read the volume, have been unable to procure it.

The Magnalia is a standard work with American Historians, and must ever continue to be such, especially, respecting the affairs of New-England. To this portion of our country, always distinguished for emigrations, a great part of the population of New-York, the most important state in the American confederacy, and of all the western states north of the Ohio, will always trace their origin. Nor will the lapse of ages, diminish their respect for the land of their forefathers.

The work now presented to the American public contains the history of the Fathers of New-England, for about eighty years, in the most authentic form. No man since Dr. Mather's time, has had so good an opportunity as he enjoyed to consult the most authentic documents. The greater part of his facts could be attested by living witnesses and the shortest tradition, or taken from written testimonies, many of which have since perished. The situation and character of the author afforded him the most favourable opportunities to obtain the documents necessary for his undertaking. And no historian would pursue a similar design with greater industry and zeal.

The author has been accused of credulity. This charge, however, will not be advanced with confidence by those well acquainted with the character of the times of which he treats. The great object of the first Planters of New-England was to form A CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH—a design without a parallel in ancient or modern times. The judicious reader would expect to discover, in the annals of such a people, characters and events not to be found in the history of other communities.—The geography and natural history of the country were not the principal objects of the author's attention, and, on these subjects, he has fallen into some mistakes.

The work is both a civil and an ecclesiastical history.—The large portion of it devoted to *Biography*, affords the reader a more distinct view of the leading characters of the times, than could have been given in any other form.

The author's language is peculiarly his own. In the rapidity of his manner, he could pay but little attention to his style. Such as it is, it has been thought best to retain it, in

this Edition, as well as his orthography, unaltered.* The Titles of D. D. and F. R. S. were given to Dr. Mather after the publication of this work, and are now annexed to his name in the title-page.

Many omissions in the original work have been recommended, but the publisher concludes to retain the whole.—He is sensible of the risk of publishing so large a work, at the present time. But relying on the utility of the object, he entertains a hope that the liberality of the public will save him from loss.

T. R.

Hartford, Connecticut, June 1st, 1820.

PREFACE TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

When I encouraged Mr. Andrus, some thirty years since, to rēpublish the Venerable Magnalia, it was supposed that few copies would be sold. A small part of the community, even, knew of the existence of the work. It was first printed in England, in 1702. The most of the second edition was soon disposed of, and for some years past has been scarce. The demand for the work is now increasing. The History of New-England cannot be written without this authority. It is equally important in the department of Biography and History, Civil and Ecclesiastical. It is stated, in the Preface before us, that "The great object of the first Planters of New-England was to form A Christian Commonwealth." That is finely suggested by the Author, in the elegant quotation from the great Latin Poet, with a small variation, "*Tantæ Molis erat, pro* Christo *condere Gentem.*" And now we may say, by the favour of Heaven, the work is done. The world looks with amazement on a great Country, united in one territory, more extensive than Rome, a great population in rapid increase, all looking for Salvation in the name of the Divine Nazarene.

THOMAS ROBBINS.

Hartford, June 1st, 1852.

* It will be perceived that there is not by any means a *uniformity* in the orthography of this edition; but whether the discrepancies are attributable to the author or to the former printers, it is impossible now to determine. Except where palpable errors had been overlooked, the copy of the last edition has been strictly followed in regard to orthography, although many material deviations have been made in the typography. Quotation marks have been introduced, in lieu of putting the numerous quotations in italic, to correspond with the antique style; and a difference has been made in the type for the original text and that for the documentary portion and extracts; thereby so distinctly marking each, that they cannot be easily confounded.—Typographer.

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MEMOIR OF COTTON MATHER, D.D., F.R.S.

BY SAMUEL G. DRAKE, M.A.

THE succession of eminent men by the name of MATHER, through a period of above one hundred years, was enough to make that name conspicuous for several ages or generations, after those who gave the impression had passed away. The subject of this notice, (though by no means the last of the Mathers,) was the last of the three great men of the name, who so indelibly impressed his fame upon the age in which he lived, that no length of time is likely to obliterate it; and it is worthy of remark, that the three Mathers should have followed each other in importance in unbroken succession. Not that the successors were better men than their predecessor, but there seems to have been an accumulation of fame attached to each, something in proportion to the amount and number of their literary productions; for, while the first of the series, the Rev. RICHARD MATHER, published but very few works, perhaps not above eight or nine, yet there have not, probably, lived in New England to this day, any three men, of one name and family, who have been authors of an equal number of publications. Those of our author alone number *three hundred and eighty-two.**

It is not proposed to enter at all into an examination or exhibition of the religious views and theories of Dr. COTTON MATHER: those can be best understood by a perusal of his writings; while, at the same time, it is the duty of his biographer to rebuke those who, it is conceived, have calumniated him.

It may be justly said of Cotton Mather, that he was one of the most remarkable men of the age in which he lived; not only remarkable on one, but on many accounts; and for none, perhaps, more than for his wonderful precociousness, or the early intuitiveness of his mind. His memory was likewise very extraordinary. The acquirement of knowledge

* Life by his son, Rev. Samuel Mather, D. D., who, in another place, says their number is *three hundred and eighty-three.* Even this is not quite all, as will be seen. Dr. Samuel Mather was an able and learned Divine, and his own published works are quite numerous. On the rebuilding of Faneuil Hall in Boston, a *Charity Sermon* was preached in it, March 6th, 1763, "for the relief of the poor," and Dr. Mather was appointed to deliver it.—*News Letter, March 10th*, 1763.

seems to have been with him accomplished almost without effort; and his writings show that they were generally drawn from the store-house of his mind, where, from reading and observation, they had been from time to time deposited. Authors who write from this source alone, are generally diffuse, and wanting in those very essential and minute particulars, which in these days constitute so important a part of every man's writings. His style is very peculiar; and no one who is acquainted with the writings of the "famous Thomas Fuller," can hardly doubt that Cotton Mather attempted to make that writer's composition a modelfor his own. Still, he falls considerably short of Fuller in his attempts at witty conceits; in them the latter is always happy, while the former is seldom so. Yet it is believed that a volume might be made up from his writings, which would be well entitled "Curiosities and Singularities of Cotton Mather," equal, if not superior, in interest to any thing of the kind that has ever appeared.

His ability for acquiring languages has probably been surpassed by but very few, and he is said to have been master of more languages than any other person in New England in his time. Of the Latin, especially, it must be confessed, he made a most pedantic use, bringing in passages from it at all times, as though every body understood it as well as himself.

So far as it is now remembered, Dr. Douglass seems to have been the author of the fashion or practice, so much in vogue of late years, of reviling Cotton Mather. It has been carried to such an extreme in some quarters, that whoever presumes to mention his name, does it at the peril of coming in for a share of obloquy and abuse himself.* Some not only charge him with committing all sorts of errors and blunders, but they bring against him the more serious charge of misrepresenting matters of fact. Now, it would be well for those who bring those charges, to look carefully to their own works. It may be, if they cannot see any thing pedantic, puerile or false in them themselves, others may come in contact with errors even worse than those of stupidity.

It is not to be denied that the mind of Dr. Mather was strangely and wonderfully constituted; and whoever shall undertake an analysis of it, will find a more difficult task, perhaps, than those have found, who content themselves with nothing further than vituperative denunciations upon the fruits of it. Literature owes a vast deal to Cotton Mather; especially for his historical and biographical works. Were these alone to be struck out of existence, it would make a void in these departments of our literature, that would probably confound many who affect to look upon them with contempt. Even Dr. Douglass, although he has written it down for truth, that, to point out all the errors in the MAGNALIA, would be to copy the whole book, is nevertheless, very much indebted to it for facts in many

* The author (of the Magnalia) said, when writing his great work, that "he had no question but there would be some with hearts full of serpent and venom," who would "scourge him with scorpions" for the pains he had taken.

parts of the very work in which he has made that statement; hence it would be very bad logic that would not charge Dr. Douglass with copying errors into his work, knowing them to be errors. It would be very easy to point to some writers of our own time, equally obnoxious to the same plain kind of logic; and a late writer, of very good standing, has with great apparent deliberation said, that "it is impossible to deny, that the reputation of Cotton Mather has declined of late years." This may have been his belief; but it is very singular that that same author should, at the same time, make the largest book on the life of a man, in such a *state of decline*, that had hitherto appeared! But there need be no concern for the reputation of Cotton Mather, even in the hands of his enemies; and it is not intended to set up a special defence of him or his writings. All his biographer need to do, is to caution those a little who want caution, and save them, if he may, from having the windows in their own houses broken, by the very missiles they themselves have thrown.

The genealogy subjoined to this notice will give the necessary statistical facts of births, marriages, &c., in the Mather family; it is not necessary therefore to repeat them here, but to proceed at once to notice some of the prominent events in the life proposed.

Cotton Mather graduated at Harvard College in, 1678, being then but sixteen years of age. At this early period he drew up systems of the sciences, and wrote remarks upon the books which he read. He made an almanack for 1683, which was printed anonymously.* This was unknown to his son (who wrote his life), or he omitted to include it among his works from some other cause. As a proof that it was unknown to his son, other works, of which he is known to be the author, are omitted also. To mention but one, "*Manuductio ad Ministerium*—Directions for a Candidate of the Ministry," &c., 12mo. 150 pages. In 1684, at the age of twenty-two, he was ordained minister of the North Church in Boston, as colleague with his father. Two years after, he began his career as an author. His first publication (according to his son's list of his works) was "A Sermon to the Artillery Company in Middlesex." From this time to his death, namely, from 1686 to 1727, no year passed in which he did not publish something; thus, in a period of forty-one years were produced above 283 books and tracts; giving to each year, on an average, about seven works. He understood one or more of the Indian languages, and published some books in one of them, if no more. In 1706 he published one, not found in the catalogue above mentioned. He also published some in Spanish and some in Latin.†

In 1692, Dr. Mather published his "Wonders of the Invisible World." This was *his* account of the witchcraft cases of that time. In this he laid himself especially open to the charge of credulity, which, it cannot be

* See *N. Eng. H. G. Reg.* vii. 345. The authority there indicated is Hon. Judge S. Sewall.

† See p. 32, vol. i., of the *Magnalia*, for some account, by the author, how he composed it.

denied, is pretty well sustained. But something more than bare credulity seems to have possessed his mind in those times; and he was probably as much under the influence of witchcraft as any to whom that "sect," as Dr. Douglass calls it, was imputed.*

Many have reproached Dr. Mather, as though he was the author of that dismal and awful delusion. This is singularly unjust. He was himself one of the deluded; and this is the only charge that can lie against him relative to it. All the world then believed in witchcraft, and people entered into it according to their temperament and circumstances. The delusion was not a native of New England, but an exotic from the father-land; and it had been well if this had been the only one imported thence. Even when prosecutions had ceased, there was not a cessation of a belief in the reality of witchcraft; its progress was stayed from a very different cause, as is now too well known to be entered into or explained. Even to the present day there are thousands who believe in its reality; and that belief can only be extirpated by the progress of genuine knowledge. Within the remembrance of the writer, one might ride from Boston, in a single day, with a very moderate horse, into a New England town where the belief in witchcraft was very general, and where many an old horse-shoe could have been seen nailed to half the bedsteads in the town to keep away those vile miscreants who came riding through the air upon broomsticks, or across the lots upon the back of some poor old woman, who perhaps, from some malady, had not left her house for years. How much short of a day's ride by steam or otherwise it would now be necessary to take to reach a place where the belief exists, is left for the conjecture of others.

Cotton Mather was undoubtedly the most prominent author who wrote on witchcraft, and in the full belief of it, in his time, in this country; this circumstance accounts for his being singled out by "one *Robert Calef*," who attacked him with complete success—complete, because he had reason and truth on his side—in his book, which he called "More Wonders of the Invisible World," &c. This he published in London, in a quarto volume, in the year 1700. In this book, Calef styles himself "Merchant, of *Boston in New England*." Now, in the absence of proof to the contrary, it may not be unfair to presume that Calef issued his work quite as soon as he dared to, and quite as soon as public opinion would tolerate a work which had for its aim a deadly blow against a belief in the imaginary crime of witchcraft. For it is known that as soon as Calef's book did appear, some of Dr. Mather's friends came out with another work against that author, from the title of which alone its contents can pretty well be judged of. It is "Some few Remarks upon a Scandalous Book written by one Robert Calef." But this book and its authors are alike unknown, while Calef occupies a conspicuous place among the benefactors of mankind.

* In reckoning up the various religious sects in New England, that author puts down *witchcraft* as one of them! *Summary*, &c.

The foreign correspondence of Dr. Mather was very extensive; "so that," says his son, "I have known him at one time to have above *fifty* beyond sea." Among his correspondents were many of the most learned and famous men in Europe; as Sir RICHARD BLACKMORE, Mr. WHISTON, Dr. DESAGULIERS, Mr. PILLIONERE, Dr. FRANCKIUS, WM. WALLER, Dr. CHAMBERLAIN, Dr. WOODWARD, Dr. JURIN, Dr. WATTS, &c. In a letter which he wrote in 1743, Dr. Watts says "he had enjoyed a happy correspondence with Dr. Cotton Mather, for near twenty years before his death, as well as with the Rev. Mr. Samuel Mather, his son, ever since."

In 1710, came out a book from the pen of our author, which he entitled "*Bonifacius:* An Essay upon the GOOD to be devised by those who would answer the great End of Life." In this work are many excellent maxims and reflections, but its popularity has probably been very much enhanced by what Dr. Franklin has said of it. Dr. Mather was well acquainted with Franklin when the latter was a young man; and when Franklin was an old man, in the year 1784, in writing to Samuel Mather, son of Cotton, he thus alludes to it in his happy style:—"When I was a boy, I met with a book entitled '*Essays to do Good*,' which I think was written by your father. It had been so little regarded by a former possessor, that several leaves of it were torn out; but the remainder gave me such a turn of thinking, as to have an influence on my conduct through life; for I have always set a greater value on the character of a *doer of good* than on any other kind of reputation." In the same letter is to be found that often-told anecdote of an interview he once had with Doctor Mather. This, too, that it may lose nothing at the writer's hands, is given in its author's own words: "You mention being in your seventy-eighth year; I am in my seventy-ninth; we are grown old together. It is now more than sixty years since I left Boston, but I remember well both your father and grandfather; having heard them both in the pulpit, and seen them in their houses. The last time I saw your father was in the beginning of 1724, when I visited him after my first trip to Pennsylvania. He received me in his library, and on my taking leave showed me a shorter way out of the house through a narrow passage, which was crossed by a beam over head. We were still talking as I withdrew, he accompanying me behind, and I turning partly towards him, when he said, hastily, '*Stoop, stoop!*' I did not understand him till I felt my head hit against the beam. He was a man that never missed any occasion of giving instruction, and upon this he said to me, '*You are young, and have the world before you;* STOOP *as you go through it, and you will miss many hard thumps.*' This advice, thus beat into my head, has frequently been of use to me; and I often think of it, when I see pride mortified, and misfortunes brought upon people by their carrying their heads too high." This moral, so essentially good in itself, does not need the high recommendation of a Franklin, though but for him it would not,

probably, have been brought to the knowledge of every youth who has learned or may yet learn to read.

It may be too much a custom to dwell on the errors and misfortunes of people while living; and to err, on the other hand, by making their characters appear too well after they have passed away; especially if they have been sufficiently conspicuous in life to require a written memorial after their decease. Though Dr. Cotton Mather had enemies while living, his memory has been pursued with more malignity, since his death, than has happened to that of most men; and, as is conceived, without sufficient reason, and which could only be warranted by the most undoubted proofs that he has purposely led his readers into errors, and that he acted falsely on the most important occasions; and that, finally, he was too bad a man to make any acknowledgment of all this, though conscious of it, when he took his final departure with the messenger of his last summons.

The following account of Dr. Mather's death and funeral, is taken *verbatim* from the *New England Weekly Journal*, of the 19th and 26th of February, 1728:

"Last Tuesday in the Forenoon, between 8 and 9 o'clock, died here the very Reverend COTTON MATHER, *Doctor in Divinity* of *Glasco*, and *Fellow of the Royal Society* in *London*, *Senior* Pastor of the Old North Church in Boston, and an Overseer of *Harvard-College*; by whose Death Persons of *all Ranks* are in Concern and Sorrow. He was perhaps the *principal Ornament* of this Country, the *greatest Scholar* that ever was bred in it. But besides his universal Learning; his exalted Piety and extensive *Charity*, his entertaining *Wit*, and singular *goodness* of *Temper* recommended him to all, that were Judges of real and distinguished merit.

"After having spent above *Forty seven years* in the faithful and unwearied Discharge of a lively, zealous and awakening *Ministry*, and in incessant Endeavors *to do good* and spread abroad *the Glory* of CHRIST, he finished his Course with a *divine Composure and Joy*, the day after his *Birth Day* which compleated his Sixty Fifth year; being born on Feb. 12, 1662–3."

"On Monday last the Remains of the Late very Reverend and Learned Dr. COTTON MATHER, who deceas'd on Tuesday the 13th Instant, to the great Loss and Sorrow of this Town and Country, were very honourably interred. His Reverend Colleague in deep Mourning, with the Brethren of the Church, walking in a Body before the Corpse. The six first Ministers of the Boston Lecture supported the Pall. Several Gentlemen of the bereaved Flock took their turns to bear the Coffin. After which followed, first the bereaved Relatives in Mourning; then his Honour the Lieutenant Governour, the Honourable His Majesty's Council, and House of Representatives; and then a large Train of Ministers, Justices, Merchants, Scholars and other principal Inhabitants, both Men and Women. The Streets were crouded with People, and the Windows fill'd with sorrowful Spectators, all the way to the Burying Place: where the Corpse was deposited in a Tomb belonging to the worthy Family." [On Copp's Hill, at the north end of the town.]

On the Mather Tomb are the following inscriptions:

THE REVEREND DOCTORS
INCREASE, COTTON, AND SAMUEL MATHER
WERE INTERRED IN THIS VAULT.

'TIS THE TOMB OF OUR FATHERS.

I. DIED AUG'T 27th, 1723, Æ. 84.
C. DIED FEB. 13th, 1727, Æ. 65.
S. DIED JUNE 27th. 1785, Æ. 79.

Nobody will charge the Rev. THOMAS PRINCE with insincerity in what he has said of his co-labourers, and HE says, "Dr. Cotton Mather, though born and constantly residing in this remote corner of America,* has yet for near these forty years made so rising and great a figure in the learned world, as has attracted to him, while alive, the eyes of many at the furthest distance; and now deceased, can't but raise a very general wish to see the series, and more especially the domestic part of so distinguished a life exhibited. His printed writings, so full of piety and various erudition, his vast correspondence, and the continual reports of travellers who had conversed with him, had spread his reputation into other countries. And when, about fourteen years ago, I travelled abroad, I could not but admire to what extent his fame had reached, and how inquisitive were gentlemen of letters to hear and know of the most particular and lively manner, both of his private conversation and public performances among us."

Dr. Colman speaks in the highest terms of Dr. Mather, in his Funeral Sermon. "His printed works," he says, "will not convey to posterity, nor give to strangers a just idea of the real worth and great learning of the man." To this, and a great deal more equally commendatory, Mr. Prince subscribes in these words: "Every one who intimately knew the Doctor will readily assent to this description."

It would be difficult, perhaps, to produce an example of industry equal to that of Dr. Cotton Mather. In one year, it is said, he kept sixty fasts and twenty vigils, and published fourteen books—all this besides performing his ministerial duties; which duties in those days were something more than *nominal*. He kept a diary, which has been extensively used by some

* This and similar expressions are very common in the New England writers of that day. They seem peculiarly odd in our times, but by another hundred and fifty years they may be viewed as something more than odd. Having a few others at hand, I will throw them in here as curiosities of those days:

In these goings down of the sun; Dr. I. MATHER, *Brief Hist.*, p. 1. PRINCE, *Pref. to Torrey's Election Sermon.*
Remote American parts of the Earth; *id.* (I. MATHER) *Praise out of the mouth of Babes.*
This remote Corner of the Earth; *id. Elect. Sermon.*
These dark Territories; *id. Cases of Conscience concerning Witchcraft*, 45.
These Ends of the Earth; *id. Pref. to Loring's Ser. at Lexington*, (1718.)
These Dark Corners of the Earth; *id. Prevalency of Prayer*, p. 5.
In these Ends of the Earth; PRINCE, *Pref. N. Eng. Psalm Book.*
A desart Wilderness, thousands of leagues by sea; JOHNSON *Wond. Work Prov.*
In this Howling Desart; *id.*
Beyond a dreadful and terrible Ocean 900 leagues in length; *id.*
This far remote and vast Wilderness; *id.*
This Western End of the World; *id.*

Here I will close the extracts—not, however, for want of others. I am also aware that modern writers sometimes use similar expressions, when speaking of this country. Several instances occur in Trumbull's *McFingal.*

of his bographers, but it was not sought after on this occasion, as it is said to be scattered in different places! How this happened the writer has not been informed. Notwithstanding he published so many works, he left nearly as much unpublished in manuscript; the principal part of which is entitled, "Biblia Americana," or "The Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament Illustrated." For the publication of this work proposals were issued soon after its author died, but nothing further seems to have been done about it. Of the "Biblia Americana," the Doctor's son remarks, "*That* is a work, the writing of which is enough constantly to employ a man, unless he be a miracle of diligence, the half of the three-score years and ten, the sum of years allowed to us."

It remains now to mention the book by which Dr. Mather is best known, the work for which this memoir is prepared, and which will make his name prominent through all coming time—the reader's mind is already in advance of the pen—the *MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA*. This was printed in London, in 1702, in a moderate sized folio volume, in double column, the aggregate of its pages being seven hundred and ninety-four. It is chiefly a collection of what the author had before printed on historical and biographical subjects. The value of its contents has been variously estimated. Some decrying it below *any* value, while others pronounce it "the only classic ever written in America." At the hazard of incurring the charge of stupidity, it is the decided opinion of the writer, that it has a value between those extremes. But the writer has sufficiently expressed his mind on the value of the author's works before. There have been two editions of the "MAGNALIA" before the present; the last was printed at Hartford, in two volumes, octavo, 1820. Unfortunately, this edition was printed from a copy of that in folio, which had not the errata, and consequently abounds with all the errors contained in the original edition. To those who do not understand the matter, this printing an edition of the "*Magnalia*" without correcting its errata, may seem to incur for the publisher severe reprehension. But the truth appears to be, that the copy used in printing the new edition had not the complete errata attached to it; and that, in fact, but very few copies of the original edition can be found to which it is attached. Now, its rarity is accounted for in this way: Dr. Mather, living in Boston while his work was printing in London, could make no corrections while it was passing through the press; but when he received his copies afterwards, he found so many errors, that he was induced to print an extra sheet of corrections. This extra sheet may not have been struck off until most of the copies of the Magnalia which had been sent to New England were distributed; and thus the rare occurrence of copies of the *Magnalia* containing the errata is accounted for; and hence the publisher of the last edition should not be too severely censured. That this solution is correct, it might be mentioned, that out of a great many copies of the folio edition imported by the writer and others from England, not one

of them contained the errata in question. *The edition now given to the public, has the advantage of being corrected by Dr. Mather's own errata.*

On the last page of the folio edition of the *Magnalia*, the following are the three concluding lines:—"ERRATA. Reader, Carthagenia was of the mind, that unto those *three things* which the ancients held impossible, there should be added this *fourth*, to find a book printed without *erratas*. It seems the hands of *Briareus*, and the eyes of Argus will not prevent them." And the additional errata, of which mention has just been made, the author thus prefaces: "The *Holy Bible* itself, in some of its editions, hath been affronted with scandalous errors of the *press-work;* and in one of them, they so printed those words, Psalms 119, 161, '*Printers have persecuted me*," &c.

In the book which, before all others, should be found full and ample materials for a genealogy of Dr. Mather's own family, a very meagre and unsatisfactory account only is to be seen; yet, as deficient and meagre as it is, it is of great importance, as containing nothing upon the subject but what the author himself knew. That work is entitled, "THE LIFE OF THE VERY REVEREND AND LEARNED COTTON MATHER, D. D., and F. R. S.," &c., by his son SAMUEL MATHER, M. A., published the next year after the death of the author's father. The sum of what this book contains on our immediate subject, is here condensed into a paragraph, as follows:

After informing the reader that his father was born on "Thursday, Feb. 12, 1662–3, at Boston, in New England," he continues, "I have no great disposition to enquire into the remote antiquities of his family; nor, indeed, is it matter of much consequence that in our Coat of Arms, we bear Ermine, Or, A Fess, wavy, Azure, three Lions rampant; or; for a Crest, on a wreath of our Colours a Lion Sedant, or on a Trunk of a Tree *vert.*"* "His mother was Maria, the daughter of the renowned Mr. JOHN COTTON, who was a man of very exalted piety and uncommon learning: Out of respect to this excellent man, he was called COTTON. His education was at the free school in Boston, under the care, first, of Mr. BENJAMIN THOMPSON, a man of great learning, last, under the famous Mr. EZEKIEL CHEEVER." At the age of sixteen he graduated, and when eighteen years and one-half, received the degree of M. A., from the hands of his own father, Dr. Increase Mather, who was then President of Harvard College. At the age of twenty-four he was married, and in 1702 his wife died. In somewhat less than a year he married again, "one of good sense, and blessed, with a complete discretion, with a very handsome, engaging countenance; and

* This is exactly as we find it, and it is not deemed necessary to reduce it to more intelligible heraldic language. We would remark, in this connection, that the above description of the Arms of *Mather* has scarcely any thing in common with a coat of arms given in a "Mather Genealogy," published by Mr. JOHN MATHER, of the Connecticut branch of the family, in 1848. The author of that work has not committed himself by giving a description of the Arms he has published. To it we have been indebted, to some extent, especially in the later generations of the Connecticut Mathers.

one honorably descended and related, 'twas Mrs. ELIZABETH HUBBARD, who was the daughter of Dr. JOHN CLARK, who had been a widow four years. He rejoiced in her as *having great spoil.*" By his third wife he had no issue. "By the two former wives he had fifteen children, only two of which are living; one a daughter by the first wife; the other, a son by the second; he is the writer. By his first wife he had nine children, of which but four arrived to man's or woman's estate. By his second, two children only lived to grow up out of six."

Such is the account of the children of Cotton Mather by one of those children; and although there were *fifteen*, from his account the names of *five* only are learned; nor have we been able, from all other sources, to make out the names of but thirteen.

It is said in the "Mather Genealogy," mentioned in the note, that a daughter of Dr. Cotton Mather, named *Jerusha*, married a Smith of Suffield, Ct., and that she was the grandmother of JOHN COTTON SMITH, late Governor of that State; on the authority of Governor Smith himself. This must be an error, if our account of the children be correct, because it is shown that the daughter named Jerusha, died at the age of two and a half years, in the year 1713. Mr. Smith says his grand-mother died in Sharon, Ct., in 1784, in her ninetieth year; hence she was born in 1693–4. Now, Cotton Mather's daughter *Abigail* was born in 1694; therefore it is plain, we think, that Jerusha Mather, who "married a Smith of Suffield," was not a daughter of *Cotton*, but perhaps a daughter of *Atherton* Mather, who lived in Suffield, and had a daughter *Jerusha*. Cotton and Atherton were own cousins, and a daughter of the latter would be very likely to name a son after so distinguished a kinsman as Dr. Mather; for Governor Smith's father was named Cotton Mather Smith.

Few ministers preached a greater number of Funeral Sermons than Dr. Mather; and when he died, his cotemporaries seemed to have vied with each other in performing the same office for him. Several of their sermons were printed. Some of these with their quaint titles are now before us. Foremost among them appears that of the excellent Mr. PRINCE; he entitled his "The Departure of ELIJAH lamented.—A Sermon occasioned by the Great and Publick loss in the *Decease* of the very REVEREND and LEARNED COTTON MATHER, D. D., F. R. S., and Senior Pastor of the *North Church* in Boston. Who left this Life on *Feb.* 13th, 1727, 8. The morning after he finished the LXV. year of his Age."—From 2 Kings ii. 12, 13. The imprint of this Sermon is, "BOSTON in *New England:* Printed for *D. Henchman*, near the Brick Meeting-House in Cornhill. MDCCXXVIII."

The running title of Dr. Colman's Sermon on the same occasion is, "The Holy Walk and Glorious Translation of Blessed *ENOCH.*" His text was Gen. v. 24. It would be difficult to find any thing of the kind, either before or since, which, in our judgment, is superior to this discourse of

Dr. Colman; but, valuable as it is, we cannot introduce extracts from it here. His allusion, however, to the then past and present state of things connected with his subject, is so happy that we cannot overlook it.

"Dr. Mather's brethren in the Ministry here," he says, "are bereaved and weak with him. God has taken their father, as well as his, from their heads this day. He was a Pastor in the town when the eldest of the present Pastors were but children, and long before most of them were born. They are weak indeed when he that is now speaking to them is the *first* in years among them, in all respects else the least," &c.

The Rev. JOSHUA GEE,* colleague with Dr. Mather, also preached a Funeral Sermon on his departed friend, entitled, "ISRAEL'S *Mourning* for AARON'S *Death*." In this discourse there is the following important note: "Within a few months past, we have been called to lament the deaths of two such aged servants of the LORD. The Rev. *Mr. Samuel Danforth* of Taunton, who died Nov. 14. And my honored father-in-law, the *Mr. Peter Thatcher* of Milton, who died Dec. 17, 1727: while the days of mourning were scarce over in this town for my dearly beloved friend and brother, the Rev. *Mr. William Waldron*, who died Sept. 11, 1727."

Dr. Mather's son, "SAMUEL MATHER, M. A., and Chaplain at CASTLE WILLIAM," also preached a Funeral Sermon on his father's death. "The *Departure* and *Character* of ELIJAH considered and improved," was its running title. Only about five years before, the deceased preached a sermon on the death of his father; in the title-page of which, instead of the author's name, we read, "By one who, as a SON with a *father*, served with him in the Gospel."†

There were other discourses on the occasion of Dr. Mather's death, but they are not within our reach; and if they were, we have not room even for their titles.

Dr. Mather died intestate, and the order of the Judge of Probate for the distribution of his estate is as follows:—"One third to his widow, Lydia Mather; two single shares or fourth parts to Samuel Mather, Clerk, only surviving son, and one share each to the rest of his children, viz: Abigail Willard, deceased, wife of Daniel Willard, also deceased, their children and legal representatives, and Hannah Mather, Spinster." Dated, 25th May, 1730.

The following items, illustrative of the history of the Mather family, are thought to be of sufficient interest to claim an insertion here: "Peter Hix

* Who was JOSHUA GEE, who in 1731 published a third edition of "The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain Considered," &c.? In this work there is much relative to the "American Plantations."

† Whoever desires to be further informed respecting the life and character of Dr. Cotton Mather, cannot do better, in our opinion, than to read Dr. Eliot's notice of him in his New Eng. Biographical Dictionary. For neatness, truthfulness, and elegance, it is nothing short of the superlative degree. The article in Dr. Allen's Amer. Biog. Dict. is also a good and candid one. Of the more recent and laboured lives of our subject, we have not room to speak.

of Dorchester and Sarah his wife, appointed guardians to Katherine Mather, aged about five years, daughter of Joseph Mather, yeoman, late of Dorchester, deceased. Dated 9 May, 1695.—*Suffolk Wills*, vol. XIII. 299."

"Petition of Samuel Mather of Boston, Clerk, praying the consideration of the court for the eminent and signal services of his venerable and honored grand-father, with another petition of sundry others of the descendants of the petitioner's grand-father."—*Jour. H. R.* 20 *Dec.*, 1738. On the 29th Dec. following, "The committee reported that, considering the Rev. Dr. Increase Mather not only served his particular church faithfully, and the college as their President with honor, but the province as an agent in procuring the present charter, to the good acceptance of his country; and that his son, the Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather, and grand-son, the petitioner, his successor in the same church and ministry, have not behaved themselves unworthy of such an ancestor, and have never had one foot of land granted to either of them, as we can learn, are therefore of opinion, that, notwithstanding the gratification of £200 given him, as is alleged, it may be proper for this court to grant a farm of 500 acres, to the heirs of the said Dr. Increase Mather, and report accordingly."—*ib.*

The following year there is this entry upon the Journal:—"Petition of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Mather, praying as entered the 12th and 20th of Dec. last, and a petition of Maria Fifield, Elizabeth Byles, and others, heirs of Dr. Increase Mather, praying the consideration of the court on account of their father's public services."—*ib.* 22 June, 1739.

In 1730, a petition of Richard Mather and sundry other inhabitants of Suffield and Enfield was presented to the General Court of Massachusetts, praying for a tract of land on "Houssatunnic river," for a township. —*ib*, 1730.

"Atherton Mather of Windsor, Ct., appointed administrator on the estate of his sister Katherine, late of Windsor, deceased, intestate, spinster, 14 July, 1694. Inventory presented by Atherton Mather, 19 July, 1694. Real estate in Dorchester to be divided between the two surviving brothers and the children of her deceased brethren, by her brother Atherton Mather; his eldest brother, Samuel, having refused the trust."—*Suff. Wills,* vol. XIII. 288.

"We hear from Halifax, that Dr. Thomas Mather lately died there of a fever. He was a son of the Rev. Samuel Mather of this town, and surgeon of the Provincial Regiment in Nova Scotia."—*Bost. Ev. Post*, 20th Dec., 1762.

The Portrait of which ours accompanying this volume was engraved is a beautiful *mezzotinto*, half size, with the following inscription underneath it:

"Cottonus Matherus S. Theologiæ Doctor Regiæ Societatis Londinensis Socius, et Ecclesiæ apud Bostonum Nov-Anglorum nuper Præpositus.

Ætatis Suæ LXV. MDCCXXVII.

P. Pelham ad vivum pinxit ab Origin Fecit."

Although the name of Mather has never been so conspicuous in Old as in New England, yet there have probably always existed persons of the name in that country of good standing and respectability.* About the commencement of the present century, there were the Rev. WILLIAM MATHER, of Dover, and the Rev. JOHN MATHER of Beverley in Yorkshire. Portraits of these gentlemen have been published—of the former in 1817, and of the latter in 1823. How these persons stood related, or to what branch of the Mather family they belonged, we are entirely uninformed, nor have we attempted any investigations for the family in England, other than we have indicated in this article.

It may not be improper to remark here, upon the Mather portraits, that that of Dr. INCREASE MATHER in "Palmer's Calamy's Nonconformist's Memorial," is probably a fancy sketch; as it has no resemblance whatever to the original painting existing in Boston. There is a painting of the Rev. RICHARD MATHER, (father of INCREASE) at Worcester, of undoubted authenticity.

The name Mather is derived from the Saxon *math*, to mow; *mather*, a mower; as *mill*, miller, &c. The family, at the time of emigration to this country, was not entitled to bear coat-armour, being yeomen, though of good estate. A branch of the family in England has lately had a coat of arms and crest granted them,† as follows:

Arms.—Quarterly Argent and Gules, four scythes counterchanged.‡

Crest.—A demi husbandman habited quarterly, Argent and Gules, capped the same, face and hands ppr., holding in the dexter hand a horn Or, in the sinister a scythe ppr—*Motto* (in old English)—Mowe Warilie.

* There was an Alexander Mather, Member of Parliamant from the city of Norwich, 6 Edward VI. (1547.)—George Mather, Esq., resided near New Orleans in 1784. He resided there *twenty-two* years.

† The grant, according to Burke, (Heraldic Register, 32) bears date Feb. 18, 1847, and was "To THOMAS MATHER of Glyn Abbot, Co. of Flint, and formerly of Liverpool, Esq., a magistrate for the Co. of Flint, son and heir of Thomas M. of Mount Pleasant, Liverpool; and grand-son of Daniel Mather of Toxteth Park, to be borne by the descendants of his late father, and his aunt, Sarah Mather of Toxteth Park, spinster, only surviving sister of his late father." Ellis Mather was (says the foresaid author) the first settler in Toxteth, descended from a family long seated in the parish of Radcliffe and its neighbourhood. They held Toxteth Park from the time of Elizabeth till recently.

‡ Researches of H. G. Somerby, Esq., in England, communicated to the author.

BOSTON, JANUARY, 1854.

THE PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILY OF MATHER.

JOHN MATHER was of an ancient family of Lawton, or Lowton, Co. Lancaster, England.

THOMAS MATHER was of Lowton, Parish of Winwick, Lancashire. = Margaret,

2d Mrs. Sarah Story, widow of Rev. John Cotton, August 26, 1656. = RICHARD, born at Winwick, County of Lancaster, 1596, student of Oxford, arrived at Boston, New Eng., Aug. 17, 1635; settled in Dorchester, Aug. 23, 1636; d. April 22, 1669. = Catharine, da. Edmund Holt, or Hoult. She died 1655.

Samuel, b. in Wooton Co. Lanc, Eng., May 13, 1626; grad. H. C. 1643; freeman, 1648; ret'd. to Scotland, thence to Ireland; died in Dublin, Oct. 29, 1671. = The sister of Sir John Stevens, of Dublin

1. Katharine, da of Major General Humphrey Atherton, probably. = Timothy, b. in England, 1628; witnessed a request of Wampatuck, to Dorchester, for lands at Punkapaug, 1667; died from a fall at Dorchester, Jan. 14, 1684. = 2. Elizabeth, da of Amiel Weeks, of Dorchester, b. August 18, 1659; died February 19, 1709-10.

Nathaniel, b. in Lancaster, Eng., Mar. 20, 1630; H. C. 1647; min. in Barnstaple, Eng., 1656; ejected at the Restoration; succeeded his br. in Dublin; d. in Lon. July 26, 1697.

Joseph, d. young.

Eleazar, born at Dorchester, May 13, 1637; grad. H. C. 1656; minister of Northampton, Mass.; died July 24, 1669. = Esther, dau. of Rev. John Wareham; died Feb. 10, 1736, aged 92. She married, 2d, Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton.

2d, Anne, daughter of Capt. Thos. Lake, widow of Rev. John Cotton, of Hampton, N. H., gr. son of Rev. John Cotton, of Boston. She d. at Brookline, Nov. 27, 1737, æ. 74. Her da m. Rev. Nathl. Gookin, of Hampton, N. H. = INCREASE, born in Dorchester, June 21, 1639; gr. H. C. 1656; died in Boston, Aug. 23, 1723, aged 85.—See *Genealogical Register*, Volume II. pp. 9, &c. = Maria, daughter of Rever'd John Cotton, Mar. 16, 1661-2, died April 4, 1714.

4 or 5 children, all died young, except one, a daughter.

Warham, b Sept. 7, 1666; settled in New Haven.

Eliakim, b Sept. 22, 1668.

Eunice, b. Aug. 2, 1664; killed by the Indians, Feb. 21, 1704. = Rev. John Williams, the "Redeemed Captive," b. Dec. 10, 1664; d. 1729.

See Genealogy of the Williams Family.

Samuel, b. July 5, 1650; minister at Windsor, Ct. 45 years; d. March 18, 1727-8, æ. 77. = Hannah, daughter of Governor Robert Treat, of Ct.; died March 8, 1707-8, æ. 47. **A**

Richard, born Nov. 22, 1653; set. in Lyme, Ct.; d. Aug. 17, 1688. = Elizabeth Wise, July 1, 1680. **B**

Atherton, settled in Suffield, Ct. Administered on the estate of his sister Katherine, 1694. = ... **C**

Nathaniel, b Sept. 2, 1658.

Katherine, died about 1694, unmarried.

Joseph, born May 25, 1661; died about 1691. = Sarah Clapp, June 2, 1689.

Katherine, 5 yrs. old in 1695.

1. Abigail, da of Col John Phillips, of Charlestown, Mass., born June 19, 1670, died Nov. 28, 1702. = COTTON, b. Feb 12, 1662-3; graduated at Harvard C. in 1678; freeman in 1680; died Feb. 13, 1727-8, æ. 65. = 2 Wid Elizabeth Hubbard, daugh. of Dr. John Clark, Aug. 18, 1703; d. Nov. 8, 1713. = 3. Lydia, wid of John George, and da. of Rev. Sam'l Lee, July 5, 1715; died Jan 22, 1733-4

Maria, b. Mar. 16, 1664-5; died Nov 24, 1746; —married. 1st, Bart. Green; 2d, Richard Fifield, Nov. 6, 1713.

Elizabeth, b. Jan. 6, 1665-6; died Aug 19, 1745;—married, 1st, William Greenough, July, 1696; 2d, Josiah Byles, Oct 6, 1703 He died suddenly, March 17, 1707-8

Nathaniel, b. July 6, 1669; H. C. 1685; died Oct. 17, 1688, and was buried in Salem His biography was published, entitled, "Early Piety Exemplified."

Sarah, born Nov. 9, 1671; died about 1759; married Rev. Nehemiah Walter, of Roxbury, who d. Sept. 17, 1750. His son was ord. coll. with him in 1718.

Samuel, b. Aug. 28, 1674; H. C. 1690; minister at Witney, Oxfordshire, (Eng.) having accompanied his father there in 1688. He had 7 daus, all m but 1.

Abigail, b. April 13, 1677; had 2 husbands, Newcomb Blake and Rev Jno. White, of Gloucester, Mass.

Hannah, born May 30, 1680; died Dec. 2, 1706;—mar'd John Oliver, Jan. 28, 1697.

Katharine, born Sept. 14, 1682; d. June 11, 1683.

Jerusha, born April 16, 1684;—m Peter Oliver, Mar. 8, 1709 10; d. Dec. 20, 1710.

Katharine, "who understood Latin, and read Hebrew fluently," died in Dec., 1716, of consumption; buried Dec. 20, 1716.

Abigail, b Aug. 22, 1687; d before 1693.

Joseph, b March 28, 1693; d. April 1, 1693.

Abigail, born June 14, 1694; married Dan. Willard; had 4 child.; died in child-bed, Sept. 26, 1721.

Hannah, born 1696-7, was living unmarried in 1728.

Increase, born July 9, 1699; lost at sea, on a voyage from Bermuda to Newfoundland before 1728.

Samuel, born 1700, and died before 1728.

Elizabeth, born July 13, 1704; married Edw'd Cooper, July 30, 1724; died Aug. 7, '26.

Samuel, b. Oct 30, 1706; H. C. 1723; min in Boston; d June 27, 1785, aged 79. Had the degree of D. D., and published a Life of his father. = Hannah, d. of Thos. Hutchinson, and sister of Gov'r. Thos. Hutchinson, August 23, 1733. **D**

Nathaniel, born May 16, 1707; died Nov. 24, 1709.

Jerusha, born April —, 1711; died Nov. —, 1713.

Eleazer and Martha, twins, born in 1713, and died Nov., same year.

A

Samuel, b. 1677; H. C. 1698; was a physician; he lived in Windsor; died February 6, 1745-6. = Abigail, d. Sept. 1st, 1722, aged 43.

Azariah, born Aug 29, 1685; buried at Saybrook in 1737. = Azariah, born Oct. 1722; died Oct. 1796.

Nathaniel, b. Aug 8, 1716; died Aug. 31, 1770. = ...

John. Joseph.

B

Timothy, b. March 20, 1681; died July 25, 1755. — Sarah, d. Aug. 16, 1756.

Samuel, b Jan'ry 23, 1683; died July 17, 1725. = Deborah Champion, January 1, 1711-12.

Joseph, b Jan'ry 29, 1686; d. Sept. 30, 1749 = Phebe.

Elizabeth, b. Nov. 20, 1682.

C

William. Jerusha.

Joshua, of Berlin, Ct., died about 1788.

Thomas, M. D, d. in Boston, May 7, 1764.

Eliakim

Mary

Richard, living in 1730.

Samuel, M. D., of Northampton, Mass.; d. April 29, 1779, aged 73. = Martha, d Dec. 2, 1785, aged 77.

Timothy, b. April 23, 1710; died April 6, 1752.

Nathaniel, b. Aug. 8, 1716; died August 31, 1770.

Eliakim, b. Feb'y 10, 1705; d. 1712.

Joseph, b. May, 1718; d. Dec. 27, 1732.

E

Charles, b. Feb. 26, 1720; d. 1736.
Abigail, b. Sept. 1, 1714; d. 1741.
Lucy, b. Feb. 18, 1729; d. 1771.
Hannah, b. Aug. 12, 1727; d. 1761.
Elizabeth, b. Jan. 4, 1731.
Eliakim, b September, 1732.

F

Thomas, a surgeon in the provincial regiment, died at Nova Scotia, 1762.

D

Samuel, b. at Boston; married at Hampton, N.H. July, 1774; died in 1813, aged 76. = Margaret, daugh. of Benj and Margaret Gerrish, b April 16, 1748; d. in Salem, Feb. 25, 1842, aged 94 years.

An only child, still-born.

Increase. Hannah Elizabeth, d. in Boston, June 30, 1788. = Joseph, son of Rev. Josiah Crocker, of Taunton, Mass.

Hannah M. Crocker, author of "The Rights of Women," 1818.

E

Timothy, b. Oct 9, 1711; died Dec. 18th, 1800 = Elizabeth Matson, Oct. 29, 1761.

Joseph, b Feb'ry 23, 1713; died Feb'ry. 5, 1788. = Joanna Matson, Dec. 7, 1756.

Ruth, b. Dec 3d, 1715.

Catherine, b. Jan. 11, 1717; mar. Elisha Marvin.

Moses, b. Feb. 23, 1719; D. D. Fairfield, Ct.; d. Sept. 21, 1806.

Dea. Joseph, distinguished in revolutionary times.

F

Richard, b. Dec. 22, 1712. = Deborah Ely, May 18, 1742.

Mary, b. Nov. 14, 1715.

Deborah, b Jan. 11, 1718; marr'd Benj. Marvin, Nov. 11, 1742; died Jan. 21, 1775.

Mehitable, b. Dec. 28, 1723; d. unm. 1741.

Lucy, born Dec. 18, 1720; mar'd Nath'l Peck, May 24, 1744, at Lyme, Ct.

Timothy, b. April 3, 1737; had a dau. Elizabeth, b. 1764
Sarah, b. May 7, 1739
Jehoida, born Nov. 16, 1740; mar'd. Eunice Miller, 1764; died March 11, 1811.
John N., b. Aug. 24, 1742.
Eunice, b. June 3, 1744.
Joannah, b. 1746; died 1747.
Reuben, born 1747.
Asaph, b. Aug. 11, 1749.
Lucy, b. May 11, 1751.

Joanna, b. Oct. 13, 1757.
Nathaniel, b. May 30, 1759.
Thomas, b. Aug 15, 1762.
Moses, b. July 14, 1764.
Joseph, b. July 4, 1766.

Mehitable, b. March 7, 1743; mar. Gen. Samuel H. Parsons. See Genealogical Register, vol. i.
Samuel, b. Feb. 22, 1745; mar. Lois, daughter of Thomas Griswold, son of Gov. Mathew G. She died in Lyme, Nov. 17, 1804.
William, b Sept. 15, 1746; died Sept. 24, 1746.
William, b. Nov. 21, 1747; mar. Rhoda Marvin, May 1, 1768.
Elias, b. in East Haddam, Feb. 10, 1750; mar. Lucinda, daughter of Abner Lee; died at Lyme, Ct., Aug. 30, 1788. His son, Capt. Andrew M., of New London, is father of Hon. J. P. C. MATHER, mayor of New London, in 1848.
Deborah, b. Oct. 3, 1752; mar. Ezra Lee.
Ezra, b. Feb. 25, 1755; died June 4, same year.
Ezra, b. April 27, 1756; died Nov. 10, 1758.
Sylvester, b. Sept. 1, 1758; mar. Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Wait.
Polly, b. March 31, 1760; mar. William Champlin, Jan 13, 1780.
Lucia, b. March 13, 1763.
Richard, b. July 4, 1765; mar. Eunice, daughter of Dr. Caulkins.

Joseph, b. March 15, 1715.
Eleazer, b. Nov. 17, 1716; mar. Anna Waterman, Nov. 5, 1741.
Phebe, b. March 15, 1718-19; married Andrew Sill, June 19, 1744.
John, b. July 13, 1721; m. Marcy Higgins, June 13, 1745.
Jerusha, b. Feb. 11, 1725-6; m. Daniel Shipman.
Samuel, b. Nov. 10, 1728; died Oct. 7, 1739.
Benjamin, born Sept. 19, 1732; settled in Whately, Mass.; married Irene Parsons, Aug. 16, 1753.
Ann, born Sept. 22, 1733.
Simeon, b. Feb. 21, 1736; died Feb 26, 1736.

AN ATTESTATION

TO THIS

CHURCH-HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND.

It hath been deservedly esteemed one of the great and wonderful works of God in this *last age*, that the Lord stirred up the spirits of so many thousands of his servants, to leave the *pleasant land* of England, the land of their *nativity*, and to transport themselves, and families, over the *ocean sea*, into a *desert land* in America, at the distance of a *thousand leagues* from their own country; and this, meerly on the account of *pure and undefiled Religion*, not knowing how they should have their *daily bread*, but trusting in God for *that*, in the way of *seeking first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof:* And that the Lord was pleased to grant such a gracious *presence* of his with them, and such a *blessing* upon their undertakings, that within a few years a *wilderness* was subdued before them, and so many Colonies planted, Towns erected, and Churches settled, wherein the true and living God in Christ Jesus, is worshipped and served, in a place where, time out of mind, had been nothing before but *Heathenism, Idolatry, and Devil-worship;* and that the Lord has added so many of the blessings of Heaven and earth for the comfortable subsistence of his people in these *ends of the earth.* Surely of this *work*, and of this *time*, it shall be said, *what hath God wrought?* And, *this is the Lord's doings, it is marvellous in our eyes!* Even so (O Lord) *didst thou lead thy people, to make thyself a glorious name!* Now, *one generation passeth away, and another cometh.* The *first generation* of our fathers, that began this plantation of New-England, most of them in their *middle age*, and many of them in their *declining years*, who, *after they had served the will of God*, in laying the *foundation* (as we hope) of *many generations*, and given an *example* of true *reformed Religion* in the *faith* and *order* of the gospel, according to their best light from the *words* of God, they are now *gathered unto their fathers.* There hath been *another generation* succeeding the *first*, either of such as come over with their parents very young, or were born in the country, and these have had the managing of the publick affairs for many years, but are apparently *passing* away, as their *fathers* before them. There is also a *third generation*, who are grown up, and begin to stand thick upon the stage of *action*, at this day, and these were all born in the country, and may call New-England their *native land.* Now, in respect of what the Lord hath done for these generations, succeeding one another, we have abundant cause of Thanksgiving to the Lord our God, who hath so increased and blessed this people, that from a *day of small things*, he has brought us to be, what we now are. We may set up an Ebenezer, and say, "Hitherto the Lord hath helped us." Yet in respect of our *present state*, we have need earnestly to *pray*, as we are directed, "Let thy work farther appear unto thy servants, and let thy beauty be upon us, and thy glory upon our children; establish thou the works of these our hands; yea, the works of our hands, establish thou them."

For, if we look on the *dark side*, the *humane side* of this work, there is much of *humane weakness*, and *imperfection* hath appeared in all that hath been done by *man*, as was acknowledged by our *fathers* before us. Neither was New-England ever without some *fatherly chastisements* from God; shewing that He is not fond of the *formalities* of any people upon earth, but expects the *realities* of *practical Godliness*, according to our profession and engagement unto him. Much more may we, the *children* of such *fathers*, lament our *gradual degeneracy* from that *life* and *power of Godliness*, that was in them, and the many *provoking evils* that are amongst us; which have moved our God severely to witness against us, more than in our *first times*, by his *lesser judgments* going before, and his *greater judgments* following after; he shot off his *warning-pieces first*, but his *murthering-pieces* have come after them, in so much as in these calamitous times, the changes of wars of Europe have had such a malignant influence upon *us* in America, that we are at this day *greatly diminished and brought low, through oppression, affliction, and sorrow.*

And yet if we look on the *light side*, the *divine side* of this work, we may yet see, that the *glory of God* which was with our *fathers*, is not wholly departed from us their *children;* there are as yet many *signs* of his *gracious presence* with us, both in the way of his *providences*, and in the use of his *ordinances*, as also in and with the *hearts* and *souls* of a considerable number of his people in New-England, that we may yet say, as they did, "Thy name is upon us, and thou art in the midst of us; therefore, Lord, leave us not!" As Solomon prayed, so may we, "The Lord our God be with us, as he was with our fathers; let him not leave nor forsake us; but incline our hearts to keep his commandments." And then "that he would maintain his own, and his people's cause, at all times, as the matter may require."

For the Lord our God hath in his infinite wisdom, grace, and holiness, contrived and established His *covenant*, so as he will be the God of his *people* and of their *seed* with them, and after them, *in their generations;* and in the ministerial dispensation of the *covenant of grace*, in, with, and to his visible Church. He hath promised *covenant-mercies* on the condition of *covenant-duties:* "If my people, who are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear their prayers, forgive their sins, and heal their land; and mine eyes, and mine heart, shall be upon them perpetually for good!" that so the *faithfulness* of God may appear in all generations for ever, that if there be any *breach* between the Lord and his *people*, it shall appear plainly to lye on his *people's* part. And therefore he has taken care, that his own *dealings* with his people in the course of his *providence*, and their *dealings* with him in the ways of *obedience* or *disobedience*, should be recorded, and so transmitted for the use and benefit of after-times, from generation to generation; as, (Exodus xvii. 14,) "The Lord said unto Moses, *write this for a memorial in a book;*" and, (Deut. xxxi. 19,) "Write ye this song for you, that it may be a witness for me against the children of Israel;" and (Psa. cii. 18,) "This and that shall be written for the generation to come, and the people that shall be created shall praise the Lord." Upon this ground it was said, (in Psal. xliv. 1,) "We have heard with our ears, O God, and our fathers have told us, what work thou didst in their days in times of old, how thou castest out the Heathen, and plantedst them;" (so likewise in Psal. lxxviii. v. 3 to the 8th). Upon the same account it may be said, (Psal. xlv. last,) "I will make thy name to be remembered to all generations:" and this is one reason why the Lord commanded so great a part of the *Holy Scriptures* to be written in an *historical way*, that the wonderful works of God towards his church and people, and their acting towards him again, might be known *unto all generations:* and after the *scripture-time*, so far as the Lord in his *holy wisdom* hath seen meet, he hath stirred up some or other to write the *acts and monuments* of the church of God in all ages; especially since the *reformation of religion* from antichristian darkness, was *vigorously*, and in a great measure *successfully*, endeavoured in the foregoing century, by such learned and pious persons as the Lord inclined and inabled thereunto.

And therefore surely it hath been a duty incumbent upon the people of God, in this our

New-England, that there should be extant, a true *history* of the wonderful works of God in the late plantation of this part of America: which was indeed planted, not on the account of any *worldly interest*, but on a design of enjoying and advancing the true *reformed religion*, in a *practical way;* and also of the good hand of God upon it from the beginning unto this day, in granting such a measure of *good success*, so far as we have attained: such a work as this hath been much *desired*, and long *expected*, both at home and abroad, and too long delayed by *us*, and sometimes it hath seemed a hopeless thing ever to be attained, till God raised up the spirit of this learned and pious person, one of the sons of the *colledge*, and one of the ministers of the *third generation*, to undertake this work. His learning and Godliness, and *ministerial abilities*, were so conspicuous, that at the age of *seventeen years*, he was called to be a publick preacher in Boston, the *metropolis* of the whole English America; and within a while after that, he was ordained *pastor* of the same church, whereof his own *father* was the *teacher*, and this at the unanimous desire of the people, and with the approbation of the *magistrates*, *ministers*, and *churches*, in the vicinity of Boston. And after he had, for divers years, approved himself in an exemplary way, and obliged his *native country*, by publishing many useful *treatises*, suitable to the *present state* of Religion amongst us, he set himself to write the *church-history* of New-England, not at all omitting his ministerial employments; and in the midst of many difficulties, tears, and temptations, having made a diligent search, collecting of proper *materials*, and selecting the choicest *memorials*, he hath, in the issue, within a few months, contrived, composed, and methodized the same into this form and frame which we here see: so that it deserves the name of, THE CHURCH-HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND.

But as I behold this exemplary son of New-England, while thus *young and tender*, at such a rate building the *Temple of God*, and in a few months dispatching such a piece of *Temple-work* as this is; a work so notably adjusted and adorned, it brings to mind the epigram upon young Borellus:

> *"Cùm juveni tantam dedit experientia lucem,*
> *Tale ut promat opus, quam dabit illa seni?"**

As for *my self*, having been, by the mercy of God, now above *sixty-eight years* in New-England, and served the Lord and his people in my weak measure, *sixty years* in the ministry of the gospel, I may now say, in my old age, *I have seen all that the Lord hath done for his people in* New-England, and have known the beginning and progress of these churches unto this day; and having read over much of this *history*, I cannot but in the love and fear of God bear witness to the *truth of it;* viz: That this present *church-history* of New-England, compiled by Mr. Cotton Mather, for the substance, end, and scope of it, is, as far as I have been acquainted therewithall, *according to truth.*

The manifold *advantage* and *usefulness* of this present *history*, will appear, if we consider the great and good *ends* unto which it may be serviceable; as,

First, That a plain scriptural duty of *recording the works of God unto after-times*, may not any longer be omitted, but performed in the best manner we can.

Secondly, That by the manifestation of the *truth of things*, as they have been and are amongst us, the *misrepresentations* of New-England may be removed and prevented; for, *Rectum est sui et obliqui Index.*†

Thirdly, That the true *original* and *design* of this plantation may not be lost, nor buried in *oblivion*, but known and remembered for ever, [Psal. cxl. 4: "He hath made his wonderful works to be remembered." Psal. cv. 5: "Remember ye the marvellous works which he hath done."]

* If on his *youth* is shed such light
As kindles this immortal page,
How will his genius, now so bright,
Glow in the broader beam of *age!*

† This geometrical maxim, if we lay aside the metaphor, may be thus rendered: "TRUTH serves the twofold purpose of attesting its own character and of exposing falsehood."

Fourthly. That God may have the *glory* of the great and good *works* which he hath done for his people in these ends of the earth, [As in *Isaiah* lxiii. 7: "I will mention the loving kindness of the Lord, and the praises of the Lord, according to all the great goodness and mercy he has bestowed on us."]

Fifthly, That the *names* of such eminent persons as the Lord made use of, as *instruments* in his hand, for the beginning and carrying on of this work, may be embalmed, and preserved, for the knowledge and imitation of posterity; for *the memory of the just is blessed.*

Sixthly, That the present generation may remember the *way* wherein the Lord hath led his people in this *wilderness,* for so many years past, unto this day; [according to that in Deut. viii. 2: "Thou shalt remember all the way wherein the Lord hath led thee in the wilderness this forty years, to humble thee, and to prove thee, and to know what was in thy heart, whether thou wouldst keep his commandments or no."] All considering persons cannot but observe, that our *wilderness*-condition hath been full of *humbling, trying, distressing providences.* We have had our *Massahs* and *Meribahs;* and few of our churches but have had some remarkable *hours of temptation* passing over them, and God's end in all has been to *prove us,* whether, according to *our profession,* and *his expectation,* we would *keep his commandments, or not.*

Seventhly, That the *generations to come* in New-England, may *know the God of their fathers, and* may *serve him with a perfect heart and willing mind;* as especially the *first generation* did before them; and that they may set *their hope in God, and not forget his works, but keep his commandments.*—(Psal. lxxviii. 7.)

Eighthly, And whereas it may be truly said, (as Jer. xxiii. 21,) "That when this people began to follow the Lord into this wilderness, they were holiness to the Lord, and he planted them as a noble vine;" yet if, in process of time, when they are *greatly increased and multiplied,* they should so far degenerate, as to forget the *religious design* of their fathers, and forsake the holy ways of God, (as it was said of them in Hosea iv. 7: "As they were increased, so they sinned against the Lord;") and so that many evils and troubles will befall them; then this Book may be for a *witness against them;* and yet through the mercy of God, may be also a means to *reclaim* them, and cause them to *return* again unto the Lord, and his holy ways, that he may *return* again in mercy unto them; even unto the *many thousands of* New-England.

Ninthly, That the little daughter of New-England in America, may bow down herself to her mother England, in Europe, presenting this *memorial* unto her; assuring her, that though by some of her *angry brethren* she was forced to make a *local secession,* yet not a *separation,* but hath always retained a dutiful respect to the *Church of God in* England; and giving some account to her, how graciously the Lord has dealt with herself in a *remote widlerness,* and what she has been doing all this while; giving her thanks for all the *supplies* she has received from her; and because she is yet in her *minority,* she craves her farther *blessing* and *favour* as the case may require; being glad if what is now presented to her, may be of any use, to help forward the *union* and *agreement* of her *brethren,* which would be some satisfaction to her for her undesired local distance from her dear England; and finally promising all that reverence and obedience which is due to her good *mother,* by virtue of the *fifth* commandment. And,

Lastly, This present *history* may stand as a *monument,* in relation to future times, of a fuller and better *reformation* of the Church of God, than it hath yet appeared in the world. For by this *Essay* it may be seen, that a *farther practical reformation* than that which began at the first coming out of the darkness of *Popery,* was aimed at, and endeavoured by a great number of *voluntary exiles,* that came into a *wilderness* for that very end, that hence they might be free from humane *additions* and *inventions* in the worship of God, and might practice the *positive part* of divine *institutions,* according to the word of God. How far we have attained this design, may be judged by this *Book.* But we beseech our brethren, of our own and of other *nations,* to believe that we are far from thinking that we have attained a

perfect reformation. Oh, *no!* Our fathers did in their time acknowledge, there were many *defects* and *imperfections* in our way, and yet we believe they did as much as could be expected from learned and godly men in their circumstances; and we, their *successors*, are far short of them in many respects, meeting with many *difficulties* which they *did not;* and *mourning* under many *rebukes* from our God which they *had not*, and with trembling hearts observing the *gradual declinings* that are amongst us from the holy ways of God; we are forced to cry out, and say, "Lord, what will become of these churches in time? And what wilt thou do for thy great name?" And yet, in the multitude of our thoughts and fears, the *consolations of God refresh our souls*, that all those that *in simplicity and godly sincerity* do serve the Lord, and his people in their generation (though they should miss it in some things) they shall deliver their own souls, they are accepted of the Lord, and *their reward is with him;* and in the approaching days of a better *reformation*, the *sincere*, though *weak* endeavours of the servants of God, that went before them, will be also accepted of the saints in those times of greater light and holiness, that are to come; and when the Lord shall make Jerusalem (or, the true Church of God, and the true Christian religion) a praise in the earth, and the joy of many generations, then the *mistakes of these times* will be rectified; and that which is of *God* in any of his churches, now in any part of the world, will be owned and improved unto an higher degree of *practical godliness*, that shall continue for many generations succeeding one another, which hitherto hath been so rare a thing to be found in the world.

I shall now draw to a *conclusion*, with an *observation* which hath visited my thoughts: that the Lord hath blessed the family of the MATHERS, amongst us, with a singular blessing, in that no less than *ten* of them, have been accepted of him, to serve the Lord and his people in the ministry of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; of whom, as the Apostle said in another case, though *some are fallen asleep*, yet the *greatest part remain unto this day;* I do not know the like in our New-England, and perhaps it will be found rare to parallel the same in our countries. Truly I have thought, it hath been a reward of *grace*, with respect unto the *faithfulness* they have expressed, in asserting, clearing, maintaining, and putting on for the practice of that great principle, of the *propagation of Religion* in these Churches, viz: *The Covenant-state, and Church-membership* of *the Children born in these Churches*, together with the *Scripture-duties* appertaining thereunto, and that by vertue of God's *Covenant of Grace*, established by God with his people, and their seed with them, and after them in their generations. And this has been done especially by Mr. Richard Mather the father, and by Mr. Increase Mather his son, and by Mr. Cotton Mather his son, the author of this present work.

I shall give the reader the satisfaction to enumerate this happy *Decemvirate.*

1. RICHARD MATHER, Teacher of the Church in Dorchester.

2. SAMUEL MATHER: He was the first Fellow of Harvard-Colledge in Cambridge in New-England, and the first Preacher at North-Boston, where his *brother* and his *nephew* are now his successors. He was afterwards one of the Chaplains in Magdalen-Colledge in Oxford; after that, a *senior Fellow* of Trinity-Colledge in Dublin, and Pastor of a Church in that city, where he died.

3. NATHANIEL MATHER, which succeeded his brother Samuel as Pastor of that Church in Dublin, and is now Pastor of a Church in London.

4. ELEAZAR MATHER: He was Pastor of the Church at Northampton in New-England, and much esteemed in those parts of the country: he died when he was but thirty-two years old.

5. INCREASE MATHER; who is known in both Englands. These four were sons of RICHARD MATHER.

6. COTTON MATHER, the author of this history.

7. NATHANIEL MATHER. He died at the *nineteenth* year of his age; was a *Master* of *Arts;* began to preach in private. His piety and learning was beyond his years. The *History of his Life and Death* was written by his *brother*, and there have been *three editions* of it

printed at London. He died here at Salem, and over his Grave there is written, "THE ASHES OF AN HARD STUDENT, A GOOD SCHOLAR, AND A GREAT CHRISTIAN."

8. SAMUEL MATHER; he is now a publick preacher. These three last mentioned, are the sons of INCREASE MATHER.

9. SAMUEL MATHER, the son of TIMOTHY, and grandson of RICHARD MATHER? He is the pastor of a church in Windsor; a pious and prudent man; who has been an happy instrument of uniting the church and town, amongst whom there had been great divisions.

10. WARHAM MATHER, the son of ELEAZAR MATHER, and by his mother grandson to the Reverend Mr. WARHAM, late pastor of the church in Windsor; he is now also a publick preacher. Behold, an happy family, the *glad sight* whereof may well inspire even an old age past eighty with *poetry* enough to add this:

EPIGRAMMA MATHEROS.

O Nimium Dilecte Deo, Venerande MATHERE,
Gaudens tot Natos Christi numerare Ministros!
Det Deus ut tales insurgant usque Matheri,
Et Nati Natorum, et qui Nascentur ab illis.
Has inter stellas fulgens, Cottone Mathere,
Patrûm tu sequeris vestigia semper adorans,
*Phosphorus ast aliis!**

Now the Lord our God, the faithful God, that *keepeth covenant and mercy to a thousand generations*, with his people; let him incline the heart of his people of New-England, to keep covenant and duty towards their God, to walk in his ways, and keep his commandments, that he may bring upon them the blessing of Abraham, the mercy and truth unto Jacob, the sure mercies of David, the grace and peace that cometh from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ; and that the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ may be in and with these churches, from one generation to another, until the second coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ! *Unto him be glory and dominion, for ever and ever.* AMEN.

JOHN HIGGINSON.

SALEM, the 25th of the first month, 1697.

* INSCRIPTION TO MATHER.

"O, venerable MATHER! loved of God,
Rejoice to see, that where thy feet have trod,
A blessed train of Christian sons are seen,
Still pressing on to be what thou hast been.
God grant that endless be the holy line
Of those who love and do His work divine!
Thou, COTTON, shining from such heavenly heights,
Amid a brotherhood of kindred lights,
Follow thy sires, whom God hath guided home,
Thyself a morning-star to those who yet shall come."

A PREFATORY POEM,

ON THAT EXCELLENT BOOK, ENTITULED

MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA:

WRITTEN BY THE REV. MR. COTTON MATHER,

PASTOR OF A CHURCH AT BOSTON, NEW-ENGLAND.

TO THE CANDID READER:

STRUCK *with huge love*, of what to be possest,
I much despond, good reader, in the *quest;*
Yet help me, if at length it may be said,
Who first the *chambers of the south* display'd?
Inform me, whence the *tawny people* came?
Who was their father—Japhet, Shem, or Cham?
And how they straddled to the *Antipodes*,
To look *another world* beyond the seas?
And when, and why, and where they last broke ground,
What risks they ran, where they first anchoring found?
Tell me their patriarchs, prophets, priests, and kings?
Religion, manners, monumental things:
What *charters* had they?—what immunities?
What altars, temples, cities, colonies,
Did they erect? Who were their public spirits?
Where may we find the *records* of their merits?
What instances, what glorious displayes
Of Heaven's high hand commenced in their dayes?
These things in *black oblivion* covered o'er,
(As they'd ne'er been) lye with a thousand more,
A vexing thought, that makes me scarce forbear
To stamp, and wring my hands, and pluck my hair,
To think, what blessed *ignorance* hath done,
What fine threads *learning's* enemies have spun,
How well books, schools, and colledge may be spar'd,
So *men* with *beasts* may fitly be compar'd!
Yes, how *tradition* leaves us in the lurch,
And who nor stay at home, nor go to church:
The *light-within-enthusiasts*, who let fly
Against our *pen and ink divinity;*
Who boldly do pretend (but who 'll believe it?)
If *Genesis* were lost, they could retrieve it;
Yea, all the *sacred writ;* pray let them try
On the New World their *gift of prophecy.*
For all of them, the *new world's antiquities*,
Smother'd in everlasting silence lies;
And its *first sachims* mention'd are no more
Than they that Agamemnon liv'd before.
The poor Americans are under blame,
Like them of old, that from *Tel-melah* came,
Conjectur'd once to be of Israel's seed,
But no *record* appear'd to prove the deed:
And like Habajah's sons, that were put by
The *priesthood*, holy things to come not nigh,
For having lost their *genealogy.*
Who can past things to memory command,
Till one with Aaron's *breastplate* up shall stand?
Mischiefs remediless such sloth ensue;
God and their parents lose their honour due,
And children's children suffer on that score,
Like bastards cast forlorn at any door;
And they and others put to seek their father,
For want of such a *scribe* as COTTON MATHER;
Whose piety, whose pains, and peerless pen,
Revives New-England's nigh-lost origin.

Heads of our *tribes*, whose *corps* are under ground,
Their names and fames in *chronicles* renown'd,
Begemm'd on *golden ouches* he hath set,
Past envy's teeth and time's corroding fret:
Of *Death* and *malice*, he has brush'd off the dust,
And made a *resurrection of the just:*
And clear'd the land's religion of the gloss,
And *copper-cuts* of Alexander Ross.
He hath related *academic* things,
And paid their *first fruits* to the King of kings;
And done his *Alma Mater* that just favour,
To shew *sal gentium** hath not lost its savour.
He writes like an *historian* and *divine*,
Of *Churches*, *Synods*, *Faith*, and *Discipline.*
Illustrious Providences are display'd,
Mercies and judgments are in colours laid;
Salvations wonderful by sea and land,
Themselves are *saved* by his pious hand.
The *Churches' wars*, and various *enemies*,
Wild *salvages*, and wilder *sectaries*,
Are notify'd for them that after rise.
This *well-instructed Scribe* brings *new* and *old*,
And from his *mines* digs richer things than gold;
Yet freely gives, as *fountains* do their streams,
Nor more than they, himself, by giving, drains.
He 's all *design*, and by his *craftier wiles*
Locks fast his reader, and the time beguiles:
Whilst *wit* and *learning* move themselves aright,
Thro' ev'ry line, and *colour* in our sight,
So interweaving *profit* with *delight;*
And curiously inlaying both together,
That he must needs find both, who looks for either.
His *preaching*, *writing*, and his pastoral care,
Are very much, to fall to one man's share.
This added to the rest, is admirable,
And proves the author *indefatigable.*
Play is his toyl, and *work* his recreation,
And his *inventions* next to inspiration.
His *pen* was taken from some *bird of light*,
Addicted to a swift and lofty flight.
Dearly it loves *art*, *air*, and *eloquence*,
And hates *confinement*, save to *truth* and *sense.*
Allow what 's known; they who write histories,
Write many things they see with others' eyes;
'Tis fair, where nought is feign'd, nor undigested,
Nor ought but what is credibly attested.
The risk is his; and seeing others do,
Why may not I speak mine opinion too?
The *stuff* is true, the *trimming* neat and spruce,
The workman 's good, the work of publick use:
Most piously design'd, a publick store,
And well deserves the public thanks, and more.

NICHOLAS NOYES,
Teacher of the Church at Salem.

* The salt of the world.

[Anagrams, &c., in the Original Edition.]

REVERENDO DOMINO,

D. COTTONO MADERO,

LIBRI UTILISSIMI, CUI TITULUS,

MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA,

AUTHORI DOCTISSIMO, AC DILECTISSIMO,

Duo Ogdoatica, et bis duo Anagrammata, dat Idem,

N. NOYES.

COTTONUS MADERUS.

ANAGR. { *EST DUO SANCTORUM.* / *NATUS ES DOCTORUM.* }

Nomina Sanctorum, *quos Scribis*, *clara* duorum
Nomine Cerno Tuo ; Virtutes Lector easdem
Candidus inveniet Tecum, Charitate refertas.
Doctrina Eximius Doctos, Pietate piosque
Tu bene describis, describere nescit ut alter.
Doctorum es Natus, *Domino Spirante Renatus ;*
De bene quæsitis gaudeto Tertius Hæres ;
Nomen præsagit, nec non Anagrammata, vates.

COTTONUS MADERUS.

ANAGR. { *UNCTAS DEMORTUOS.* / *SENATUS DOCTORUM.* }

Unctas demort'os, *decoratur Laude* Senatus
Doctorum *Merita ; fit præsens præterita ætas ;*
Huic exempla patent, et postera Progenitores
Non ignorabit, patriisque superbiet Actis ;
More, Fide, cultu, quoque patrissare studebit ;
Gratum opus est Domino, Patriæ nec inutile nostræ;
Orbi fructificat. Fer Fertilitatis Honorem,
Scribendo Vitas alienas, propria scripta est.

[Translated expressly for this Edition.]

TO THE REVEREND DOCTOR

COTTON MATHER,

THE VERY LEARNED AND BELOVED AUTHOR OF A MOST USEFUL WORK, ENTITLED

"*The Mighty Works of Christ in America*,"

THESE TWO SHORT POEMS AND FOUR ANAGRAMS ARE DEDICATED BY NICHOLAS NOYES.

COTTON MATHER.

Anagrams. { *It consists of Two Saints.* / *Thou art a Descendant of the Learned.* }

Lo! in thy name TWO SAINTS' names I behold—
Saints whose good deeds are in this book enroll'd—
Whose virtues candid readers can but find
Not only in thy book, but in thy mind.
Learned and pious, with a master's eye,
Thou canst depicture learned piety.
CHILD OF THE LEARNED! noble is thy race,
But nobler art thou as a child of grace;
Third of thy line! thy heritage receive,
And these prophetic Anagrams believe.

COTTON MATHER.

Anagrams. { *Thou embalmest the Dead.* / *A Senate of Learned Men.* }

THOU HAST EMBALMED THE DEAD! Thy truthful praise
'Round LEARNING'S SENATE wreathes immortal bays.
Thy magic pen the Past the Present makes,
And we seem honoured for our fathers' sakes.
Nor shall our pride end here: each future age
Shall claim the honours, sparkling on thy page—
Shall still revere the founders of the State,
Their worship, faith, and virtues imitate.
Thy God shall bless the labour of thy mind—
Thy country's boon, a treasure to mankind.
Though here thou writest others' lives, yet thine
Shall glow resplendent in each living line.

[THE art of making anagrams, or constructing characteristic sentences by transposing the letters of a person's name, was formerly one of the most popular of learned conceits. Puerile as it now seems to us, it was cultivated by grave scholars with an enthusiasm which would have done honour to a more dignified employment. Their success was generally indifferent; and even when fortunate, they certainly plumed themselves too much upon their ingenuity—apparently forgetting that endless combinations can be made by the use of a dozen alphabetic characters, and that all the words of the English language are composed of only *twenty-six* letters.

The first of the foregoing specimens, by "Nicholas Noyes, Teacher of the Church at Salem," will compare favourably with its class. Out of a Latinistic version of our author's name, (COTTONUS MADERUS,) he makes "*Est duo sanctorum*,"—that is, "It (the name) consists of two saints," referring to JOHN COTTON and RICHARD MATHER, both heroes of this history. Little can be said in praise of his other anagrams. The third is very unfortunate; for the first word (as here intended to be construed) is *not* Latin, and the second cannot, without a most unjustifiable exercise of poetic license, be forced into a hexameter verse.—TRANSLATOR.]

CELEBERRIMI

COTTONI MATHERI,

CELEBRATIO;

QUI HEROUM VITAS, IN SUI-IPSIUS ET ILLORUM MEMORIAM SEMPITERNAM, REVOCAVIT.

Quod patrios Manes revocasti a Sedibus altis,
Sylvestres Musæ grates, MATHERE, *rependunt.*
Hæc nova Progenies, veterum sub Imagine, cœlo
Arte Tua Terram visitans, demissa, salutat.
Grata Deo Pietas ; Grates persolvimus omnes ;
Semper Honos, Nomenque Tuum, MATHERE, *manebunt.*

Is the bless'd MATHER *necromancer* turn'd,
To raise his country's fathers' ashes urn'd?
Elisha's dust, life to the dead imparts;
This prophet, by his more *familiar arts*,
Unseals our *heroes'* tombs, and gives them air:
They rise, they walk, they talk, look wondrous fair;
Each of them in an orb of *light* doth shine,
In liveries of *glory* most divine.
When ancient names I in thy pages met,
Like gems on *Aaron's* costly breast-plate set,
Methinks heaven 's open, while great *saints* descend,
To wreathe the brows by which their *acts* were penn'd.

B. THOMPSON.

TO THE REVEREND COTTON MATHER,

ON HIS

HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND.

In this hard age, when men such slackness show,
To pay *Love's* debts, and what to *Truth* we owe,
You to step forth, and such example shew,
In paying what 's to God and country due,
Deserves *our* thanks: *mine* I do freely give;
'Tis fit that with the *raised ones* you live.
Great your attempt, no doubt some sacred spy,
That Leiger in your sacred cell did lie;
Nursed your first thoughts, with gentle beams of light,
And taught your hand things past to bring to sight:
Thus taught by secret sweetest influence,
You make return to God's good providence:
Recording how that mighty hand was nigh,
To trace out paths not known to mortal eye,
To those brave men, that to this land came o'er,
And plac'd them safe on the Atlantick shore;
And how the same hand did them after save,
And say, Return, oft on the brink o' th' grave;
And gave them room to spread, and bless'd their root,
Whence, hung with fruit, now, many branches shoot.
Such were these heroes, and their labours such,
In their just praise, sir, who can say too much?
Let the remotest parts of earth behold,
New-England's crowns excelling Spanish gold.
Here be rare lessons set for us to read,
That offsprings are of such a goodly breed.
The dead ones here, so much alive are made,
We think them speaking from bless'd Eden's shade;
Hark! how they check the madness of this age,
The growth of pride, fierce lust, and worldly rage.
They tell, we shall to clam-banks come again,
If Heaven still doth scourge us all in vain.
But, sir, upon your merits heap'd will be,
The blessings of all those that here shall see
Vertue embalm'd; this hand seems to put on
The lawrel on your brow, so justly won.

TIMOTHY WOODBRIDGE, *Minister of Hartford.*

AD POLITÆ LITERATURÆ ATQUE SACRARUM LITERARUM ANTISTITEM,
ANGLIÆQUE AMERICANÆ ANTIQUARIUM CALLENTISSIMUM,
REVERENDUM DOMINUM, D. COTTONUM MATHERUM,
APUD BOSTONENSES, V. D. M.

EPIGRAMMA.

COTTONUS MATHERUS.

ANAGR.—*Tu tantúm Cohors es.*

Ipse, vales Tantùm, Tu, *mî memorande* MATHERE,
Fortis pro Christo Milis, es *ipse* cohors.

[Translation of the above, made for this Edition.]

TO THAT ORACLE OF POLITE LEARNING AND SACRED LITERATURE,
AND ACCOMPLISHED HISTORIAN OF NEW-ENGLAND,
THE REVEREND MR. COTTON MATHER,
MINISTER AT BOSTON.

AN INSCRIPTION.

COTTON MATHER.

ANAGRAM.—*Thou art alone a host.*

THOU, noble MATHER, though thou wouldst not boast,
In Christian warfare ART ALONE A HOST.

A PINDARIC.

Art thou *Heaven's Trumpet?* sure by the *Archangel* blown;
Tombs crack, dead start, saints rise, are seen and known,
And *shine* in constellation;
From ancient flames here 's a new *Phœnix* flown,
To shew the world, when Christ returns, he 'll not return alone.

J. DANFORTH, V. D. M., *Dorcestr.*

TO THE LEARNED AND REVEREND MR. COTTON MATHER,

ON HIS EXCELLENT MAGNALIA.

Sir:—My muse will now by chymistry draw forth
The spirit of your name's immortal worth.

COTTONIUS MATHERUS.

Anagr.—*Tuos Tecum ornasti.**

* While thus the dead in thy rare pages rise,
Thine, with thy self, thou dost immortalize.
To view the odds, thy learned *lives* invite,
'Twixt *Eleutherian* and *Edomite.*

But all succeeding ages shall despair,
A fitting monument for *thee* to rear.
Thy own rich pen (peace, silly *Momus*, peace!)
Hath given them a lasting *writ of ease.*

GRINDAL RAWSON, Pastor of *Mendon.*

IN JESU CHRISTI
MAGNALIA AMERICANA,

DIGESTA IN SEPTEM LIBROS,

PER MAGNUM, DOCTISSIMUMQUE VIRUM, D. COTTONUM MATHERUM,

J. CHRISTI SERVUM, ECCLESIÆQUE AMERICANÆ BOSTONIENSIS MINISTRUM PIUM ET DISERTISSIMUM.

Sunt *Miracla Dei*, sunt et *Magnalia Christi*,
Qua patet *Orbis*. Erant ultra *Garamantas*, et *Indos*
Mazuma, quæ paucis licuit cognoscere. Sed, quæ
Cernis in *America*, procul unus-quisque videbit.
Vivis, ubi fertur nullum vixisse. Videsque
Mille homines, res multas, Incunabula mira.
Strabo sile, qui *Magna* refers. *Vesputius* autem
Primis scire *Novum* potuit conatibus *Orbem*.
Et dum *Magna* docet te *Grotius*, unde repletos [que;
Esse per *Americam*, volucresque, hominesque, Deos-
Tumque libet, tibi scire licet *Nova* viscera rerum.
Nullus erat, nisi brutus homo: Sine lege, Deoque.
Numa dat Antiquis, *Solon*que et Jura *Lycurgus*.
Hic nihil, et nullæ (modo sic sibi vivere) Leges.
Jam decreta vide, et Regum diplomata, curque,
Ne sibi vivat homo, nostrorum vivere Regi est.
Dic, tot habendo Deos, legisque videndo peritos,
Centenosque viros, celebres virtute, Statumque
Quem *Novis Orbis* habet; *Quantum mutatus ab illo est!*
Res bona. Nec sat erit, et Rege et Lege beatum,
Posse vehi super Astra. *Deum* tibi noscere, fas est,
Nil Lex, nil *Solon*, nil et sine *Numine Numa*.
Sit *Deus* ignotosque *Deos* fuge. Multa Poetæ
De *Jove* finxerunt, *Neptuno* et *Marte*, Diisque
Innumerabilibus. *Magni*que *Manitto* pependit
Non conversa Deo Gens *Americana; Manitto*,
Quem velut *Artificem* colit, et ceu *Numen* adorat.
E tenebris Lux est. In abysso cernere Cœlum est,
*Ignotum*que *Deum*, notum Indis, *Biblia Sancta*
Indica, *Templa Preces Psalmos*, multosque *Ministros*.
Ut *Christum* discant, *Indorum* Idiomate *Numen*
Utitur, et sese patefecit ubique locorum.
Plura canam. Veterem *Schola* sit dispersa per *Orbem*,
Et tot *Athenæis* scatet *Anglus*, *Belga*, *Polonus*,
Germanus, *Gallusque*. Sat est *Academia nostra*.
Extra *Orbem Novus Orbis* habet, quod habetur in *Orbe*.

Dat *Cantabrigiæ Domus Harvardina* Cathedram
Cuilibet, et cur non daret *Indis*, Proselytisque?
Trans Mare non opus est ad *Pallada* currere. *Pallas*
Hic habitat, confertque *Gradus*; modo *Pallada* discas,
Ascendasque gradum. Quantum *Sapientia* confert!
Forte novas, pluresque artes *Novus Orbis* haberet.
Quotquot in *America* licet *Admiranda* supersint,
Singula non narro. Nec opus tibi singula narrem.
Multa fidem superant, multorum Exempla docebunt,
Plura quot *Orbis* habet *Novus Admiranda*, quot artes,
Et quot in *America* degunt ubicunque *Coloni*.
Deque *Veneficiis* quid erit tibi noscere? I usus
Sperne Diabolicos. Sunt hic *Magnalia Christi*.
Ne timeas Umbram. Corpus sine corpore spectrum est.
Pax rare in terris. Ætas quasi ferrea. *Bellum*
Sceptra gerens, gladiosque ferox ubicunque Noverca est.
Destruit omnia, destruit opida, destruit artes.
Mars nulli cedit. Nihil exitialius armis.
Testis adest. *Europa* docet lacrymabile *Bellum*,
Hispani, *Belgæ*, *Germani*, et quotquot in *Orbe*
Sunt Veteri, Rigidisque plagis vexantur et armis.
Quas *Sectas* vetus *Orbis* habet, quæ dogmata Carnis?
Primum *Roma* locum tenet, *Enthusiasta* secundum,
Arminius tandem, *Menno* et *Spinosa* sequuntur.
Quisque incredibeles poterit dignoscere *Sectas?*
Non tot cernuntur fidei discrimina, nec tot
Hæreticos *novus Orbis* habet, quod et Enthea res est.
Tu dilecte *Deo*, cujus *Bostonia* gaudet
Nostra Ministerio, seu cui tot scribere Libros,
Non opus, aut labor est, et qui *Magnalia Christi*
Americana refers, scriptura plurima. Nonne
Dignus es, agnoscare inter *Magnalia Christi?*
Vive *Liber*, totique *Orbi Miracula* monstres,
Quæ sunt extra *Orbem*. *Cottone*, in sæcula vive;
Et dum Mundus erit, vivat tua Fama per *Orbem*.

HENRICUS SELIJNS, *Ecclesiæ Neo-Eboracensis Minister Belgicus.*

Dabam, Neo-Eboraci Americana, 16 Oct. 1697.

[Translation of the foregoing, made for this Edition.]

A POEM,

CONCERNING

THE MIGHTY WORKS OF JESUS CHRIST IN AMERICA,

ARRANGED IN SEVEN BOOKS,

BY THAT GREAT AND MOST LEARNED MAN, MR. COTTON MATHER,

A SERVANT OF JESUS CHRIST, AND THE PIOUS AND MOST ELOQUENT MINISTER OF A CHURCH AT BOSTON IN AMERICA.

THE wondrous works of God and Christ abound,
Wherever nature reigns or man is found.
Some, known to few, have been revealed before,
Beyond the Indies and the Afric shore.
But what God *here* hath wrought, in this our age,
All shall behold, emblazoned on thy page.
Strange is thy dwelling-place. Thy home is where
'Twas thought no creature breathed the vital air.
Yet there a mighty future is begun,
And men and things a race of empire run.
Strabo! thy many marvels tell no more,
No proud discovery known in ancient lore
Can match that wondrous waif Vesputio found,
A WORLD—NEW WORLD—at ocean's farthest bound.
Let Grotius fancy whence, in ancient time,
Came the first people of this Western clime,
Whence their religion and ancestral line:—
MATHER! a deeper, loftier theme is thine.
The savage race, who once were masters here,
Nor law nor God inspired with wholesome fear:
They no Lycurgus, Numa, Solon knew,
To frame their code, and fix its sanctions too.
Self-will alone was law: but now we see
Our royal charters sent across the sea,
To teach our wills their loyal bond to own
To England's statutes and our sovereign's throne.
Look at our courts—our rulers, small and great—
Our civil order and compacted State;
See these where once the lawless savage ranged,
And then, like old Æneas, say, "How changed!"
'Tis well. But not enough are laws and kings
To raise our souls to Heaven and heavenly things.
We must know GOD, and in his ways be taught;
Without such knowledge, men and states are nought.
The LORD is GOD! The ancient poets feign
Their Pantheon of pagan gods in vain.
In vain the unconverted Indians raise
Their forest altars in Manitou's praise;
For light shines out of darkness: the Unknown
And dreadful God the *Indian* calls his own.
The Indian has his Christian psalms and prayer,
His Christian temple, and his pastor there;
God speaks the Indian's language, rude and wild,
To teach His mercy to the forest-child.
And more!—though Science older climes befits,
And Europe swarms with academic wits,
Yet see scholastic shades these wilds adorn,
Such as the Old World may not wisely scorn.
That world we left; but Science has made known,
Out of the world, a *new* world of our own:
A hemisphere, imperial yet to rise—
In Arts proficient, and in Learning wise.
We have a Cambridge; where to rich and poor
Young HARVARD opes a hospitable door;
Its liberal tests no ban of ignorance fix
On Indians or converted heretics.
For Wisdom's halls we need not cross the seas:
HERE Wisdom dwells, and here confers degrees;
Since Wisdom ever honours toil and pains,
And high *degrees* true merit always gains,
Perchance Philosophy and Science here
Will find new secrets and a broader sphere.
I will not, need not tell our marvels o'er;
Many exceed belief, and many more
Might teach mankind how noble is the pace
In human progress of our exile-race.
I need not speak of witchcraft: go! despise
The devil's arts—his agents and his lies.
Here is the standard of the Cross unfurl'd,
And JESUS' "MIGHTY WORKS" astound the world.
Scorn of the goblin horde to be afraid—
Shapes without substance, shadows of a shade.
How rare is peace! War thunders its alarms;
The Age is Iron—with the ring of arms!
War sacks great cities; mars, with sounds of strife,
All social arts and every joy of life.
Europe is drench'd in blood: War's iron heel
And fiery scourge her writhing millions feel.
The blood of Frenchmen, Dutch and Germans slain,
Imbrues the soil of Italy and Spain;
While banded kings the sword of slaughter wield,
And humbler thrones afford a battle-field.
Then in the Old World see how sects uphold
A war of dogmas in the Christian fold:
Lo! Rome stands first; Fanaticism next,
And then Arminius with polemic text;
Then Anabaptist Menno, leading on
Spinoza, with his law-automaton.
Who shall of sects the true meridian learn?—
Their latitude and longitude discern?
We of the Western World cannot succeed
In conjuring up such difference of creed,
Or to uncovenanted grace assign
So many heretics in things divine.
Beloved of God! whose ministry hath bless'd
Our Boston and the Churches of the West;
Who, without seeming toil, hast nobly wrought
Within thy breast exhaustless mines of thought,
And here recordest, as by God's commands,
"*The Mighty Works of Christ in Western Lands*;"
Say, dost thou not THYSELF deserve a place
Among those "Mighty Works" of Sovereign Grace?
Immortal MATHER! 'tis thy page alone
To Old World minds makes New World wonders known;
And while the solid Earth shall firm remain,
New World and Old World shall thy praise retain.

HENRY SELJINS,
Pastor of a Dutch Reformed Church at New-York.

DATED AT NEW-YORK, 16 OCTOBER, 1697.

A GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

Ἐρῶ δὲ τοῦτο, τῆς τῶν ἐντεύξαμενων ὠφελείας ἕνεκα.*

Dicam hoc propter utilitatem eorum qui Lecturi sunt hoc opus.—THEODORIT.*

§ 1. I WRITE the WONDERS of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, flying from the depravations of Europe, to the American Strand; and, assisted by the Holy Author of that Religion, I do with all conscience of Truth, required therein by Him, who is the Truth itself, report the wonderful displays of His infinite Power, Wisdom, Goodness, and Faithfulness, wherewith His Divine Providence hath irradiated an Indian Wilderness.

I relate the Considerable Matters, that produced and attended the First Settlement of COLONIES, which have been renowned for the degree of REFORMATION, professed and attained by Evangelical Churches, erected in those *ends of the earth;* and a *Field* being thus prepared, I proceed unto a relation of the *Considerable Matters* which have been acted thereupon.

I first introduce the *Actors*, that have in a more exemplary manner served those Colonies; and give Remarkable Occurrences, in the exemplary LIVES of many Magistrates, and of more Ministers, who so lived as to leave unto Posterity *examples* worthy of everlasting remembrance.

I add hereunto, the Notables of the only Protestant University that ever *shone* in that hemisphere of the New World; with particular instances of Criolians, in our Biography, provoking the whole world with vertuous objects of emulation.

I introduce then, the *Actions* of a more eminent importance, that have signalized those Colonies: whether the Establishments, directed by their Synods; with a rich variety of Synodical and Ecclesiastical Determinations; or, the Disturbances, with which they have been from all sorts of temptations and enemies tempestuated; and the Methods by which they have still weathered out each horrible tempest.

And into the midst of these Actions, I interpose an entire Book, wherein there is, with all possible veracity, a Collection made of Memorable Occurrences, and amazing Judgments and Mercies befalling many particular persons among the people of New-England.

Let my readers expect all that I have promised them, in this *Bill of Fare;* and it may be they will find themselves entertained with yet many other passages, above and beyond their expectation, deserving likewise a room in History: in all which, there will be nothing but the Author's too mean way of preparing so great entertainments, to reproach the Invitation.

§ 2. The reader will doubtless desire to know, what it was that

> ———*tot Volvere casus*
> *Insignes Pietate Viros, tot adire Labores,*
> *Impulerit.*†

And our History shall, on many fit occasions which will be therein offered, endeavour, with all historical fidelity and simplicity, and with as little offence as may be, to satisfy him. The

* "This I say for the benefit of those, who may happen to read the book."

† "Drove forth those pious heroes to withstand
The sea's rough rage and rougher toil on land."—VIRGIL'S *Æneid*, i. 9. (*altered.*)

sum of the matter is, that from the very beginning of the Reformation in the English Nation, there hath always been a generation of Godly Men, desirous to pursue the Reformation of Religion, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best Reformed Churches; and answering the character of Good Men, given by Josephus, in his Paraphrase on the words of Samuel to Saul, μηδὲν ἀλλ' πράχθῆσεσθαι καλῶς ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν νομιζοντες, ἢ ὅ τι ἂν ποιήσωσι τοῦ Θεοῦ κεκελεύκοτος. (They think they do nothing right in the service of God, but what they do according to the command of God.) And there hath been another generation of men, who have still employed the *power* which they have generally still had in their hands, not only to stop the progress of the desired Reformation, but also, with innumerable vexations, to persecute those that most heartily wished well unto it. There were many of the Reformers, who joyned with the Reverend John Fox, in the *complaints* which he then entred in his Martyrology, about the "baits of Popery" yet left in the Church; and in his wishes, "God take them away, or ease us from them, for God knows they be the cause of much blindness and strife amongst men!" They zealously decreed the *policy* of complying always with the ignorance and vanity of the *People;* and cried out earnestly for purer Administrations in the house of God, and more *conformity* to the *Law of Christ* and *primitive Christianity:* while others would not hear of going any further than the first Essay of Reformation. 'Tis very certain, that the first Reformers never intended that what they did should be the absolute boundary of Reformation, so that it should be a sin to proceed any further; as, by their own going beyond Wicklift, and changing and growing in their own Models also, and the confessions of Cranmer, with the *Scripta Anglicana* of Bucer, and a thousand other things, was abundantly demonstrated. But after a fruitless expectation, wherein the truest friends of the Reformation long waited for to have that which Heylin himself owns to have been the design of the first Reformers, followed as it should have been, a party very unjustly arrogating to themselves the venerable name of *The Church of England*, by numberless oppressions, grievously smote those their Fellow-Servants. Then 'twas that, as our great Owen hath expressed it, "Multitudes of pious, peaceable Protestants, were driven, by their severities, to leave their native country, and seek a refuge for their lives and liberties, with freedom for the worship of God, in a wilderness, in the ends of the earth."

§ 3. It is the History of these Protestants that is here attempted: Protestants that highly honoured and affected the Church of England, and humbly petition to be a *part* of it: but by the mistake of a few powerful brethren, driven to seek a place for the exercise of the Protestant Religion, according to the light of their consciences, in the desarts of America. And in this attempt I have proposed, not only to preserve and secure the interest of Religion in the Churches of that little country New-England, so far as the Lord Jesus Christ may please to bless it for that end, but also to offer unto the Churches of the Reformation, abroad in the world, some small Memorials, that may be serviceable unto the designs of Reformation, whereto, I believe, they are quickly to be awakened. I am far from any such boast, concerning these Churches, *that they have need of nothing;* I wish their works were more *perfect before God.* Indeed, that which Austin called "the perfection of Christians," is like to be, until the term for the anti-christian apostasie be expired, "the perfection of Churches" too; *ut agnoscant se nunquam esse perfectas.** Nevertheless, I perswade myself, that *so far as they have attained*, they have given great examples of the methods and measures wherein an Evangelical Reformation is to be prosecuted, and of the qualifications requisite in the instruments that are to prosecute it, and of the difficulties which may be most likely to obstruct it, and the most likely Directions and Remedies for those obstructions. It may be, 'tis not possible for me to do a greater service unto the Churches on the *best Island* of the universe, than to give a distinct relation of those great examples which have been occurring among Churches of *exiles*, that were driven out of that Island, into an horrible wilderness, meerly for their being well-willers unto the Reformation. When that

* To acknowledge their imperfections.

blessed Martyr Constantine was carried, with other Martyrs, in a *dung-cart*, unto the place of execution, he pleasantly said, "Well, yet we are a precious odour to God in Christ." Though, the Reformed Churches in the American Regions have, by very injurious representations of their brethren, (all which they desire to forget and forgive!) been many times thrown into a *dung-cart;* yet, as they have been a "precious odour to God in Christ," so, I hope, they will be a precious odour unto His people; and not only *precious*, but *useful* also, when the History of them shall come to be considered. A Reformation of the Church is coming on, and I cannot but thereupon say, with the dying Cyrus to his children in *Xenophon*, Ἐκ τῶν προγεγενημένων μανθάνετε, αὐτὴ γὰρ ἀρίστη διδασκαλία. (Learn from the things that have been done already, for this is the best way of learning.) The reader hath here an account of the "things that have been done already." Bernard, upon that clause in the Canticles, ["O thou fairest among women!"] has this ingenious gloss: *Pulchram, non omnimode quidem, sed pulchram inter mulieres eam docet; videlicet cum distinctione, quatenus ex hoc amplius reprimatur, et sciat quid desit sibi.** Thus, I do not say, that the Churches of New-England are the most *regular* that can be; yet I do say, and am sure, that they are very like unto those that were in the first ages of Christianity. And if I assert that, in the Reformation of the Church, the state of it in those first Ages is to be not a little considered, the great Peter Ramus, among others, has emboldened me. For when the Cardinal of Lorrain, the *Mæcenas* of that great man, was offended at him, for turning Protestant, he replied: *Inter Opes illas, quibus me ditâsti, has etiam in æternum recordabor, quod Beneficio Poessiacæ Responsionis tuæ didici, de quindecim a Christo sæculis, primum vere esse aureum; Reliqua, quo longius abscederent, esse nequiora, atque deteriora: tum igitur cum fieret optio, Aureum sæculum delegi.*† In short, the *first* Age was the *golden* Age: to return unto *that*, will make a man a Protestant, and, I may add, a Puritan. 'Tis possible that our Lord Jesus Christ carried some thousands of Reformers into the retirements of an American desart, on purpose that, with an opportunity granted unto many of his faithful servants, to enjoy the precious *liberty* of their Ministry, though in the midst of many temptations all their days, He might there, *to* them first, and then *by* them, give a *specimen* of many good things, which He would have His Churches elsewhere aspire and arise unto; and *this* being done, he knows not whether there be not *all done*, that New-England was planted for; and whether the Plantation may not, soon after this, *come to nothing*. Upon that expression in the sacred Scripture, "Cast the unprofitable servant into outer darkness," it hath been imagined by some, that the *Regiones exteræ*‡ of America, are the *Tenebræ exteriores*,§ which the unprofitable are there condemned unto. No doubt, the authors of those Ecclesiastical impositions and severities, which drove the English Christians into the dark regions of America, esteemed those Christians to be a very unprofitable sort of creatures. But behold, ye European Churches, there are golden Candlesticks [more than twice seven times seven!] in the midst of this "outer darkness:" unto the upright children of Abraham, here hath arisen *light in darkness*. And, let us humbly speak it, it shall be profitable for you to consider the *light* which, from the midst of this "outer darkness," is now to be darted over unto the other side of the Atlantick Ocean. But we must therewithal ask your Prayers, that these "golden Candlesticks" may not quickly be "removed out of their place!"

§ 4. But whether New-England may *live* any where else or no, it must *live* in our History!

History, in general, hath had so many and mighty commendations from the pens of those numberless authors, who, from Herodotus to Howel, have been the professed writers of it,

* The sacred writer calls her fair, not in an absolute sense, but fair *among women;* implying a distinction, in order that his praise may have due qualification, and that she may apprehend her deficiencies.

† Among the many favours with which your bounty has enriched me, I shall keep one in everlasting remembrance—I mean the lesson I have learned through your Reply to the Poissy Conference, that of the fifteen centuries since Christ, the first was the truly golden era of the Church, and that the rest have been successive periods of degeneracy; when therefore I had the power of choosing between them, I preferred the golden age.

‡ Remote regions. § Outer darkness.

that a tenth part of them transcribed, would be a furniture for a *Polyanthea in folio.** We, that have neither liberty, nor occasion, to quote these commendations of History, will content ourselves with the opinion of one who was not much of a professed historian, expressed in that passage, whereto all mankind subscribe, *Historia est Testis temporum, Nuntia vetustatis, Lux veritatis, vita memoriæ, magistra vitæ.*† But of all History it must be confessed, that the palm is to be given unto Church History; wherein the dignity, the suavity, and the utility of the subject is transcendent. I observe, that for the description of the whole world in the Book of Genesis, that first-born of all historians, the great Moses, implies but one or two chapters, whereas he implies, it may be seven times as many chapters, in describing that one little Pavilion, the Tabernacle. And when I am thinking what may be the reason of this difference, methinks it intimates unto us, that the Church wherein the service of God is performed, is much more precious than the world, which was indeed created for the sake and use of the Church. 'Tis very certain, that the greatest entertainments must needs occur in the History of the people whom the Son of God hath redeemed and purified unto himself, as a peculiar people, and whom the Spirit of God, by supernatural operations upon their minds, does cause to live like strangers in this world, conforming themselves unto the Truths and Rules of his Holy Word, in expectation of a Kingdom, whereto they shall be in another and a better World advanced. Such a people our Lord Jesus Christ hath procured and preserved in all ages visible; and the dispensations of his wondrous Providence towards this People, (for, "O Lord, thou dost lift them up and cast them down!") their calamities, their deliverances, the dispositions which they have still discovered, and the considerable *persons* and *actions* found among them, cannot but afford matters of *admiration* and *admonition*, above what any other story can pretend unto: 'tis nothing but Atheism in the hearts of men, that can perswade them otherwise. Let any person of good sense peruse the History of Herodotus, which, like a river taking rise where the Sacred Records of the Old Testament leave off, runs along smoothly and sweetly, with relations that sometimes perhaps want an *apology*, down until the Grecians drive the Persians before them. Let him then peruse Thucydides, who, from *acting*, betook himself to *writing*, and carries the ancient state of the Grecians down to the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian wars, in a manner which Casaubon judges to be *Mirandum potius quam imitandum.*‡ Let him next revolve Xenophon, that "Bee of Athens," who continues a narrative of the Greek affairs from the Peloponnesian wars to the battle of Mantinea, and gives us a Cyrus into the bargain, at such a rate, that Lipsius reckons the character of a *Suavis, Fidus et Circumspectus Scriptor,*§ to belong unto him. Let him from hence proceed unto Diodorus Siculus, who, besides a rich treasure of Egyptian, Assyrian, Lybian and Grecian, and other Antiquities, in a phrase which, according to Photius's judgment, is ἱστορίᾳ μάλιστα πρέπωσῃ, [of all most becoming an historian,] carries on the thread begun by his predecessors, until the end of the hundred and nineteenth Olympiad; and where he is defective, let it be supplied from Arrianus, from Justin, and from Curtius, who, in the relish of Colerus, is *Quovis melle dulcior.*‖ Let him hereupon consult Polybius, and acquaint himself with the birth and growth of the Roman Empire, as far as 'tis described in five of the forty books composed by an author who, with a learned Professor of History, is *Prudens Scriptor, si quis alius.*¶ Let him now run over the table of the Roman affairs, compendiously given by Lucius Florus, and then let him consider the transactions of above three hundred years reported by Dionysius Halicarnassæus, who, if the censure of Bodin may be taken, *Græcos omnes et Latinos superâsse videatur.*** Let him from hence pass to Livy, of whom the

* An anthology.

† History is Time's witness, the messenger of Antiquity, the lamp of Truth, the embodied soul of Memory, the guide of human Life."—CICERO, *de Oratore*, ii. 9. [Slightly transposed, showing that the writer quotes from recollection.]

‡ Rather to be admired than imitated.

§ An agreeable, faithful, and accurate writer.

‖ Sweeter than honey.

¶ A sagacious historian, if one ever existed.

** Appears to have outdone all other Greek and the Latin authors.

famous critick says, *Hoc solum ingenium (de Historicis Loquor) populus Romanus par Imperio suo habuit,** and supply those of his *Decads* that are lost, from the best fragments of antiquity, in others (and especially Dion and Sallust) that lead us on still further in our way. Let him then proceed unto the writers of the Cesarean times, and first revolve Suetonius, then Tacitus, then Herodian, then a whole army more of historians which now crowd into our Library; and unto all the rest, let him not fail of adding the incomparable Plutarch, whose books, they say, Theodore Gaza preferred before any in the world, next unto the inspired oracles of the Bible: but if the number be still too little to satisfie an historical appetite, let him add Polyhistor unto the number, and all the Chronicles of the following ages. After all, he must sensibly acknowledge that the two short books of Ecclesiastical History, written by the evangelist Luke, hath given us more glorious entertainments than all these voluminous historians if they were put all together. The atchievements of one Paul particularly, which that evangelist hath emblazoned, have more *true glory* in them, than all the acts of those execrable plunderers and murderers, and irresistible banditti of the world, which have been dignified by the name of "conquerors." Tacitus counted *Ingentia bella, expugnationes urbium, fusos captosque reges,*† the rages of war, and the glorious violences, whereof great warriors make a wretched ostentation, to be the *noblest matter* for an historian. But there is a nobler, I humbly conceive, in the planting and forming of Evangelical Churches, and the temptations, the corruptions, the afflictions, which assault them, and their salvations from those assaults, and the exemplary lives of those that Heaven employs to be patterns of holiness and usefulness upon earth: and unto such it is, that I now invite my readers; things, in comparison whereof, the subjects of many other Histories are of as little weight as the questions about *Z*, the last letter of our Alphabet, and whether *H* is to be pronounced with an aspiration, where about whole volumes have been written, and of no more account than the composure of Didymus. But for the manner of my treating this *matter*, I must now give some account unto him.

§ 5. *Reader!* I have done the part of an impartial historian, albeit not without all occasion perhaps, for the rule which a worthy writer, in his *Historica*, gives to every reader, *Historici legantur cum moderatione et venia, et cogitetur fieri non posse ut in omnibus circumstantiis sint lyncei.*‡ Polybius complains of those historians, who always made either the Carthagenians brave, or the Romans base, or *e contra*, in all their actions, as their affection for their own party led them. I have endeavoured, with all good conscience, to decline this writing meerly for a party, or doing like the dealer in History, whom Lucian derides, for always calling the captain of his own party an Achilles, but of the adverse party a Thersites: nor have I added unto the just provocations for the complaint made by the Baron Maurier, that the greatest *part* of Histories are but so many panegyricks composed by interested hands, which elevate iniquity to the heavens, like Paterculus, and like Machiavel, who propose Tiberius Cesar, and Cesar Borgia, as examples fit for imitation, whereas true History would have exhibited them as horrid monsters—as very devils. 'Tis true, I am not of the opinion that one cannot merit the name of an impartial historian, except he write bare *matters of fact* without all *reflection;* for I can tell where to find this given as the definition of History, *Historia est rerum gestarum, cum laude aut vituperatione, narratio:*§ and if I am not altogether a Tacitus, when *vertues* or *vices* occur to be matters of reflection, as well as of relation, I will, for my vindication, appeal to Tacitus himself, whom Lipsius calls one of the prudentest (though Tertullian, long before, counts him one of the *lyingest*) of them who have enriched the world with History: he says, *Præcipuum munus Annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis Dictis, Factisque ex posteritate et Infamia metus sit.*‖ I have

* In him alone (so far as historians are concerned) the Roman people found a genius worthy of their matchless empire.

† Great wars, sacked cities, kings in flight or chains. [every thing.

‡ Readers should exercise leniency towards historians, and bear it in mind that they cannot be infallible in

§ History is the narration of great transactions, with awards of praise or censure to the actors.

‖ I deem it to be the highest office of History to blazon abroad the virtues of the race, and to hold up before depravity, whether it be in word or deed, the dread of eternal obloquy.—Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 65.

not commended any person, but when I have really judged, not only that he *deserved* it, but also that it would be a benefit unto posterity to know wherein he deserved it: and my judgment of desert, hath not been biassed by persons being of my own particular judgment, in matters of disputation, among the Churches of God. I have been as willing to wear the name of *Simplicius Verinus*, throughout my whole undertaking, as he that, before me, hath assumed it: nor am I like Pope Zachary, impatient so much as to hear of any Antipodes. That spirit of a Schlusselbergius, who falls foul with fury and reproach on all who differ from him; the spirit of an Heylin, who seems to count no obloquy too hard for a reformer; and the spirit of those (folio-writers there are, some of them, in the English nation!) whom a noble Historian stigmatizes, as, "Those hot-headed, passionate bigots, from whom, 'tis enough, if you be of a religion contrary unto theirs, to be defamed, condemned and pursued with a thousand calumnies." I thank Heaven I hate it with all my heart. But how can the *lives* of the commendable be written without commending them? or, is that law of History, given in one of the eminentest pieces of antiquity we now have in our hands, wholly antiquated, *Maxime proprium est Historiæ, Laudem rerum egregie gestarum persequi?*"* nor have I, on the other side, forbore to mention many *censurable* things, even in the best of my friends, when the things, in my opinion, were not good; or so bore away for Placentia, in the course of our story, as to pass by Verona; but been mindful of the direction which Polybius gives to the historian: "It becomes him that writes an History, sometimes to extol enemies in his praises, when their praise worthy actions bespeak it, and at the same time to reprove the best friends, when their deeds appear worthy of a reproof; in-as-much as History is good for nothing, if truth (which is the very eye of the animal) be not in it." Indeed, I have thought it my duty upon all accounts, (and if it have proceeded unto the degree of a fault, there is, it may be, something in my temper and nature that has betrayed me therein,) to be more sparing and easie, in thus mentioning of censurable things, than in my other liberty: a writer of Church-History should, I know, be like the builder of the temple, one of the tribe of Naphthali; and for this I will also plead my Polybius in my excuse: "It is not the work of an historian, to commemorate the vices and villanies of men, so much as their just, their fair, their honest actions; and the readers of History get more good by the objects of their emulation, than of their indignation." Nor do I deny that, though I cannot approve the conduct of Josephus; (whom Jerom not unjustly nor inaptly calls "the Greek Livy,") when he left out of his Antiquities, the story of the *golden Calf*, and I don't wonder to find Chamier, and Rivet, and others, taxing him for his partiality towards his country-men; yet I have left unmentioned some censurable occurrences in the story of our Colonies, as things no less unuseful than improper to be raised out of the grave, wherein Oblivion hath now buried them; lest I should have incurred the *pasquil* bestowed upon Pope Urban, who, employing a committee to rip up the old errors of his predecessors, one clapped a pair of spurs upon the heels of the statue of St. Peter; and a label from the statue of St. Paul opposite thereunto, upon the bridge, asked him, "Whither he was bound?" St. Peter answered, "I apprehend some danger in staying here; I fear they'll call me in question for denying my Master." And St. Paul replied, "Nay, then I had best be gone too, for they'll question me also for persecuting the Christians before my conversion." Briefly, my pen shall reproach none that can give a good word unto any good man that is not of their own faction, and shall fall out with none but those that can agree with no body else, except those of their own schism. If I draw any sort of men with charcoal, it shall be because I remember a notable passage of the best Queen that ever was in the world, our late Queen Mary. Monsieur Juvien, that he might justifie the Reformation in Scotland, made a very black representation of their old Queen Mary; for which, a certain sycophant would have incensed our Queen Mary against that Reverend person, saying, "Is it not a shame that this man, without any consideration for your royal person, should dare to throw such infamous calumnies upon a Queen, from whom your Royal Highness is descended?" But that excellent Princess replied, "No, not

* It is History's truest prerogative, to praise noble achievements.

at all; is it not enough that, by fulsome praises, great persons be lulled asleep all their lives; but must flattery accompany them to their very graves? How should they fear the judgment of posterity, if historians be not allowed to speak the truth after their death?" But whether I do myself commend, or whether I give my reader an opportunity to censure, I am careful above all things to do it with truth; and as I have considered the words of Plato, *Deum indigne et graviter ferre, cum quis ei similem, hoc est, virtute præstantem, vituperet, aut laudet contrarium:** so I have had the Ninth Commandment of a greater law-giver than Plato, to preserve my care of Truth from first to last. If any mistake have been any where committed, it will be found meerly *circumstantial*, and wholly *involuntary;* and let it be remembered, that though no historian ever merited better than the incomparable Thuanus, yet learned men have said of *his* work, what they never shall truly say of *ours*, that it contains *multa falsissima et indigna.*† I find Erasmus himself mistaking *one* man for *two*, when writing of the ancients. And even our own English writers too are often mistaken, and in matters of a very late importance, as Baker, and Heylin, and Fuller, (professed historians) tell us that Richard Sutton, a single man, founded the Charter-House; whereas his name was Thomas, and he was a married man. I think I can recite such mistakes, it may be *sans* number occurring in the most credible writers; yet I hope I shall *commit* none such. But although I thus challenge, as my due, the character of an *impartial*, I doubt I may not challenge that of an *elegant* historian. I cannot say whether the style wherein this Church-History is written, will please the modern criticks: but if I seem to have used ἀπλουστατῃ συνταξει γραφης,‡ a simple, submiss, humble style, 'tis the same that Eusebius affirms to have been used by Hegesippus, who, as far as we understand, was the first author (after Luke) that ever composed an entire body of Ecclesiastical History, which he divided into five books, and entituled, ὑπομνηματα των ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραξεων.§ Whereas others, it may be, will reckon the *style* embellished with too much of *ornament*, by the multiplied references to other and former concerns, closely couched, for the observation of the attentive, in almost every paragraph; but I must confess, that I am of his mind who said, *Siçuti sal modice cibis aspersus Condit, et gratiam saporis addit, ita si paulum antiquitatis admiscueris, Oratio fit venustior.*‖ And I have seldom seen that way of writing faulted, but by those who, for a certain odd reason, sometimes find fault that "the grapes are not ripe." These embellishments (of which yet I only—*Veniam pro laude peto*¶) are not the puerile spoils of Polyanthea's; but I should have asserted them to be as choice *flowers* as most that occur in ancient or modern writings, almost unavoidably putting themselves into the author's hand, while about his work, if those words of Ambrose had not a little frighted me, as well as they did Baronius, *Unumquemque Fallunt sua scripta.*** I observe that learned men have been so terrified by the reproaches of pedantry, which little smatterers at reading and learning have, by their quoting humours, brought upon themselves, that, for to avoid all approaches towards that which those feeble creatures have gone to imitate, the best way of writing has been most injuriously deserted. But what shall we say? The best way of writing under heaven shall be the worst, when Erasmus, his monosyllable tyrant, [illegible]ve it so! and if I should have resigned my self wholly to the judgment of *others*, [illegible]y of writing to have taken, the story of the two statues made by Policletus tells what may have been the issue: he contrived one of them according to the rules that best pleased himself, and the other according to the fancy of every one that looked upon his work: the former was afterwards applauded by all, and the latter derided by those very persons who had given their directions for it. As for such unaccuracies as the critical may

* It is offensive to Deity himself when dishonour is cast on such as resemble Him in the loftiness of their virtue, or when praise is bestowed on their opposites.

† Much that is most false and unworthy.

‡ The simplest style of writing.

§ Memoirs of ecclesiastical transactions.

‖ As a little salt seasons food, and increases its relish, so a spice of antiquity heightens the charm of style.

¶ Ask pardon for this self-praise.

** Every writer forms mistaken judgments of his own productions.

discover, *Opere in longo*,* I appeal to the courteous for a favourable construction of them; and certainly they will be favourably judged of, when there is considered the variety of my other imployments; which have kept me in continual hurries, I had almost said like those of the ninth sphere, for the few months in which this Work has been digesting. It was a thing well thought, by the wise designers of Chelsey-Colledge, wherein able historians were one sort of persons to be maintained; that the Romanists do in one point condemn the Protestants; for among the Romanists, they don't burden their Professor with any *Parochial incumbrances;* but among the Protestants, the very same individual man must preach, catechize, administer the Sacraments, visit the afflicted, and manage all the parts of Church-discipline; and if any books for the service of Religion be written, persons thus extreamly incumbered must be the writers. Now, of all the Churches under heaven, there are none that expects so much *variety* of service from their Pastors as those of New-England; and of all the Churches in New-England, there are none that require more than those in Boston, the metropolis of the English America; whereof *one* is, by the Lord Jesus Christ, committed unto the care of the unworthy hand by which this History is compiled. Reader, give me leave humbly to mention, with him in Tully, *Antequam de re, Pauca de me!* † Constant sermons, usually more than once, and perhaps three or four times in a week, and all the other duties of a pastoral watchfulness, a very large flock has all this while demanded of me; wherein, if I had been furnished with as many heads as a Typheus, as many eyes as an Argos, and as many hands as a Briareus, I might have had work enough to have employed them all; nor hath my station left me free from obligations to spend very much time in the Evangelical service of *others* also. It would have been a great *sin* in me to have *omitted*, or *abated*, my just cares, to *fulfil my Ministry in these things*, and in a manner *give my self wholly to them.* All the time I have had for my Church-History, hath been perhaps only, or chiefly, that which I might have taken else for less profitable recreations; and it hath all been done by *snatches.* My reader will not find me the person intended in his Littany, when he says, *Libera me ab homine unius negotii:* ‡ nor have I spent thirty years in shaping this my History, as Diodorus Siculus did for his, [and yet both Bodinus and Sigonius complain of the σφαλματα § attending it. But I wish I could have enjoyed, entirely for this work, one quarter of the little more than two years which have rolled away since I began it; whereas I have been forced sometimes wholly to throw by the work whole months together, and then resume it, but by a stolen hour or two in the day, not without some hazard of incurring the *title* which Coryat put upon his History of his Travels, "*Crudities hastily gobbled up in five months.*" Protogenes being seven years in drawing a picture, Apelles, upon the sight of it, said, "The grace of the work was much allayed by the length of the time." Whatever else there may have been to take off the "grace of the work" now in the reader's hands, (whereof the *pictures* of great and good men make a considerable part,) I am sure there hath not been the "length of the time" to do it. Our English Martyrologer counted it a sufficient *apology* for what meanness might be found in the first edition of his "acts and monuments," that it was "hastily rashed up in about fourteen months:" and I may apologize for this collection of our "acts and monuments," that I should have been glad, in the little more than two years which have ran out since I entred upon it, if I could have had one half of "about fourteen months" to have entirely devoted thereunto. But besides the *time*, which the daily services of my own first, and then many other Churches, have necessarily called for, I have lost abundance of precious time through the feeble and broken state of my health, which hath unfitted me for hard study; I can do nothing to purpose at lucubrations. And yet, in this time also of the two or three years last past, I have not been excused from the further diversion of publishing (though not so many as they say Mercurius Trismegistus did, yet) more than a score of other *books*, upon a copious variety of other subjects, besides the composing of several more, that are not yet published.

* In the course of a long work.

† Before I talk of my subject, I must say a few things about myself.

‡ Deliver me from a man of one idea.

§ Mistakes.

Nor is this neither all the task that I have in this while had lying upon me; for (though I am very sensible of what Jerom said, *Non bene fit, quod occupato Animo fit;** and of Quintilian's remark, *Non simul in multa intendere Animus totum potest;*† when I applied my mind unto this way of serving the Lord JESUS CHRIST in my generation, I set upon another and a greater, which has had, I suppose, more of my *thought* and *hope* than this, and wherein there hath passed me, for the most part, *Nulla dies sine linea.*‡ I considered, that all sort of *learning* might be made gloriously subservient unto the illustration of the sacred Scripture; and that no *professed commentaries* had hitherto given a thousandth part of so much *illustration* unto it, as might be given. I considered that multitudes of *particular texts* had, especially of later years, been more notably illustrated in the *scattered* books of learned men, than in any of the ordinary commentators. And I considered that the *treasures* of *illustration* for the Bible, dispersed in many hundred volumes, might be fetched all together by a labour that would resolve to *conquer all things;* and that all the *improvements* which the later ages have made in the sciences, might be also, with an inexpressible pleasure, called in, to Christ the *illustration* of the holy oracles, at a rate that hath not been attempted in the vulgar Annotations; and that a common degree of sense would help a person, who should converse much with these things, to attempt sometimes also an *illustration* of his own, which might expect some attention. Certainly, it will not be ungrateful unto good men, to have innumerable Antiquities, *Jewish*, *Chaldee*, *Arabian*, *Grecian*, and *Roman*, brought home unto us, with a *sweet light* reflected from them on the *word*, which is our *light;* or, to have all the *typical* men and things in our Book of Mysteries, accommodated with their Antitypes: or, to have many hundreds of references to our dearest Lord Messiah, discovered in the writings which *testifie of Him*, oftner than the most of mankind have hitherto imagined: or, to have the *histories* of all *ages*, coming in with punctual and surprising *fulfilments* of the divine Prophecies, as far as they have been hitherto fulfilled; and not mere *conjectures*, but even mathematical and incontestible *demonstrations*, given of *expositions* offered upon the Prophecies, that yet remain to be accomplished: or, to have in *one heap*, thousands of those "remarkable discoveries of the deep things of the Spirit of God," whereof *one* or *two*, or a few, sometimes, have been, with good success, accounted materials enough to advance a person into Authorism; or to have the delicious *curiosities* of Grotius, and Bochart, and Mede, and Lightfoot, and Selden, and Spencer, (carefully selected and corrected,) and many more giants in knowledge, all set upon one Table.

Travellers tell us, that at Florence there is a rich table, worth a thousand crowns, made of precious stones neatly inlaid; a table that was fifteen years in making, with no less than thirty men daily at work upon it; even such a table could not afford so rich entertainments, as one that should have the soul-feasting thoughts of those learned men together set upon it. Only 'tis pity, that instead of one poor feeble American, overwhelmed with a thousand other cares, and capable of touching this work no otherwise than in a digression, there be not more than thirty men daily imployed about it. For, when the excellent Mr. Pool had finished his laborious and immortal task, it was noted by some considerable persons, "That wanting assistance to collect for him many miscellaneous criticisms, occasionally scattered in other authors, he left many better things behind him than he found." And more than all this, our Essay is levelled, if it be not anticipated with that Epitaph, *Magnis tamen excidit ausis.*§ Designing accordingly, to give the Church of God such displays of his blessed word, as may be more entertaining for the rarity and novelty of them, than any that have hitherto been seen together in any *exposition;* and yet such as may be acceptable unto the most judicious, for the demonstrative truth of them, and unto the most orthodox, for the regard had unto the *Analogy of Faith* in all, I have now, in a few months, got ready an huge

* Nothing is well done, which is undertaken with a mind prëoccupied.

No one can bestow his *whole* attention upon several things at the same time.

‡ Every day has added at least a line.

§ Nevertheless, he fell short of his great enterprise.

number of *golden keys* to open the pandects of Heaven, and some thousands of charming and curious, and singular notes, by the *new help* whereof, the word of CHRIST *may run and be glorified.* If the *God of my life* will please to spare (my life my yet sinful, and slothful, and thereby forfeited life!) as many years longer as the barren fig-tree had in the parable, I may make unto the Church of God an humble tender of our *Biblia Americana,** a volume enriched with better things than all the plate of the Indies; YET NOT I, BUT THE GRACE OF CHRIST WITH ME. My reader sees why I commit the fault of a περιαυτια,† which appears in the mention of these minute passages; 'tis to excuse whatever other fault of inaccuracy or inadvertency may be discovered in an History, which hath been a sort of rhapsody made up (like the paper whereon 'tis written!) with many little rags, torn from an imployment multifarious enough to overwhelm one of my small capacities.

Magna dabit, qui magna potest; mihi parva potenti,
Parvaque poscenti, parva dedisse sat est.‡

§ 6. But shall I prognosticate thy fate, now that,

Parve (sed invideo) sine me, liber, ibis in urbem. §

Luther, who was himself owner of such an heart, advised every historian to get the *Heart of a lion;* and the more I consider of the provocation, which this our Church-History must needs give to that roaring Lion who has, through all ages hitherto, been tearing the church to pieces, the more occasion I see to wish my self a *Cœur de Lion.* But had not my heart been trebly oak'd and brass'd for such encounters as this our history may meet withal, I would have worn the silk-worms motto, *Operitur dum operatur,*‖ and have chosen to have written *Anonymously;* or, as Claudius Salmasius calls himself *Walo Messelinus*, as Ludovicus Molinæus calls himself *Ludiomœus Colvinus*, as Carolus Scribanius calls himself *Clarus Bonarscius*, (and no less men than Peter du Moulin and Dr. Henry More, stile themselves, the one *Hippolytus Fronto*, the other *Franciscus Paleopolitanus.*) Thus I would have tried whether I could not have Anagrammatized my name into some concealment; or I would have referred it to be found in the second chapter of the second Syntagm of *Selden de Diis Syris.* Whereas now I freely confess, 'tis COTTON MATHER that has written all these things;

Me, me, adsum qui scripsi; in me convertite ferrum. ¶

I hope 'tis a right work that I have done; but we are not yet arrived unto the day, "wherein God will bring every work into judgment," (the day of the kingdom that was promised unto David,) and a Son of David hath as truly as wisely told us, that until the arrival of that happy day, this is one of the *vanities* attending humane affairs: "For a right work, a man shall be envied of his neighbour." It will not be so much a surprise unto me, if I should live to see our Church-History vexed with *anie mad-versions* of calumnious writers, as it would have been unto Virgil, to read his *Bucolicks* reproached by the *Anti-bucolica* of a nameless scribbler, and his *Æneids* travestied by the *Æneidomastix* of Carbilius: or Herennius taking pains to make a collection of the *faults*, and Faustinus of the *thefts*, in his incomparable composures: yea, Pliny and Seneca themselves, and our Jerom, reproaching him, as a man of no judgment nor skill in sciences; while Pœdianus affirms of him, that he was himself, *Usque adeo invidiæ expers, ut si quid erudite dictum inspiceret alterius, non minus*

* American Scriptures.

† Egotistical discussion.

‡ Great things he gives who hath them; 'tis my lot
To own and ask for *little:* but the call
Of Heaven is answered if I give *my all.*
OVID, *Trist.* i. 1. 1.

§ Thou, little Book, while I behind thee stay,
To the great world dost take thine envied way.

‖ The more closely she toils, the more closely she hides.

¶ I wrote it!—I!—vent all your spite on me!—VIRGIL, *Æneid*, ix. 427 (*travestied*).

*gauderet ac si suum esset.** How should a book no better laboured than this of ours, escape Zoilian outrages when in all ages the most exquisite works have been as much vilified as Plato's by Scaliger, and Aristotle's by Lactantius? In the time of our K. Edward VI. there was an order to bring in all the teeth of St. Appollonia, which the people of his one kingdom carried about them for the cure of the tooth-ach; and they were so many that they almost filled a tun. Truly *Envy* hath as many *teeth* as Madam Apollonia would have had, if all those pretended reliques had been really hers. And must all these *teeth* be fastened on thee, O my Book? It may be so! and yet the *Book*, when ground between these *teeth*, will prove like Ignatius in the *teeth* of the furious tygers, "The whiter manchet for the Churches of God." The greatest and fiercest rage of *envy*, is that which I expect from those IDUMÆANS, whose religion is all ceremony, and whose charity is more for them who deny the most essential things in the articles and homilies of the Church of England, than for the most conscientious men in the world, who manifest their being so, by their dissent in some little ceremony; or those persons whose hearts are notably expressed in those words used by one of them ['tis Howel in his *Familiar Letters*, vol. 1., sec. 6, lett. 32,] "I rather pity, than hate, Turk or Infidel, for they are of the same metal, and bear the same stamp as I do, though the inscriptions differ; if I hate any, 'tis those schismaticks that puzzle the sweet peace of our Church; so that I could be content to see an Anabaptist go to hell on a Brownist's back." The writer whom I last quoted, hath given us a story of a young man in High-Holbourn, who being after his death dissected, there was a serpent with divers tails found in the left ventricle of his heart. I make no question, that our Church-History will find some reader disposed like that writer, with an heart as full of serpent and venom as ever it can hold: nor indeed will they be able to hold, but the tongues and pens of those angry folks will scourge me as with scorpions, and cause me to feel (if I will feel) as many lashes as Cornelius Agrippa expected from their brethren, for the book in which he exposed their vanities. A scholar of the great JUELS made once about fourscore verses, for which the Censor of Corpus Christi Colledge, in the beginning of Queen *Maries* reign, publickly and cruelly scourged him, with one lash for every verse. Now, in those verses, the young man's prayers to the Lord JESUS CHRIST have this for part of the answer given to them:

Respondet Dominus, spectans de sedibus altis,	IN ENGLISH.
Ne dubites recte credere, parve puer.	The Lord, beholding from his throne, reply'd,
Olim sum passus mortem, nunc occupo dextram	"Doubt not, O Youth! firmly in me confide:
Patris, nunc summi sunt mea regna poli.	I dy'd long since, now sit at the right hand
Sed tu, crede mihi, vires Scriptura resumet,	Of my bless'd Father, and the world command.
Tolleturque suo tempore missa nequam.	Believe me, Scripture shall regain her sway,
	And wicked Mass in due time fade away."

Reader, I also expect nothing but scourges from that generation to whom the *mass-book* is dearer than the *Bible:* but I have now likewise confessed another expectation, that shall be my consolation under a... They tell us, that on the highest of the Capsian mountains, in Spain, there is a lake, whereinto if you throw a stone, there presently ascends a smoke which forms a dense cloud, from whence issues a tempest of rain, hail, and horrid thunder-claps for a good quarter of an hour. Our Church-History will be like a stone cast into that lake, for the furious tempest which it will raise among some, whose Ecclesiastical dignities have set them as on the top of Spanish mountains. The Catholick spirit of communion wherewith 'tis written, and the liberty which I have taken to tax the schismatical impositions and persecutions of a party who have always been as real enemies to the English nation as to the Christian and Protestant interest, will certainly bring upon the whole composure the quick censures of that party at the first cast of their look upon it. In the Duke of Alva's council of twelve judges, there was one Hessels, a Flemming, who slept always at the trial of criminals, and when they waked him to deliver his opinion, he rubbed his

* He was so incapable of envy that, whenever he fell in with an elegant expression from the pen of another, he was as much delighted as if it had been his own.

eves, and cryed, between sleeping and waking, *Ad patibulum! Ad patibulum!* "to the gallows with them!" [And, by the way, this blade was himself, at the last, condemned unto the gallows without an hearing!] As quick censures must this our labour expect from those who will not bestow waking thoughts upon the representations of Christianity here made unto the world: but have a sentence of death always to pass, or at least wish, upon those generous principles, without which, 'tis impossible to maintain the Reformation: and I confess I am very well content, that this our labour takes the fate of those principles: nor do I dissent from the words of the excellent Whitaker upon Luther, "*Fœlix ille, quem Dominus eo Honore dignatus est, ut Homines nequissimos suos haberet inimicos.** But if the old epigrammatist when he saw guilty folks raving mad at his lines, could say:

Hoc volo; nunc nobis carmina nostra placent:†

certainly an historian should not be displeased at it, if the enemies of truth discover their madness at the true and free communications of his history; and therefore the more stones they throw at this book, there will not only be the more proofs that it is a tree which hath good fruits growing upon it, but I will build my self a monument with them, whereon shall be inscribed that clause in the epitaph of the martyr Stephen:

Excepit lapides, cui petra Christus erat:‡

Albeit perhaps the epitaph,§ which the old monks bestowed upon Wickliff, will be rather endeavoured for me, (if I am thought worth one!) by the men who will, with all possible *monkery*, strive to stave off the approaching Reformation.

But since an undertaking of this nature must thus encounter so much envy from those who are under the power of the *spirit that works in the children of unperswadeableness*, methinks I might perswade my self, that it will find another sort of entertainment from those good men who have a better spirit in them: for, as the Apostle James hath noted, (so with Monsieur Claude I read it,) "The spirit that is in us lusteth against envy;" and yet, even in *us* also, there will be the *flesh*, among whose works one is *envy*, which will be *lusting* against the *spirit*. All good men will not be satisfied with every thing that is here set before them. In my own country, besides a considerable number of loose and vain inhabitants risen up, to whom the Congregational Church-discipline, which cannot live well where the power of godliness dyes, is become distasteful for the purity of it; there is also a number of eminently godly persons, who are for a larger way, and unto these my Church-History will give distaste, by the things which it may happen to utter in favour of that Church-discipline on some few occasions; and the discoveries which I may happen to make of my apprehensions, that *Scripture*, and *reason*, and *antiquity* is for it; and that it is not far from a glorious resurrection. But that, as the famous Mr. Baxter, after thirty or forty years hard study, about the true instituted Church-discipline, at last not only owned, but also invincibly proved, that it is *the congregational;* so, the further that the *unprejudiced studies* of learned men proceed in this matter, the more generally the Congregational Church-discipline will be pronounced for. On the other side, there are some among us who very strictly profess the Congregational Church-discipline, but at the same time they have an

* Happy Luther! whom the Lord signalized with the honour of having the greatest reprobates for his worst enemies.

† I'm pleased at last: victorious is my wit:
The galled jade winces, and my mark is hit.—*Martial, Epig.* vi. 614.

‡ A specimen of the bad taste for playing upon words, which so much disfigures ancient scholastic literature:
He died by *stoning*, but his *Rock* was Christ.

§ We take the effusion alluded to by our author, with the context, from Speed's *Chronicle*, [p. 760, ed. 1623.]—"This famous Doctor, dying of a palsie, hath this *charitable Euloge* or *Epitaph* bestowed on him by a Monke: The Divells Instrument, Churches Enemy, Peoples Confusion, Hereticks Idoll, Hypocrites Mirrour, Schismes Broacher, Hatreds Sower, Lyes Forger, Flatteries Sinke; who at his death despaired like *Cain*, and stricken by the horrible judgment of God, breathed forth his wicked soule to the darke mansion of the black divell."

unhappy narrowness of soul, by which they confine their value and kindness too much unto their own party: and unto those my Church-History will be offensive, because my regard unto our own declared principles does not hinder me from giving the right hand of fellowship unto the valuable servants of the Lord Jesus Christ, who find not our Church-discipline as yet agreeable unto their present understandings and illuminations. If it be thus in my own country, it cannot be otherwise in that whereto I send this account of my own. Briefly, as it hath been said, that if all *Episcopal* men were like Archbishop Usher, and all *Presbyterians* like Stephen Marshal, and all *Independents* like Jeremiah Burroughs, the wounds of the Church would soon be healed; my essay to carry that spirit through this whole Church-History, will bespeak wounds for it, from those that are of another spirit. And there will also be in every country those good men, who yet have not had the grace of Christ so far prevailing in them, as utterly to divest them of that piece of ill-nature which the Comedian resents, *In homine imperito, quo nil quicquam injustius, quia nisi quod ipse facit, nil recte factum putat.* *

However, all these things, and an hundred more such things which I think of, are very small discouragements for such a service as I have here endeavoured. I foresee a recompence which will abundantly swallow up all discouragements! It may be Strato the Philosopher counted himself well recompenced for his labours, when Ptolemy bestowed fourscore talents on him. It may be, Archimelus the poet counted himself well recompenced, when Hiero sent him a thousand bushels of wheat for one little epigram: and Saleius the poet might count himself well recompenced, when Vespasian sent him twelve thousand and five hundred philippicks; and Oppian the poet might count himself well recompenced, when Caracalla sent him a piece of gold for every line that he had inscribed unto him. As I live in a country where such recompences never were in fashion; it hath no preferments for me, and I shall count that I am well rewarded in it, if I can escape without being heavily reproached, censured and condemned, for what I have done: so I thank the Lord, I should exceedingly scorn all such mean considerations, I seek not out for benefactors, to whom these labours may be dedicated: there is ONE to whom all is due! from him I shall have a recompence: and what recompence? The recompence, whereof I do, with inexpressible joy, assure my self is this, That these my poor labours will certainly serve the Churches and interests of the Lord Jesus Christ. And I think I may say, that I ask to live no longer than I count a service unto the Lord Jesus Christ and his Churches, to be it self a glorious recompence for the doing of it. When David was contriving to build the house of God, there was that order given from Heaven concerning him, "Go tell David my servant." The adding of that more than royal title unto the name of David, was a sufficient recompence for all his contrivance about the house of God. In our whole Church-History, we have been at work for the house of the Lord Jesus Christ, [even that Man, who is the Lord God, and whose form seems on that occasion represented unto His David.] And herein 'tis recompence enough, that I have been a servant unto that heavenly Lord. The greatest *honour*, and the sweetest *pleasure*, out of heaven, is to serve our illustrious Lord JESUS CHRIST, who hath "loved us, and given himself for us:" and unto whom it is infinitely reasonable that we should give our selves, and all that we have and are: and it may be the Angels in Heaven, too, aspire not after an higher felicity.

Unto thee, therefore, O thou Son of God, and King of Heaven, and Lord of all things, whom all the glorious Angels of Light unspeakably love to glorifie; I humbly offer up a poor History of Churches, which own thee alone for their Head, and Prince, and Law-Giver; Churches which thou hast purchased with thy own blood, and with wonderful dispensations of thy Providence hitherto protected and

* "No one is more illiberal than he
Whom ignorance has bloated with conceit:—
Nought is well done but what he does himself."—TERENCE, *Adelphi*, Act. i., Scene 2, ver. 18.

preserved; and of a people which thou didst form for thy self, to shew forth thy praises. I bless thy great Name, for thy inclining of me to, and carrying of me through, the work of this History: I pray thee to sprinkle the book of this History with thy blood, and make it acceptable and profitable unto thy Churches, and serve thy Truths and Ways among thy people, by that which thou hast here prepared; for 'tis THOU *that hast prepared it for them.* AMEN.

Quid sum? Nil.—Quis sum? Nullus.—Sed gratia CHRISTI,
*Quod sum, quod vivo, quodque laboro, facit.**

* What am I? Nothing.—Sovereign Grace alone
Lives in my life, and does what I have done.

THE FIRST BOOK.

ANTIQUITIES;

OR,

A FIELD PREPARED FOR CONSIDERABLE THINGS TO BE ACTED THEREUPON.

THE INTRODUCTION.

א"ה *

It was not long ago, as about the middle of the former century, that under the influences of that admirable hero and martyr, of the Protestant religion, Gasper Coligni, the great Admiral of France, a noble and learned knight called Villagagnon, began to attempt the Settlement of some Colonies in America, (as it was declared) for the propagation of that religion. He sailed with several ships of no small burthen, till he arrived at Brasile; where he thought there were now shown him quiet seats, for the retreat of a people harrassed already with deadly persecutions, and threatned with yet more calamities. Thence he wrote home letters unto that glorious patron of the reformed churches, to inform him, that he had now a fair prospect of seeing those churches erected, multiplied, and sheltered in the southern regions of the New World; and requested him, that Geneva might supply them with Pastors for the planting of such churches in these New Plantations. The blessed Calvin, with his colleagues, thereupon sent of their number two worthy persons, namely Richerius and Quadrigarius, to assist this undertaking; and unto these were joined several more, especially Leirus, and who became a leader to the rest, Corquillerius, an eminent man, for the cause of Christianity, then residing at Geneva. Embarked in three ships, well fitted, they came to the American country, whither they had been invited; and they soon set up an evangelical church order, in those corners of the earth where God in

* If it please God.

our Lord Jesus Christ had never before been called upon. But it was not long before some unhappy controversies arose among them, which drove their principal ministers into Europe again, besides those three that were murthered by their apostate Governour, whose martyrdom Lerius procured Crispin to commemorate in his history, but I now omit in this of ours, *Ne me Crispini scrinia lecti, compilâsse putes*,* and as for the people that staid behind, no other can be learned, but that they are entirely *lost*, either in paganism or disaster: in this, more unhappy sure, than that hundred thousand of their brethren who were soon after butchered at home, in that horrible *massacre*, which then had not, but since hath, known a parallel. So has there been utterly *lost* in a little time, *a country intended for a receptacle of Protestant Churches* on the American Strand. It is the most incomparable *De Thou*, the honourable President of the Parliament at Paris, an Historian whom Casaubon pronounces, "A singular gift of Heaven, to the last age, for an example of piety and probity," that is our author, (besides others) for this History.

'Tis now time for me to tell my reader, that in *our age* there has been another essay made not by French, but by English PROTESTANTS, to fill a certain country in America with *Reformed Churches;* nothing in *doctrine*, little in *discipline*, different from that of Geneva. Mankind will pardon *me*, a native of that country, if smitten with a just fear of incroaching and ill-bodied *degeneracies*, I shall use my modest endeavours to prevent the *loss* of a country so signalized for the *profession* of the purest *Religion*, and for the *protection* of God upon it, in that holy profession. I shall count my country *lost*, in the *loss* of the primitive *principles*, and the primitive *practices*, upon which it was at first established: but certainly one good way to save that *loss*, would be to do something that the memory of the *great things done for us by our God*, may not be *lost*, and that the story of the circumstances attending the *foundation* and *formation* of this country, and of its *preservation* hitherto, may be impartially handed unto posterity. THIS is the undertaking whereto I now address myself; and now, *Grant me thy gracious assistances, O my God! that in this my undertaking I may be kept from every false way: but that sincerely aiming at thy glory in my undertaking, I may find my labours made acceptable and profitable unto thy Churches, and serviceable unto the interests of thy gospel; so let my God think upon me for good; and spare me according to the greatness of thy mercy in the blessed Jesus.* AMEN.

* That you may not suspect me of having rifled the portfolios of *Crispin*.—HORACE, *Sat.* i. l. ver. 120.

CHAPTER I.

VENISTI TANDEM?* OR, DISCOVERIES OF AMERICA;

TENDING TO, AND ENDING IN, DISCOVERIES OF NEW-ENGLAND.

§ 1. It is the opinion of some, though 'tis *but* an *opinion*, and *but* of *some* learned men, that when the sacred oracles of Heaven assure us, *the things under the earth* are some of those, whose *knees are to bow in the name of Jesus*, by those *things* are meant the inhabitants of America, who are Antipodes to those of the other hemisphere. I would not quote any words of Lactantius, though there are *some* to countenance this interpretation, because of their being so *ungeographical:* nor would I go to strengthen the interpretation by reciting the words of the Indians to the first *white invaders* of their territories, *we hear you are come from under the world to take our world from us.* But granting the *uncertainty* of such an exposition, I shall yet give the Church of God a certain account of those *things*, which in America have been believing and adoring the glorious *name* of Jesus; and of that country in America, where those *things* have been attended with circumstances most remarkable. I can contentedly allow that America (which, as the learned Nicholas Fuller observes, might more justly be called Columbina) was altogether unknown to the *penmen* of the Holy Scriptures, and in the *ages* when the Scriptures were penned. I can allow, that those parts of the earth, which do not include America, are, in the inspired writings of Luke and of Paul, stiled *all the world.* I can allow, that the opinion of Torniellus and of Pagius, about the apostles preaching the gospel in America, has been sufficiently refuted by Basnagius. But I am out of the reach of Pope Zachary's excommunication. I can assert the existence of the American Antipodes: and I can report unto the European churches great occurrences among these Americans. Yet I will report every one of them with such a Christian and exact veracity, that no man shall have cause to use about any one of them the words which the great Austin (as *great* as he was) used about the existence of Antipodes; it is a fable, and *nullâ ratione credendum.*†

§ 2. If the *wicked one in whom the whole world lyeth*, were *he*, who like a *dragon*, keeping a guard upon the spacious and mighty *orchards* of America, could have such a *fascination* upon the thoughts of mankind, that neither this *balancing half* of the globe should be considered in Europe, till a little more than two hundred years ago, nor the *clue* that might lead unto it, namely, the *Loadstone*, should be known, till a Neapolitian stumbled upon it, about an hundred years before; yet the overruling *Providence* of the *great God* is to be acknowledged, as well in the

* Hast thou come at last?

† Utterly incredible.

concealing of America for so long a time, as in the *discovering* of it, when the fulness of time was come for the discovery: for we may count America to have been concealed, while mankind in the other hemisphere had lost all acquaintance with it, if we may conclude it had any from the words of Diodorus Siculus, that Phœnecians were, by great storms, driven on the coast of Africa, far *westward*, ἐπι πολλας 'ημερας, *for many days together*, and at last fell in with an Island of prodigious magnitude; or from the words of Plato, that beyond the pillars of Hercules there was an Island in the Atlantick Ocean, αμα λιβυης και Ασιας μειζων, *larger than Africa and Asia put together:* nor should it pass without remark, that *three* most memorable things, which have born a very great aspect upon *humane affairs*, did, near the same time, namely, at the conclusion of the *fifteenth*, and the beginning of the *sixteenth century*, arise unto the world: the first was the *resurrection of literature;* the second was the opening of America; the third was the *Reformation* of *Religion*. But, as probably, the devil seducing the first inhabitants of America into it, therein aimed at the having of them and their posterity out of the sound of the *silver trumpets* of the *Gospel*, then to be heard through the Roman Empire; if the devil had any expectation, that by the peopling of America, he should utterly deprive any Europeans of the two benefits, *Literature* and *Religion*, which dawned upon the miserable world, one just *before*, the other just *after*, the first famed *navigation* hither, 'tis to be hoped he will be disappointed of that expectation. The *Church* of God must no longer be wrapped up in Strabo's cloak; *Geography* must now find work for a *Christiano-graphy* in regions far enough beyond the bounds wherein the *Church* of God had, through all former ages, been circumscribed. Renowned *Churches* of Christ must be gathered where the Ancients once derided them that looked for any *inhabitants*. The mystery of our Lord's garments, made *four parts*, by the soldiers that cast *lots* for them, is to be accomplished in the good sence put upon it by Austin, who, if he had known America, could not have given a better: *Quadripartita vestis Domini Jesu, quadripartitam figuravit ejus Ecclesiam, toto scilicet, qui quatuor partibus constat, terrarum orbe diffusam.**

§ 3. Whatever truth may be in that assertion of one who writes: "If we may credit any records besides the Scriptures, I know it might be said and proved well, that this New World was known, and partly inhabited by Britains, or by Saxons from England, *three or four hundred years before the* Spaniards *coming thither;*" which assertion is demonstrated from the discourses between the Mexicans and the Spaniards at their first arrival; and the Popish *reliques*, as well as British terms and words, which the Spaniards then found among the Mexicans, as well as from undoubted passages, not only in other authors, but even in the British

* The parting of the garment of our Lord Jesus into four pieces was a type of a like division of His Church, which is distributed through the four quarters of the globe.

annals also: nevertheless, mankind generally agree to give unto Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, the honour of being the first European that opened a way into these parts of the world. It was in the year 1492, that this famous man, acted by a most vehement and wonderful *impulse*, was carried into the *northern regions* of this vast hemisphere, which might more justly therefore have received its name from *him*, than from Americus Vesputius, a Florentine, who, in the year 1497, made a further detection of the more *southern regions* in this continent. So a *world*, which has been one great article among the *Res deperditæ** of *Pancirollus*, is now *found out*, and the affairs of the *whole world* have been affected by the finding of it. So the *Church* of our Lord Jesus Christ, well compared unto a *ship*, is now *victoriously* sailing round the *globe* after Sir Francis Drake's renowned ship, called, *The Victory*, which could boast,

Prima ego velivolis ambivi cursibus orbem.†

And yet the story about Columbus himself must be corrected from the information of De la Vega, that "one Sanchez, a native of Helva in Spain, did before him find out these regions." He tells us that Sanchez using to trade in a small vessel to the Canaries, was driven by a furious and tedious tempest over unto these western countries; and at his return he gave to Colon, or Columbus, an account of what he had seen, but soon after died of a disease he had got on his dangerous voyage. However, I shall expect my reader, e'er long, to grant, that some things done since by Almighty God for the English in these regions, have exceeded all that has been hitherto done for any other nation: If this New World were not found out first by the English; yet in those regards that are of all the *greatest*, it seems to be found out more *for* them than any other.

§ 4. But indeed the two Cabots, father and son, under the commission of our King Henry VII., entering upon their generous undertakings in the year 1497, made further discoveries of America, than either Columbus or Vesputius; in regard of which notable enterprizes, the younger of them had very great honours by the Crown put upon him, till at length he died in a good old age, in which old age King Edward VI. had allowed him an honourable pension. Yea, since the Cabots, employed by the King of England, made a discovery of this continent in the year 1497, and it was the year 1498 before Columbus discovered any part of the continent; and Vesputius came a considerable time after both of them; I know not why the Spaniard should go *unrivalled* in the claim of this New World, which from the *first finding* of it is pretended unto. These discoveries of the Cabots were the foundation of all the *adventures*, with which the English nation have since followed the sun, and *served* themselves into an

* "*The Catalogue of Lost Things*,"—title of a book.

† "I first, with canvas to the gale unfurl'd,
Made the wide circuit of the mighty world."

acquaintance on the hither side of the Atlantick Ocean. And now I shall *drown* my reader with myself in a tedious digression, if I enumerate all the attempts made by a Willoughby, a Frobisher, a Gilbert, and besides many others, an incomparable Rawleigh, to settle English colonies in the desarts of the western India. It will be enough if I entertain him with the History of that English Settlement, which may, upon a thousand accounts, pretend unto more of *true* English than all the rest, and which alone therefore has been called New-England.

§ 5. After a discouraging series of disasters attending the endeavours of the English to swarm into Florida, and the rest of the continent unto the northward of it, called Virginia, because the first *white* born in those regions was a *daughter*, then born to one Ananias Dare, in the year 1585, the courage of one Bartholomew Gosnold, and one captain Bartholomew Gilbert, and several other gentlemen, served them to make yet more essays upon the like designs. This captain Gosnold in a small bark, on May 11, 1602, made land on this coast in the latitude of *forty-three;* where, though he liked the *welcome* he had from the Salvages that came aboard him, yet he disliked the *weather*, so that he thought it necessary to stand more southward into the sea. Next morning he found himself embayed within a mighty head of land; which promontory, in remembrance of the *Cod fish* in great quantity by him taken there, he called Cape-Cod, a name which I suppose it will never lose, till shoals of *Cod-fish* be seen swimming upon the top of its highest hills. On this Cape, and on the Islands to the southward of it, he found such a comfortable entertainment from the *summer-fruits* of the earth, as well as from the *wild creatures* then ranging the woods, and from the *wilder people* now surprised into courtesie, that he carried back to England a report of the country, better than what the *spies* once gave of the *land flowing with milk and honey.* Not only did the merchants of Bristol now raise a considerable stock to prosecute these discoveries, but many other persons of several ranks embarked in such undertakings; and many *sallies* into America were made; the exacter narrative whereof I had rather my reader should *purchase* at the expence of consulting *Purchas's Pilgrims*, than endure any *stop* in our hastening voyage unto the HISTORY OF A NEW-ENGLISH ISRAEL.

§ 6. Perhaps my reader would gladly be informed how America came to be *first peopled;* and if Hornius's "Discourses," *De origine Gentium Americanarum*, do not satisfie him, I hope shortly the most ingenious Dr. Woodward, in his *Natural History of the Earth*, will do it. In the mean time, to stay thy stomach, reader, accept the account which a very sensible Russian, who had been an officer of prime note in Siberia, gave unto Father Avril. Said he, "There is beyond the Obi a great river called Kawoina, at the mouth whereof, discharging it self into the Frozen Sea, there stands a spacious Island very well peopled, and no less considerable for hunting an animal, whose teeth are in great esteem. The inhabitants

go frequently upon the side of the Frozen Sea to hunt this monster; and because it requires great labour with assiduity, they carry their families usually along with them. Now it many times happens that being surprized with a thaw, they are carried away, I know not whither, upon huge pieces of ice that break off one from another. For my part, I am perswaded that several of those hunters have been carried upon these floating pieces of ice to the most northern parts of America, which is not far from that part of Asia that jutts out into the sea of Tartary. And that which confirms me in this opinion, is this, that the Americans who inhabit that country, which advances farthest towards that sea, have the same *Physiognomy* as those Islanders."—Thus the Vayode of Smolensko. But all the concern of this our history, is to tell how English *people* first came into America; and what English *people* first came into that part of America where this History is composed. Wherefore, instead of reciting the many *Adventures* of the English to visit these parts of the world, I shall but repeat the words of one Captain Weymouth, an *historian*, as well as an *undertaker* of those *Adventures;* who reports, "that one main end of all these undertakings, was to plant the gospel in these dark regions of America." How well the most of the English plantations have answered this *main end*, it *mainly* becomes them to consider: however, I am now to tell mankind, that as for *one* of these English plantations, this was not only a *main end*, but the *sole end* upon which it was erected. If they that are solicitous about the interests of the gospel, would know *what* and *where* that plantation is; be it noted, that all the vast country from Florida to Nova-Francia, was at first called Virginia; but this Virginia was distinguished into North Virginia and South Virginia, till that famous Traveller Captain John Smith, in the year 1614, presenting unto the court of England a draught of North Virginia, got it called by the name of NEW-ENGLAND; which name has been ever since allowed unto my country, as unto the most *resembling daughter* to the chief lady of the European world. Thus the discoveries of the country proceeded so far, that K. James I. did by his *letters patents* under the great seal of England, in the eighteenth year of his reign, give and grant unto a certain honourable *council* established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and ordering, and governing of New-England in America, and to their successors and assigns, all that part of America, lying and being in breadth, from *forty degrees* of northerly latitude, from the equinoctial line, to the *forty-eighth degree* of the said northerly latitude inclusively; and the *length* of, and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout all the *firm lands* from sea to sea. This at last is the spot of *earth*, which the God of heaven *spied out* for the seat of such *evangelical*, and *ecclesiastical*, and very remarkable transactions, as require to be made an history; *here* 'twas that our blessed JESUS intended a *resting place*, must I say? or only an *hiding place* for those *reformed* CHURCHES, which have given him a little accomplishment

of his eternal Father's promise unto him; to be, we hope, yet further accomplished, *of having the utmost parts of the earth for his possession?*

§ 7. The learned Joseph Mede conjectures that the American Hemisphere will escape the *conflagration* of the *earth*, which we expect at the descent of our Lord JESUS CHRIST from Heaven: and that the people here will not have a share in the blessedness which the *renovated world* shall enjoy, during the *thousand years* of *holy rest* promised unto the Church of God: and that the inhabitants of these regions, who were originally Scytheans, and therein a notable fulfilment of the prophecy, about the *enlargement of* Japhet, will be the *Gog* and *Magog* whom the *devil* will seduce to invade the New-Jerusalem, with an envious hope to gain the *angelical circumstances* of the people there. All this is but conjecture; and it may be 'twill appear unto some as little probable, as that of the later Pierre Poiret in his *L'Œconomy Divine*, that by *Gog* and *Magog* are meant the *devils* and the *damned*, which he thinks will be let loose at the end of the *thousand years*, to make a furious, but a fruitless attempt on the glorified saints of the New-Jerusalem. However, I am going to give unto the *Christian reader* an *history* of *some feeble attempts* made in the American hemisphere to anticipate the state of the New-Jerusalem, as far as the unavoidable *vanity of human affairs* and *influence* of Satan upon them would allow of it; and of *many worthy persons* whose posterity, if they make a *squadron* in the *fleets* of *Gog* and *Magog*, will be *apostates* deserving a room, and a doom with the *legions* of the *grand apostate*, that will deceive the nations to that *mysterious enterprize.*

CHAPTER II.

PRIMORDIA;* OR, THE VOYAGE TO NEW-ENGLAND,

WHICH PRODUCED THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF NEW-PLYMOUTH; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF MANY REMARKABLE AND MEMORABLE PROVIDENCES RELATING TO THAT VOYAGE.

§ 1. A NUMBER of devout and serious Christians in the English nation, finding the Reformation of the Church in that nation, according to the WORD OF GOD, and the design of many among the first Reformers, to labour under a sort of *hopeless retardation;* they did, Anno 1602, in the north of England, enter into a COVENANT, wherein expressing themselves desirous, not only to attend the *worship* of our Lord Jesus Chirst, with a freedom from humane *inventions* and *additions*, but also to enjoy *all* the Evangelical Institutions of that worship, they did like those Macedonians, that are *therefore* by the Apostle Paul commended, "give themselves up,

* Primitive History.

first unto God, and then to one another." These pious people finding that their brethren and neighbours in the Church of England, as then *established by law*, took offence at these their endeavours after a *scriptural reformation;* and being loth to live in the continual *vexations* which they felt arising from their non-conformity to things which their consciences accounted *superstitious* and *unwarrantable*, they peaceably and willingly embraced *a banishment* into the Netherlands; where they settled at the city of Leyden, about seven or eight years after their first combination. And now in that city this people sojourned, an Holy CHURCH of the blessed JESUS, for several years under the pastoral care of Mr. John Robinson, who had for his *help* in the *government* of the Church, a most wise, grave, good man, Mr. William Brewster, the ruling elder. Indeed, Mr. John Robinson had been in his *younger* time (as very good fruit hath sometimes been, before age hath *ripened* it) *sowred* with the principles of the most rigid *separation*, in the maintaining whereof he composed and published some little Treatises, and in the management of the controversie made no scruple to call the incomparable Dr. Ames himself, Dr. *Amiss*, for opposing such a degree of *separation*. But this worthy man suffered himself at length to be so far convinced by his learned *antagonist*, that with a most ingenious *retractation*, he afterwards writ a little book to prove the *lawfulness* of one thing, which his mistaken *zeal* had formerly impugned several years, even till 1625, and about the *fiftieth* year of his own age, continued he a blessing unto the whole Church of God, and at last, when he died, he left behind him in his immortal writings, a *name* very much embalmed among the people that are best able to judge of *merit;* and even among such, as about the matters of *Church-discipline*, were not of his perswasion. Of such an eminent character was he, while he *lived*, that when Armenianism so much prevailed, as it then did in the low countries, those famous Divines, Polyander and Festus Hommius, employed this our learned Robinson to dispute publickly in the University of Leyden against Episcopius, and the other champions of that grand *choak-weed of true Christianity:* and when he *died*, not only the University, and Ministers of the city, accompanied him to his grave, with all their accustomed *solemnities*, but some of the chief among them with sorrowful resentments and expressions affirmed, "That all the Churches of our Lord Jesus Christ had sustained a great loss by the death of this worthy man."

§ 2. The English Church had not been very long at Leyden, before they found themselves encountred with many inconveniences. They felt that they were neither for *health*, nor *purse*, nor *language* well accommodated; but the concern which they most of all had, was for their *posterity*. They saw, that whatever *banks* the *Dutch* had against the inroads of the sea, they had not sufficient ones against a *flood* of manifold *profaneness*. They could not with *ten years' endeavour* bring their neighbours particularly to any suitable observation of the LORD'S DAY; without which they knew that all *practical Religion* must wither miserably. They beheld some of their *children*,

by the temptations of the place, were especially given in the licentious ways of many *young people*, drawn into dangerous extravagancies. Moreover, they were very loth to lose their interest in the English nation; but were desirous rather to enlarge their King's dominions. They found themselves also under a very strong disposition of *zeal*, to attempt the establishment of CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES in the remote parts of the world; where they hoped they should be reached by the Royal influence of their Prince, in whose *allegiance* they chose to live and die; at the same time likewise hoping that the Ecclesiasticks, who had thus driven them out of the kingdom into a New World, for nothing in the world but their *non-conformity* to certain *rites*, by the imposers confessed *indifferent*, would be *ashamed* ever to persecute them with any further molestations, at the distance of a thousand leagues. These *reasons* were deeply considered by the Church; and after many *deliberations*, accompanied with the most solemn *humiliations* and *supplications* before the God of Heaven, they took up a *resolution*, under the conduct of Heaven, to REMOVE into AMERICA; the opened regions whereof had now filled all Europe with reports. It was resolved, that *part* of the Church should go before their brethren, to *prepare* a place for the rest; and whereas the *minor part* of younger and stronger men were to go first, the Pastor was to stay with the *major*, till *they* should see cause to follow. Nor was there any occasion for this resolve, in any weariness which the States of Holland had of their company, as was basely *whispered* by their adversaries; therein like those who of old assigned the same cause for the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt: for the magistrates of Leyden in their Court, reproving the Walloons, gave this testimony for our English: "These have lived now ten years among us, and yet we never had any accusation against any one of them; whereas your quarrels are continual."

§ 3. These good people were now *satisfyed*, they had as plain a command of Heaven to attempt a removal, as ever their father Abraham had for his leaving the Caldean territories; and it was nothing but such a *satisfaction* that could have carried them through such, otherwise insuperable difficulties, as they met withal. But in this removal the *terminus ad Quem** was not yet resolved upon. The country of Guiana flattered them with the promises of a *perpetual Spring*, and a thousand other comfortable entertainments. But the probable disagreement of so *torrid* a climate unto English bodies, and the more dangerous vicinity of the Spaniards to that climate, were considerations which made them fear that country would be *too hot* for them. They rather propounded some country bordering upon Virginia; and unto this purpose, they sent over agents into England, who so far treated not only with the Virginia company, but with several great persons about the Court; unto whom they made evident *their agreement with the French Reformed Churches in all things whatsoever, except in a few small accidental points;* that at last, after many tedious *delays*, and after the loss of

* The destination.

many *friends* and *hopes* in those delays, they obtained a Patent for a quiet settlement in those territories; and the Archbishop of Canterbury himself gave them some expectations that they should never be disturbed in that exercise of Religion, at which they aimed in their settlement; yea, when Sir Robert Nanton, then principal Secretary of State unto King James, moved his Majesty to give way "that such a people might enjoy their liberty of conscience under his gracious protection in America, where they would endeavour the advancement of his Majesty's dominions, and the enlargement of the interests of the Gospel;" the King said, "it was a good and honest motion." All this notwithstanding, they never made use of that Patent: but being informed of NEW-ENGLAND, thither they diverted their design, thereto induced by sundry reasons; but particularly by *this*, that the coast being extreamly well circumstanced for *fishing*, they might therein have some immediate assistance against the hardships of their first encounters.—Their agents then again sent over to England, concluded *articles* between them and such adventurers as would be concerned with them in their present undertakings—articles, that were indeed sufficiently *hard* for those poor men that were now to transplant themselves into an horrid wilderness. The *diversion* of their enterprize from the first state and way of it, caused an unhappy division among those that should have encouraged it; and many of them hereupon fell off. But the Removers having already sold their estates, to put the money into a *common stock*, for the welfare of the *whole;* and their *stock* as well as their *time* spending so fast as to threaten them with an *army* of straits, if they delayed any longer; they nimbly dispatcht the best agreements they could, and came away furnished with a Resolution for a large Tract of Land in the *south-west* part of New-England.

§ 4. All things now being in some readiness, and a couple of ships, one called *The Speedwell*, the other *The May-Flower*, being hired for their transportation, they solemnly set apart a day for fasting and prayer; wherein their Pastor preached unto them upon Ezra viii. 21: "I proclaimed a fast there, at the river Ahava, that we might afflict our selves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance."

After the fervent supplications of this day, accompanied by their affectionate friends, they took their leave of the pleasant city, where they had been pilgrims and strangers now for eleven years. Delft-Haven was the town where they went on board one of their ships, and there they had such a mournful parting from their brethren, as even *drowned* the Dutch spectators themselves, then standing on the *shore*, in tears. Their excellent pastor, on his knees, by the *sea-side*, poured out their mutual petitions unto God; and having wept in one another's arms, as long as the *wind* and the *tide* would permit them, they bad *adieu*. So sailing to Southampton in England, they there found the other of their ships come from Lon-

don, with the rest of their friends that were to be the *companions of the voyage.* Let my reader place the chronology of this business on July 2, 1620. And know, that the faithful pastor of this people immediately sent after them a *pastoral letter;* a letter filled with holy counsels unto them, to settle their *peace* with God in their own consciences, by an exact *repentance* of all sin whatsoever, that so they might more easily bear all the difficulties that were now before them; and then to maintain a good *peace* with one another, and beware of giving or taking *offences;* and avoid all discoveries of a *touchy humour;* but use much *brotherly forbearance,* [where by the way he had this remarkable observation: "In my own experience few or none have been found that sooner give offence, than those that easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members of societies who have nourished this touchy humour;"] as also to take heed of a *private spirit,* and all *retiredness of mind in each man, for his own proper advantage;* and likewise to be careful, that the *house of God,* which *they* were, might not be shaken with unnecessary *novelties* or *oppositions;* which LETTER afterwards produced most happy fruits among them.

§ 5. On August 5, 1620, they set sail from Southampton; but if it *shall* as I believe it *will,* afflict my reader to be told what heart-breaking disasters befell them, in the very beginning of their undertaking, let him glorifie God, who carried them so well through their greater affliction.

They were by bad weather twice beaten back, before they came to the Land's end. But it was judged, that the badness of the weather did not retard them so much as the *deceit* of a master, who, grown sick of the voyage, made such pretences about the leakiness of his vessel, that they were forced at last wholly to dismiss that lesser ship from the service. Being now all stowed into *one ship,* on the sixth of September they put to sea; but they met with such terrible storms, that the principal persons on board had serious deliberations upon returning home again; however, after long beating upon the Atlantick ocean, they fell in with the land at Cape Cod, about the ninth of November following, where going on shore they fell upon their knees, with many and hearty praises unto God, who had been *their assurance,* when they were *afar off upon the sea,* and was to be further *so,* now that they were come to the *ends of the earth.*

But why at this Cape? *Here* was not the port which they intended: *this* was not the land for which they had provided. There was indeed a most wonderful *providence* of God, over a pious and a praying people, in this *disappointment!* The most *crooked way* that ever was gone, even that of Israel's peregrination through the wilderness, may be called *a right way,* such was the way of this little Israel, now going into a wilderness.

§ 6. Their design was to have sat down some where about Hudson's River; but some of their neighbours in Holland having a mind themselves to settle a plantation there, secretly and sinfully contracted with the master of the ship, employed for the transportation of these our English *exiles,* by

a more *northerly* course, to put a trick upon them. 'Twas in the pursuance of this *plot* that not only the *goods*, but also the *lives* of all on board were now hazarded, by the ships falling among the shoals of Cape-Cod; where they were so entangled among dangerous *breakers*, thus late in the year, that the *company*, got at last into the Cape-Harbour, *broke off* their intentions of going any further. And yet, behold the watchful providence of God over them that seek him! this *false-dealing* proved a *safe-dealing* for the good people against whom it was used. Had they been carried according to their desire unto Hudson's River, the Indians in those parts were at this time so many, and so mighty, and so sturdy, that in probability all this little feeble number of Christians had been massacred by these bloody salvages, as not long after some others were: whereas the good hand of God now brought them to a country wonderfully prepared for their entertainment, by a sweeping *mortality* that had lately been among the natives. "We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, what work thou didst in their days, in the times of old; how thou dravest out the heathen with thy hand, and plantedst them; how thou did'st afflict the people, and cast them out!" The Indians in these parts had newly, even about a year or two before, been visited with such a prodigious pestilence, as carried away not a *tenth*, but *nine parts* of *ten*, (yea, 'tis said, *nineteen* of *twenty*) among them: so that the woods were almost cleared of those pernicious creatures, to make room for a *better growth*. It is remarkable, that a Frenchman who, not long before these transactions, had by a shipwreck been made a captive amongst the Indians of this country, did, as the survivers reported, just before he dyed in their hands, tell those *tawny pagans*, "that God being angry with them for their wickedness, would not only destroy them all, but also people the place with another nation, which would not live after their brutish manners." Those infidels then blasphemously replyed, "God could not kill them;" which blasphemous mistake was confuted by an horrible and unusual *plague*, whereby they were consumed in such vast multitudes, that our first planters found the land almost covered with their unburied carcases; and they that were left alive, were smitten into awful and humble regards of the English, by the terrors which the remembrance of the Frenchman's prophesie had imprinted on them.

§ 7. Inexpressible the hardships to which this *chosen generation* was now exposed! Our Saviour once directed his disciples to deprecate *a flight in the winter;* but these disciples of our Lord were now arrived at a very *cold* country, in the beginning of a rough and bleak *winter;* the *sun* was withdrawn into Sagittarius, whence he shot the penetrating *arrows* of *cold;* feathered with nothing but *snow*, and pointed with *hail;* and the *days* left them to behold the *frost*-bitten and *weather*-beaten face of the *earth*, were grown shorter than the *nights*, wherein they had yet more trouble to get shelter from the increasing injuries of the *frost* and *weather*. It was a relief to those primitive believers, who were cast on shore at Malta, *That the bar-*

barous people showed them no little kindness, because of the present rain, and because of the cold. But these believers in *our* primitive times, were more afraid of the *barbarous people* among whom they were now cast, than they were of the *rain* or *cold;* these *barbarians* were at the first so far from accommodating them with *bundles of sticks* to *warm* them, that they let fly other sorts of *sticks* (that is to say, *arrows*) to *wound* them: and the very *looks* and *shouts* of those *grim salvages*, had not much less of terrour in them, than if they had been so many *devils.* It is not long since I compared this remove of our fathers to that of Abraham, whereas I must now add, that if our father Abraham, called out of Ur, had been directed unto the *Desarts* of Arabia, instead of the *land flowing with milk and honey*, the *trial of his faith* had been greater than it was; but such was the *trial of the faith* in these holy men, who followed the call of God into *desarts* full of dismal circumstances. All this they chearfully underwent, in hope that they should settle the *worship* and *order* of the gospel, and the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in these regions, and that thus enlarging the *dominion*, they should thereby so merit the *protection* of the crown of England, as to be never abandoned unto any further *persecutions*, from any party of their *fellow subjects*, for their consciencious regards unto the *reformation.* Their proposal was,

Exiguam sedem Sacris, Litusque rogamus
*Innocuum, et cunctis undamq; auramq; Patentem.**

§ 8. Finding at their first arrival, that what other powers they had were made useless by the *undesigned place* of their arrival; they did, as the *light of nature* it self directed them, immediately in the harbour, sign an *instrument*, as a foundation of their future and needful *government;* wherein declaring themselves the loyal subjects of the Crown of England, they did combine into a *body politick*, and solemnly engage submission and obedience to the *laws*, *ordinances*, *acts*, *constitutions* and *officers*, that from time to time should be thought most convenient for the general good of the Colony. This was done on Nov. 11th. 1620, and they chose one Mr. John Carver, a pious and prudent man, their Governour.

Hercupon they sent ashore to look a convenient seat for their intended habitation: and while the carpenter was fitting of their shallop, *sixteen men* tendered themselves, to go, by land, on the discovery. Accordingly on Nov. 16th, 1620, they made a dangerous adventure; following five Indians, whom they spied flying before them, into the woods for many miles; from whence, after two or three days ramble, they returned with some *ears* of Indian Corn, which were an *eshcol* for their company; but with a poor and small encouragement, as unto any scituation. When the shallop was fitted, about thirty more went in it upon a further discovery; who prospered little more, than only to find a little Indian Corn, and

* We ask a shrine for faith and simple prayer—
Freedom's sweet waters and untainted air.

bring to the company some occasions of doubtful debate, whether they should *here* fix their stakes. Yet these expeditions on discovery had this one remarkable smile of Heaven upon them; that being made before the *snow* covered the ground, they met with some Indian Corn; for which 'twas their purpose honestly to pay the natives on demand; and this Corn served them for *seed* in the Spring following, which else they had not been seasonably furnished withal. So that it proved, in effect, their deliverance from the *terrible famine.*

§ 9. The month of November being spent in many *supplications* to Almighty God, and *consultations* one with another, about the direction of their course; at last, on Dec. 6, 1620, they manned the shallop with about eighteen or twenty hands, and went out upon a *third discovery.* So bitterly cold was the season, that the spray of the sea lighting on their cloaths, glazed them with an immediate congelation; yet they kept cruising about the bay of Cape-Cod, and that night they got safe down the bottom of the bay. There they landed, and there they tarried that night; and unsuccessfully ranging about all the next day, at night they made a little *barricado* of boughs and logs, wherein the most weary slept. The next morning, after prayers, they suddenly were surrounded with a crue of Indians, who let fly a shower of *arrows* among them; whereat our distressed handful of English happily recovering their arms, which they had laid by from the moisture of the weather, they vigorously discharged their *muskets* upon the Salvages, who astonished at the strange effects of such *dead-doing things,* as powder and shot, fled apace into the woods; but not one of ours was wounded by the Indian arrows that flew like *hail* about their ears, and pierced through sundry of their *coats;* for which they returned their solemn thanks unto God their Saviour; and they called the place by the name of, *The First Encounter.* From hence they coasted along, till an horrible *storm* arose, which tore their *vessel* at such a rate, and threw them into the midst of such dangerous *breakers*, it was reckoned little short of *miracle* that they escaped alive. In the end they got under the lee of a small Island, where, going ashore, they kindled fires for their succour against the wet and cold; it was the morning before they found it was an Island, whereupon they rendered their praises to Him that "hitherto had helped them;" and the day following, which was *the Lord's day*, the difficulties now upon them did not hinder them from spending it in the devout and pious exercises of a *sacred rest.* On the next day they sounded the harbour, and found it fit for shipping; they visited the *main land* also, and found it accommodated with pleasant fields and brooks; whereof they carried an encouraging report unto their friends on board. So they resolved that they would *here* pitch their tents; and sailing up to the town of Plymouth, [as with an hopeful *prolepsis*, my reader shall now call it; for otherwise, by the Indians 'twas called Patuxet;] on the twenty-fifth day of December they began to erect the *first House* that ever was in that

memorable town; an house for the general entertainment of their persons and estates: and yet it was not long before an unhappy accident burnt unto the ground their house, wherein some of their principal persons then lay sick; who were forced nimbly to fly out of the fired house, or else they had been blown up with the powder then lodged there. After this, they soon went upon the building of more little cottages; and upon the settling of good laws, for the better governing of such as were to inhabit those cottages. They then resolved, that until they could be further strengthened in their settlement, by the authority of England, they would be governed by rulers chosen from among themselves, who were to proceed according to the laws of England, as near as they could, in the administration of their government; and such other by-laws, as by common consent should be judged necessary for the circumstances of the Plantation.

§ 10. If the reader would know, how these good people fared the rest of the melancholy winter, let him know, that besides the exercises of Religion, with other work enough, there was the *care of the sick* to take up no little part of their time. 'Twas a most heavy trial of their patience, whereto they were called the first winter of this their *pilgrimage*, and enough to convince them and remind them that they were but Pilgrims. The *hardships* which they encountered, were attended with, and productive of *deadly sicknesses;* which in two or three months carried off more than half their company. They were but meanly provided against these unhappy *sicknesses;* but there died sometimes *two*, sometimes *three* in a day, till scarce *fifty* of them were left alive; and of those *fifty*, sometimes there were scarce *five* well at a time to look after the sick. Yet their profound submission to the will of God, their Christian readiness to help one another, accompanied with a joyful assurance of another and better world, carried them chearfully through the sorrows of this *mortality:* nor was there heard among them a continual *murmur* against those who had by *unreasonable impositions* driven them into all these distresses. And there was this *remarkable providence* further in the circumstances of this *mortality*, that if a *disease* had not more easily fetcht so many of this number away to Heaven, a *famine* would probably have destroyed them all, before their expected supplies from England were arrived. But what a wonder was it that all the bloody salvages far and near did not cut off this *little remnant!* If he that once muzzled the lions ready to devour the man of desires, had not *admirably*, I had almost said, *miraculously* restrained them, *these* had been all devoured! but this people of God were come into a *wilderness* to *worship Him;* and so *He* kept their enemies from such attempts, as would otherwise have soon *annihilated* this poor handful of men, thus far already diminished. They saw no Indians all the winter long, but such as at the first sight always ran away; yea, they quickly found, that God had so turned the hearts of these *barbarians*, as more to *fear*, than to *hate* his people thus cast among them. This blessed people was as *a little flock of kids*,

while there were many nations of Indians left still as kennels of wolves in every corner of the country. And yet the *little flock* suffered no damage by those rapid wolves! We may and should say, "This is the Lord's doing; 'tis marvellous in our eyes."

But among the many causes to be assigned for it, one was *this*. It was afterwards by *them* confessed, that upon the arrival of the English in these parts, the Indians employed their *sorcerers*, whom they call *powaws*, like Balaam, to *curse* them, and let loose their demons upon them, to shipwreck them, to distract them, to poison them, or in any way to ruin them. All the noted powaws in the country spent three days together in diabolical *conjurations*, to obtain the assistance of the devils against the settlement of these our English; but the devils at length acknowledged unto them, that they could not hinder those people from their becoming the owners and masters of the country; whereupon the Indians resolved upon a good correspondence with our new-comers; and God convinced them that there was no *enchantment* or *divination* against such a people.

§ 11. The doleful winter broke up sooner than was usual. But our crippled planters were not more comforted with the early advance of the Spring, than they were surprized with the appearance of two Indians, who in broken English bade them, *welcome Englishmen!* It seems that one of these Indians had been in the eastern parts of New-England, acquainted with some of the English vessels that had been formerly *fishing* there; but the other of the Indians, and he from whom they had most of service, was a person provided by the very singular providence of God for that service. A most wicked ship-master being on this coast a few years before, had wickedly spirited away more than twenty Indians; whom having enticed them aboard, he presently stowed them under hatches, and carried them away to the Streights, where he sold as many of them as he could for Slaves. This avaritious and pernicious *felony* laid the foundation of grievous annoyances to all the English endeavours of settlements, especially in the northern parts of the land for several years ensuing. The Indians would never *forget* or *forgive* this injury; but when the English afterwards came upon this coast, in their fishing-voyages, they were still assaulted in an hostile manner, to the killing and wounding of many poor men by the angry natives, in revenge of the wrong that had been done them; and some intended Plantations here were hereby utterly nipt in the bud. But our good God so ordered it, that one of the stoln Indians, called Squanto, had escaped out of Spain into England; where he lived with one Mr. Slany, from whom he had found a way to return into his own country, being brought back by one Mr. Dermer, about half a year before our honest Plymotheans were cast upon this continent. This Indian (with the other) having received much kindness from the English, who he saw generally condemned the man that first betrayed him, now made unto the English a return of that kindness: and being by his acquaintance with

the English language, fitted for a conversation with them, he very kindly informed them what was the present condition of the Indians; instructed them in the way of ordering their Corn; and acquainted them with many other things, which it was necessary for them to understand. But Squanto did for them a yet greater benefit than all *this:* for he brought Massasoit, the chief Sachim or Prince of the Indians within many miles, with some scores of his attenders, to make our people a kind visit; the issue of which visit was, that Massasoit not only entred into a firm agreement of *peace* with the English, but also they declared and submitted themselves to be subjects of the King of England; into which *peace* and *subjection* many other Sachims quickly after came, in the most voluntary manner that could be expressed. It seems this unlucky Squanto having told his countrymen how easie it was for so great a monarch as K. James to destroy them all, if they should hurt any of his people, he went on to terrifie them with a ridiculous *rhodomantado*, which they believed, that this people kept the *plague* in a cellar (where they kept their powder), and could at their pleasure let it loose to make such havock among them, as the distemper had already made among them a few years before. Thus was the *tongue of a dog* made useful to a feeble and sickly Lazarus! Moreover, our English guns, especially the *great* ones, made a formidable *report* among these ignorant Indians; and the hopes of enjoying some defence by the English, against the potent nation of Narraganset Indians, now at war with *these*, made them yet more to court our friendship. This very strange disposition of things, was extreamly advantageous to our distressed planters: and who sees not herein the special *providence* of the God *who disposeth all?*

CHAPTER III.

CONAMUR TENUES GRANDIA;*

OR, A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFICULTIES, THE DELIVERANCES, AND OTHER OCCURRENCES, THROUGH WHICH THE PLANTATION OF NEW-PLYMOUTH ARRIVED UNTO THE CONSISTENCY OF A COLONY.

§ 1. SETTING aside the just and great grief of our new planters for the immature death of their excellent governour, succeeded by the worthy Mr. Bradford, early in the Spring after their first arrival, they spent their summer somewhat comfortably, trading with the Indians to the northward of their Plantation; in which trade they were not a little assisted by Squanto, who within a year or two dyed among the English; but before

* We attempt great things with slender resources.

his death, desired them to pray for him, *That he might go to the Englishman's God in Heaven.* And besides the assistance of Squanto, they had also the help of another Indian, called Hobbamok, who continued faithful unto the English interests as long as he lived; though he sometimes went in danger of his life among his countrymen for that fidelity. So they jogged on till the day *twelvemonth* after their first arrival; when there now arrived unto them a good number more of their old friends from Holland, for the strengthening of their new Plantation; but inasmuch as they brought not a sufficient stock of provisions with them, they rather *weakened* it, than *strengthened* it.

If Peter Martyr could magnifie the Spaniards, of whom he reports, *They led a miserable life for three days together with parched grain of* maize *only, and that not unto satiety;* what shall I say of our Englishmen, who would have thought a little *parched Indian Corn a mighty feast?* But they wanted it, not only three days together; no, for two or three months together, they had no kind of Corn among them: such was the scarcity, accompanied with the disproportion of the *inhabitants* to the *provisions.* However, Peter Martyr's conclusion may be ours: *With their miseries this people opened a way to those new lands, and afterwards other men came to inhabit them with ease, in respect of the calamities which those men have suffered.* They were indeed very often upon the very point of starving; but in their extremity the God of Heaven always furnished them with some sudden reliefs; either by causing some vessels of strangers occasionally to look in upon them, or by putting them into a way to catch fish in some convenient quantities, or by some other surprizing accidents; for which they rendered unto Heaven the solemn thanks of their souls. They kept in such good working case, that besides their progress in building, and planting, and fishing, they formed a sort of a fort, wherein they kept a nightly watch for their security against any treachery of the Indians, being thereunto awakened by an horrible massacre, which the Indians lately made upon several hundreds of the English in Virginia.

§ 2. In one of the first Summers after their sitting down at Plymouth, a terrible drought threatened the ruin of all their summer's husbandry. From about the middle of May to the middle of July, an extream hot sun beat upon their fields, without any rain, so that all their corn began to wither and languish, and some of it was irrecoverably parched up. In this distress they set apart a day for *fasting* and *prayer*, to deprecate the calamity that might bring them to *fasting* through *famine;* in the morning of which day there was no sign of any rain; but before the evening the sky was overcast with clouds, which went not away without such easie, gentle, and yet plentiful showers, as revived a great part of their decayed corn, for a comfortable harvest. The Indians themselves took notice of this answer given from heaven to the supplications of this devout people; and one of them said, "Now I see that the *Englishman's God* is a good

God; for he hath heard you, and sent you rain, and that without such tempest and thunder as we use to have with our rain; which after our *Powawing* for it, breaks down the corn; whereas your corn stands whole and good still; surely, your God is a good God." The harvest which God thus gave to this pious people, caused them to set apart another day for solemn Thanksgiving to the glorious *Hearer of Prayers!*

§ 3. There was another most wonderful preservation vouchsafed by God unto this little knot of Christians. One Mr. Weston, a merchant of good note, interested at first in the Plymouth design, afterwards deserted it; and in the year 1622 sent over two ships, with about sixty men, to begin a plantation in the Massachuset-Bay. These beginners being well refreshed at Plymouth, travelled more northward unto a place known since by the name of Weymouth; where these Westonians, who were *Church of England-men*, did not approve themselves like the Plymotheans, a pious, honest, industrious people; but followed such bad courses, as had like to have brought a ruin upon their neighbours, as well as themselves. Having by their idleness brought themselves to penury, they stole corn from the Indians, and many other ways provoked them; although the Governour of Plymouth writ them his very sharp disapprobation of their proceedings. To satisfie the exasperated Salvages, divers of the thieves were stockt and whipt, and one of them at last put to death by this miserable company; which did no other service than to afford an occasion for a fable to the roguish Hudibras, for all accommodation was now *too late.* The Indians far and near entred into a conspiracy to cut off these abusive English; and lest the inhabitants of Plymouth should revenge that excision of their countrymen, they resolved upon the murther of *them* also. In pursuance of this plot, Captain Standish, the commander of the militia of Plymouth, lodging on a night with two or three men in an Indian house, the Indians proposed that they might begin the execution of their malice by the assassination of the Captain, as soon as he should be fallen asleep. However, the watchful Providence of God so ordered it, that the Captain could not *sleep* all that night; and so they durst not meddle with him. Thus was the beginning of the plot put by: but the whole plot came another way to be discovered and prevented. Massasoit, the southern Sachim, falling sick, the Governour of Plymouth desired a couple of gentlemen, whereof one was that good man, Mr. Winslow, to visit this poor Sachim: whom after their long journey they found lying at the point of death with a crue of hellish Powaws, using their ineffectual spells and howls about him to recover him. Upon the taking of some English physick, he presently revived; and thus regaining his lost health, the fees he paid his English doctor were, a *confession of the plot among several nations of the* Indians, *to destroy the* English. He said, that they had in vain solicited *him* to enter into that bloody combination; but his advice was, that the Governour of Plymouth should immediately take off the *principal actors*

in this business, whereupon the rest being terrifyed, would soon desist. There was a concurrence of many things to confirm the truth of this information; wherefore Captain Standish took eight resolute men with him to the Westonian Plantation; where, pretending to trade with the Indians, divers of the conspirators began to treat him in a manner very insolent. The Captain, and his little *army* of *eight men*, (reader, allow them for their *courage* to be called so,) with a prodigious resolution, presently killed some of the chief among these Indians, while the rest, after a short combate, ran before him as fast as their legs could carry them; nevertheless, in the midst of the skirmishes, an Indian youth ran to the English, desiring to be with them; and declaring that the Indians waited but for their finishing two canoos, to have surprized the ship in the harbour, and have massacred all the people; which had been finished, if the Captain had not arrived among them just in the *nick of time* when he did: and an Indian spy detained at Plymouth, when he saw the Captain return from this expedition, with the head of a famous Indian in his hand, then with a fallen and frighted countenance acknowledged the whole mischief intended by the Indians against the English. Releasing this fellow, they sent him to the Sachim of the Massachusets, with advice of what he must look for, in case he committed any hostility upon the subjects of the King of England; whereof there was this effect, that not only that Sachim hereby terrified, most humbly begged for peace, and pleaded his ignorance of his men's intentions; but the rest of the Indians, under the same terror, withdrew themselves to live in the unhealthful swamps, which proved mortal to many of them. One of the Westonians was endeavouring to carry unto Plymouth a report of the straits and fears which were come upon them, and this man losing his way, saved his life; taking a wrong track, he escaped the hands of the two Indians, who went on hunting after him; however e're he reached Plymouth, care had been already taken for these wretched Westonians by the earlier and fuller communications of Massasoit. So was the peace of Plymouth preserved, and so the Westonian plantation broke up, went off, and came to nothing; although 'twas much wished by the holy Robinson, that some of the poor heathen had been converted before any of them had been slaughtered.

§ 4. A certain gentleman [if nothing in the following story contradict *that name*] was employed in obtaining from the Grand Council of Plymouth and England, a Patent in the name of these planters for a convenient quantity of the country, where the providence of God had now disposed them. This man, speaking *one* word for *them*, spake *two* for *himself:* and surreptitiously procured the patent in his own name, reserving for himself and his heirs an huge tract of the land; and intending the Plymotheans to hold the rest as tenants under him. Hereupon he took on board many passengers with their goods; but having sailed no further than the Downs, the ship sprang a leak; and besides this disaster, which

alone was enough to have stopt the voyage, one strand of their cable was accidentally cut; by which means it broke in a stress of wind; and they were in extream danger of being wrecked upon the sands. Having with much cost recruited their loss, and encreased the number of their passengers, they put out again to sea; but after they had got half way, one of the saddest and longest storms that had been known since the days of the Apostle Paul, drove them home to England again, with a vessel well nigh torn to pieces, though the lives of the people, which were above an hundred, mercifully preserved. This man, by all his tumbling backward and forward, was by this time grown so sick of his patent, that he vomited it up; he assigned it over to the company, but they afterwards obtained *another*, under the umbrage whereof they could now more effectually carry on the affairs of their new colony. The passengers went over afterwards in another vessel; and quickly after that another vessel of passengers also arrived in the country: namely, in the year 1623. Among these passengers were divers worthy and useful men, who were come to *seek the welfare of this little Israel;* though at their coming they were as diversly affected as the rebuilders of the Temple at Jerusalem: some were *grieved* when they saw *how bad* the circumstances of their friends were, and others were *glad* that they were *no worse.*

§ 5. The immature death of Mr. Robinson in Holland, with many ensuing disasters, hindred a great part of the English congregation at Leyden from coming over to the *remnant here separated from their brethren.* Hence it was, that although this remnant of that church were blessed with an elder so *apt to teach*, that he attended all the other works of a minister; yet they had not a pastor to dispense the sacraments among them, till the year 1629, when one Mr. Ralph Smith undertook the pastoral charge of this holy flock. But long before that, namely, in the year 1624, the adventurers in England, with whom this company held a correspondence, did send over unto them a minister, who did them no manner of good; but by his treacherous and mischievous tricks, at last utterly destroyed that correspondence. The first neat cattle, namely, three heifers and a bull, that ever were brought into this land, now coming with him, did the land certainly better service than was ever done by *him*, who sufficiently forgot that scriptural emblem of a minister, *the ox treading out the corn.* This minister at his first arrival did caress them with such extream showers of affection and humility, that they were very much taken with him; nevertheless, within a little while, he used most malignant endeavours to make factions among them, and confound all their *civil* and *sacred* order. At last there fell into the hands of the governour his letters home to England, filled with wicked and lying accusations against the people; of which things being shamefully convicted, the authority sentenced him to be expelled the Plantation, only they allowed him to stay *six months*, with secret reservations and expectations to release him from that sentence, if

he approved himself sound in the repentance which he now expressed. *Repentance*, I say: for he did now publickly in the Church confess with tears, that the *censure of the Church was less than he deserved;* he acknowledged, "That he had slanderously abused the good people, and that God might justly lay innocent blood to his charge; for he knew not what hurt might have come through his writings; for the interception whereof he now blessed God; and that it had been his manner to pick up all the evil that was ever spoken against the people; but he shut his ears and eyes against all the good; and that if God should make him a vagabond in the earth, he were just in doing so; and that those three things, *pride*, *vain-glory*, and *self-love*, had been the causes of his miscarriages."—These things he uttered so pathetically, that they again permitted him to preach among them; and some were so perswaded of his repentance, that they professed they would fall down on their knees, that the censure passed on him should be remitted. But, Oh the *deceitful heart of man!* After *two months* time, he so notoriously renewed the miscarriages which he had thus bewailed, that his own wife, through her affliction of mind at his *hypocrisie*, could not forbear declaring her fears, that God would bring some heavy judgment upon their family, not only for *these*, but some former wickednesses by him committed, especially as to fearful breaches of the Seventh Commandment, which he had with an oath denied, though they were afterwards evinced. Wherefore upon the whole, being banished from hence, because his residence here was utterly inconsistent with the *life* of this *infant-plantation;* he went into Virginia, where he shortly after ended his own *life*. Quickly after these difficulties, the company of adventurers for the support of this Plantation, became rather *adversaries* to it; or at least, a *Be you warmed and filled;* a few good words were all the help they afforded it; *they* broke to pieces, but the *God of Heaven* still supported it.

§ 6. After these many difficulties were thus a little surmounted, the inhabitants of this Colony prosecuted their affairs at so vigorous and successful a rate, that they not only fell into a comfortable way, both of *planting* and of *trading;* but also in a few years there was a notable number of *towns* to be seen settled among them, and very considerable Churches, walking, so far as they had *attained*, in the *faith* and *order* of the Gospel. Their Churches flourished so considerably, that in the year 1642, there were above a dozen ministers, and some of those ministers were *stars of the first magnitude*, shining in their several *orbs* among them. And as they *proceeded* in the evangelical service and worship of our Lord Jesus Christ, so they *prospered* in their secular concernments. When they first began to divide their *lands*, they wisely contrived the division so, that they might keep close together for their mutual defence; and then their condition was very like that of the Romans in the time of Romulus, when every man contented himself with two acres of land; and, as Pliny tells us, "It was thought a great reward for one to receive a pint of corn from the people

of Rome, which corn they also pounded in mortars." But since then their condition is marvellously altered and amended; *great farms* are now seen among the effects of this good people's planting; and in their *fishing*, from the catching of *cod*, and other fish of less dimentions, they are since passed on to the catching of *whales*, whose oil is become a *staple-commodity* of the country; *whales*, I say, which living and moving *islands*, do now find a way to this coast, where, notwithstanding the desperate hazards run by the whale-catchers in their thin whale-boats, often torn to pieces by the stroaks of those enraged monsters; yet it has been rarely known that any of them have miscarried. And within a few days of my writing this paragraph, a *cow* and a *calf* were caught at Yarmouth in this Colony; the *cow* was fifty-five foot long, the *bone* was nine or ten foot wide; a cart upon wheels might have gone in at the mouth of it; the *calf* was twenty foot long, for unto such vast *calves* the *sea-monsters draw forth their breasts.* But so does the good God here give his people to *suck the abundance of the seas!*

§ 7. If my reader would have the religion of these planters more exactly described unto him—after I have told him that many hundreds of holy souls, having been *ripened* for Heaven under the ordinances of God in this Colony; and having left an example of wonderful prayerfulness, watchfulness, thankfulness, usefulness, exact conscientiousness, piety, charity, weanedness from the things of this world, and affection to the things that are above, are now at rest with the blessed Jesus, whose *names*, though not recorded in *this book*, are yet entered in the Book of life; and I hope there are still many hundreds of their children, even of the third and fourth generation, resolving to "follow them as they followed Christ"—I must refer him to an account given thereof by the right worshipful Edward Winslow, Esq., who was for some time the Governour of the Colony. He gives us to understand, that they are entirely of the same faith with the reformed Churches in Europe, only in their Church-government they are endeavourers after *a reformation more thorough* than what is in many of them; yet without any uncharitable *separation* from them. He gives instances of their admitting to communion among them the communicants of the French, the Dutch, the Scotch Churches, merely by virtue of their being so; and says, "We ever placed a large difference between those that grounded their practice on the Word of God, though differing from us in the exposition and understanding of it, and those that hated such reformers and reformation, and went on in anti-christian opposition to it, and persecution of it:" after which, he adds, "'Tis true, we profess and desire to practice *a separation* from the world, and the works of the world; and as the Churches of Christ are all saints *by calling*, so we desire to see the Grace of God shining forth (at least *seemingly*, leaving secret things to God) in all we admit into *Church-fellowship* with us, and to keep off such as openly wallow in the mire of their sins, that neither the holy things of God, nor the communion of saints, may be leavened or polluted thereby. And if

any joining to us formerly, either when we lived at Leyden in Holland, or since we came to New-England, have with the manifestation of their faith, and profession of holiness, held forth therewith separation from the Church of England; I have divers times, both in the one place, and in the other, heard either Mr. Robinson our pastor, or Mr. Brewster our elder, stop them forthwith, shewing them that we required no such thing at their hands; but only to hold forth faith in Christ Jesus, holiness in the fear of God, and submission to every ordinance and appointment of God."—Thus he. It is true there have been some *varieties* among this people, but still I suppose the *body* of them do with integrity espouse and maintain the principles upon which they were first established; however, I must, *without fear* of offending, express my *fear*, that the *leaven* of that rigid thing they call Brownism, has prevailed sometimes a little of the furthest in the *administrations* of this pious people. Yea, there was an *hour of temptation*, wherein the fondness of the people for the *prophecyings of the brethren*, as they called those exercises; that is to say, the *preachments* of those whom they called *gifted brethren*, produced those dicouragements unto their ministers, that almost all the ministers left the Colony; apprehending themselves driven away by the insupportable neglect and contempt with which the people on this occasion treated them. And this *dark hour* of *eclipse*, upon the *light* of the Gospel, in the churches of the Colony, continued until their humiliation and reformation before the *great Shepherd of the sheep*, who hath since then blessed them with a succession of as worthy ministers as most in the land. Moreover, there has been among them one Church that have *questioned* and *omitted* the use of *infant-baptism;* nevertheless, there being many good men among those that have been of this perswasion, I do not know that they have been *persecuted* with any harder means than those of kind *conferences* to reclaim them. There have been also some unhappy *sectaries*, viz: Quakers and Seekers, and other such *Energumens*,* [pardon me, reader, that I have thought them so] which have given uggly disturbances to these good-spirited men in their temple-work; but they have not prevailed unto the subversion of the *first interest.*

Some little *controversies* likewise have now and then arisen among them in the administration of their *discipline;* but Synods then regularly called, have usually and presently put into *joint* all that was apprehended *out.* Their chief *hazard* and symptom of degeneracy, is in the verification of that old observation, *Religio peperit Divitias, et filia devoravit matrem:* "Religion brought forth Prosperity, and the *daughter* destroyed the *mother.*" The one would expect, that as they grew in their *estates*, they would grow in the payment of their *quit-rents* unto the God who *gives them power to get wealth*, by more liberally supporting his ministers and ordinances among them; the most likely way to save them from the most miserable apostacy; the neglect whereof in some former years, began for a while to be pun-

* Victims of demoniacal possession.

ished with a sore *famine of the Word;* nevertheless, there is danger lest the *enchantments* of this world make them to forget *their errand into the wilderness:* and some woful villages in the skirts of the Colony, beginning to live without the *means of grace* among them, are still more ominous intimations of the danger. May the God of New-England preserve them from so great a death!

§ 8. Going now to take my leave of this little Colony, that I may converse for a while with her *younger sisters*, which yet have outstript her in growth exceedingly, and so will now draw all the streams of *her* affairs into *their channels*, I shall repeat the counsel which their faithful Robinson gave the first planters of the Colony, at their parting from him in Holland. Said he, [to this purpose,]

"Brethren: We are now quickly to part from one another; and whether I may ever live to see your faces on earth any more, the God of Heaven only knows. But whether the Lord have appointed *that* or no, I charge you before God, and before his blessed angels, that you *follow me* no further than you have seen me *follow the Lord Jesus Christ.*

"If God reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of *his*, be as ready to receive it, as ever you were to receive any truth by *my* ministry; for I am verily perswaded, I am very confident the Lord hath *more truth* yet to break forth out of his holy Word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed Churches, who are come to a *period* in religion; and will go at present no further than the instruments of their first Reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; whatever part of his will our good God has imparted and revealed unto Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet *saw not all things.*

"This is a misery much to be lamented; for though they were 'burning and shining lights' in their times, yet they penetrated not into the 'whole counsel of God;' but were they now living, they would be as willing to embrace *further light*, as that which they *first* received. I beseech you to remember it; it is an article of your Church-covenant, 'That you will be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known unto you from the written Word of God.' Remember *that*, and every other article of your most sacred covenant. But I must herewithal exhort you to take heed what you receive as *truth;* examine it, consider it, compare it with the other Scriptures of truth, before you do receive it. For it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick anti-christian darkness, and that *perfection of knowledge* should break forth at once. I must also advise you to abandon, avoid and shake off the name of Brownist: it is a mere nick-name, and a brand for the making of Religion, and the professors of religion, odious unto the Christian world. Unto this end, I should be extreamly glad, if some godly minister would go with you, or come to you, before you can have any company. For there will be no difference between the *unconformable* ministers of England and you, when you come to the practice of evangelical ordinances out of the kingdom. And I would wish you by all means to close with the godly people of England; study *union* with them in all things, wherein you can have it without sin, rather than in the least measure to affect a division or separation from them. Neither would I have you loth to take another pastor besides my self; inasmuch as a flock that hath two shepherds is not thereby endangered, but secured."

So adding some other things of great consequence, he concluded most affectionately, commending his departing flock unto the grace of God, which now I also do the offspring of that holy flock.

CHAPTER IV.

PAULO MAJORA;* OR, THE ESSAYS AND CAUSES

WHICH PRODUCED THE SECOND, BUT LARGEST COLONY OF NEW-ENGLAND; AND THE MANNER WHEREIN THE FIRST CHURCH OF THIS NEW COLONY WAS GATHERED.

§ 1. WORDS full of emphasis, are those which my reader may find written by a learned and pious minister of the Church of England; and I hope I may without offence tender to the reader the words of such an author.

"Some among us (writes he) are angry with Calvin for calling humane rites, *tolerabiles Ineptias*;† they will not at the great day be *such* unto the rigorous imposers, who made them the *terms of communion*. How will you at that day lift up your faces before your Master and your Judge, when he shall demand of you, 'what is become of those his lambs which you drove into the wilderness by needless impositions?'"

The story of the folks thus "driven into the wilderness" has begun to be related: and we would relate it without all intemperate expressions of our anger against our drivers, before whom the people must needs go, as they did: it becomes not an historian, and it less becomes a Christian, to be *passionate*. Nevertheless, *poetry* may *dare* to do something at the description of that which *drove* those *drivers;* and with a few lines fetched from the most famous epic poem‡ of Dr. Blackmore, we will describe the fury.

* * * A *Fury* crawl'd from out her cell,
The bloodiest Minister of *Death* and *hell;*
A monstrous shape, a foul and hideous sight,
Which did all hell with her dire looks affright.
Huge half-gorged snakes on her lean shoulders hung,
And Death's dark courts with their loud hissing rung.
Her teeth and claws were iron, and her breath,
Like subterranean damps, gave present death.
Flames, worse than hell's, shot from her bloody eyes,
And "Fire! and sword!" eternally she cries.
No certain shape, no feature regular,
No limbs distinct in th' odious fiend appear.
Her squalid, bloated belly did arise,
Swoll'n with black gore, to a prodigious size:
Distended vastly by a mighty flood
Of slaughter'd *saints'* and constant *martyrs'* blood.
A monster so deform'd, so fierce as this,
It self a *hell*, ne'er saw the dark abyss!
Horror, till now the ugliest shape esteem'd,
So much outdone, an harmless figure seem'd.
Envy, and *Hate*, and *Malice* blush'd to see
Themselves *eclipsed* by such deformity.
Her feaverish *heat* drinks down a sea of *blood*,
Not of the *impious*, but the *just* and *good:*
'Gainst whom she burns with unextinguish'd rage,
Nor can th' exhausted world her wrath asswage.

It was PERSECUTION; a *fury* which we consider not as possessing the Church of England, but as inspiring a *party* which have unjustly challenged the name of the Church of England, and which, whenever the Church of England shall any more encourage, her *fall* will become like that of the house which our Saviour saw built upon the sand.

§ 2. There were more than a few attempts of the English to people and improve the parts of New-England which were to the northward of New-Plymouth; but the designs of those attempts being aimed no higher than

* Events somewhat more imposing.—VIRGIL, *Bucol.* iv. 1.
† Harmless mummeries. ‡ "*King Arthur.*"

the advancement of some *worldly interests*, a constant series of disasters has confounded them, until there was a plantation erected upon the nobler designs of Christianity; and that plantation, though it has had more adversaries than perhaps any one upon earth; yet, "having obtained help from God, it continues to this day." There have been very fine settlements in the north-east regions; but what is become of them? I have heard that one of our ministers once preaching to a congregation there, urged them to approve themselves a *religious* people from this consideration, "that otherwise they would contradict the main end of planting this wilderness;" whereupon a well-known person, then in the assembly, cryed out, "Sir, you are mistaken: you think you are preaching to the people at the Bay; our *main end* was to *catch fish*." Truly 'twere to have been wished, that something more excellent had been the *main end* of the settlements in that brave country, which we have, even long since the arrival of that more pious colony at the Bay, now seen dreadfully *unsettled*, no less than *twice* at least, by the sword of the heathen, after they had been replenished with many hundreds of people, who had thriven to many thousands of pounds; and had all the force of the Bay, too, to assist them in the maintaining of their settlements. But the same or the like inauspicious things attended many other endeavours to make plantations upon such a *main end* in several other parts of our country, before the arrival of those by whom the Massachuset colony was at last formed upon more glorious *aims;* all proving, like the habitations of the *foolish*, "cursed before they had taken root." Of all which *catastrophe's*, I suppose none was more sudden than that of Monsieur Finch, whom in a ship from France, trucking with the Massachuset-Natives; those bloody salvages, coming on board without any other *arms*, but *knives* concealed under *flaps*, immediately butchered with all his men, and set the ship on fire. Yea, so many fatalities attended the adventurers in their essays, that they began to suspect that the Indian sorcerers had laid the place under some *fascination;* and that the English could not prosper upon such *enchanted ground*, so that they were almost afraid of adventuring any more.

§ 3. Several persons in the west of England, having by fishing-voyages to Cape Ann, the northern promontory of the Massachuset-Bay, obtained some acquaintance with those parts; the news of the good progress made in the new plantation of Plymouth, inspired the renowned Mr. White, minister of Dorchester, to prosecute the settlement of such another plantation here for the propagation of *religion*. This good man engaged several gentlemen about the year 1624, in this noble design; and they employed a most religious, prudent, worthy gentleman, one Mr. Roger Conant, in the government of the place, and of their affairs upon the place; but through many discouragements, the design for a while almost fell unto the ground. That great man, greatly grieved hereat, wrote over to this Mr. Roger Conant, that if he and three honest men more would yet stay upon

the spot, he would procure a *patent* for them, and send them over friends, goods, provisions, and what was necessary to assist their undertakings. Mr. Conant, then looking out a scituation more commodious for a *town*, gave his three disheartened companions to understand, that he did believe God would make this land a receptacle for his people; and that if *they* should leave him, yet *he* would not stir; for he was confident he should not long want company; which confidence of his caused them to abandon the thoughts of leaving him. Well, it was not long before the Council of Plymouth in England had, by a deed bearing date March 19, 1627, sold unto some knights and gentlemen about Dorchester, viz: Sir Henry Rowsel, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcott, John Humphrey, John Endicott, and Simon Whetcomb, and their heirs and assigns, and their associates for ever, that part of New-England which lyes between a great river called Merrimack, and a certain other river there called Charles' River, in the bottom of the Massachuset-Bay. But shortly after this, Mr. White brought the aforesaid honourable persons into an acquaintance with several other persons of quality about London; as, namely, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Adderly, John Ven, Matthew Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowel, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassal, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goff, Thomas Adams, John Brown, Samuel Brown, Thomas Hutchings, William Vassal, William Pinchon, and George Foxcraft. These persons being associated unto the former, and having bought of them all their interest in New-England aforesaid, now consulted about settling a *plantation* in that country, whither such as were then called *Non-conformists* might, with the grace and leave of the King, make a peaceable *secession*, and enjoy the liberty and the exercise of their own perswasions about the worship of the Lord Jesus Christ. Whereupon petitioning the King to confirm what they had thus purchased with a new patent, he granted them one, bearing date from the year 1628, which gave them a right unto the soil, holding their titles of lands, as of the mannor of East Greenwich in Kent, and in common *soccage*. By this Charter they were empowered yearly to elect their own governour, deputy-governour and magistrates; as also to make such *laws* as they should think suitable for the plantation: but as an acknowledgment of their dependance upon England, they might not make any laws repugnant unto those of the kingdom; and the fifth part of all the *oar* of gold or silver found in the territory, belonged unto the crown. So, soon after Mr. Cradock being by the company chosen governour, they sent over Mr. Endicott in the year 1628, to carry on the plantation, which the Dorchester-agents had lookt out for them, which was at a place called Nahumkeick. Of which place I have somewhere met with an odd observation, that the name of it was rather Hebrew than Indian;* for נחום, *Nahum*, signifies comfort, and קוק, *Keik*, signifies an haven; and our English not only found it an Haven of Comfort, but happened also to put an Hebrew name upon

it; for they called it Salem, for the *peace* which they had and hoped in it; and *so it is called unto this day.*

§ 4. An entrance being thus made upon the design of planting a country of English and Reformed Churches; they that were concerned for the plantation, made their application to two non-formists ministers, that they would go over to serve the *Cause of God and of Religion* in the beginning of those Churches. The one of these was Mr. Higginson, a minister in Leicestershire, silenced for his non-conformity; the other was Mr. Skelton, a minister of Lincolnshire, suffering also for his non-conformity; both of which were men eminent for learning and virtue, and who, thus driven out of their native country, sought their graves on the American-Strand, whereon the Epitaph might be inscribed that was on Scipio's: *Ingrata Patria, ne Mortui quidem habebis Ossa.** These ministers came over to Salem in the summer of the year 1629, and with these there came over a considerable number of excellent Christians, who no sooner arrived, but they set themselves about the Church-work, which was their *errand* hither.

'Tis true, there were two other Clergy-men, who came over about the same time; nevertheless, there has been very little account given of their circumstances; except what a certain little Narrative-writer has offered us, by saying, "there were two that began to hew stones in the mountains, for the building of the temple here; but when they saw all sorts of stones would not fit in the building, the one betook himself to the seas again and the other to till the land;" for which cause, burying all further mention of them among the rubbish, in the *foundation* of the Colony, we will proceed with our story; which is now to tell us, that the passage of these our *pilgrims* was attended with many smiles of Heaven upon them. They were blessed with a company of honest seamen; with whom the ministers and passengers constantly served God, morning and evening; reading, expounding and applying the word of God, singing of his praise, and seeking of his peace; to which exercises they added on the Lord's day two sermons, and a catechising: and sometimes they set apart an whole day for fasting and prayer, to obtain from Heaven a good success in their voyage, especially when the weather was much against them, whereto they had very remarkable answers; but the seamen said, "that they believed these were the first *sea*-fasts that ever were kept in the world." At length, *Per varios Casus, per Tot Discrimina Rerum,*† they landed at the haven of rest provided for them.

§ 5. The persecuted servants of God, under the English Hierarchy, had been in *a sea of ice mingled with fire;* though the *fire* scalded them, yet such cakes of ice were over their heads, that there was no getting out; but the *ice* was now broken, by the American offers of a retreat for the pure worshippers of the Lord into a wilderness.

* "Ungrateful country of my birth! thou shalt not possess even my lifeless bones."

† Through perils, toil, and rough adventure passed.

The report of the charter granted unto the governour and company of the Massachuset-Bay, and the entertainment and encouragement which planters began to find in that Bay, came with a—*Patrias age, desere Sedes*,* and caused many very deserving persons to transplant themselves and their families into New-England. Gentlemen of ancient and worshipful families, and ministers of the gospel, then of great fame at home, and merchants, husbandmen, artificers, to the number of some thousands, did for twelve years together carry on this transplantation. It was indeed a *banishment* rather than a *removal*, which was undergone by this glorious generation, and you may be sure sufficiently afflictive to men of estate, breeding and conversation. As the *hazard* which they ran in this undertaking was of such *extraordinariness*, that nothing less than a strange and strong impression from Heaven could have thereunto moved the hearts of such as were in it: so the *expense* with which they carried on the undertaking was truly extraordinary. By computation, the *passage* of the persons that peopled New-England, cost at least ninety-five thousand pound; the transportation of their first small stock of cattle, great and small, cost no less than twelve thousand pound, besides the price of the cattle themselves; the provisions laid in for subsistence, till tillage might produce more, cost forty-five thousand pounds; the materials for their first cottages cost eighteen thousand pounds; their arms, ammunition and great artillery, cost twenty-two thousand pounds; besides which hundred and ninety-two thousand pounds, the adventurers laid out in England what was not inconsiderable. About an hundred and ninety-eight ships were employed in passing the perils of the seas, in the accomplishment of this renowned settlement; whereof, by the way, but *one* miscarried in those perils.

Briefly, the God of Heaven served as it were a *summons* upon the *spirits* of his people in the English nation; stirring up the spirits of thousands which never saw the *faces* of each other, with a most unanimous inclination to leave all the pleasant accommodations of their native country, and go over a terrible ocean, into a more terrible *desert*, for the *pure enjoyment of all his ordinances*. It is now reasonable that before we pass any further, the *reasons* of this undertaking should be more exactly made known unto posterity, especially unto the posterity of those that were the *undertakers*, lest they come at length to forget and neglect the *true interest* of New-England. Wherefore I shall now transcribe some of them from a manuscript, wherein they were then tendred unto consideration.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE PLANTATION OF NEW-ENGLAND.

"*First*, It will be a service unto the Church, of great consequence, to carry the Gospel into those parts of the world, and raise a *bulwark* against the kingdom of anti-christ, which the Jesuites labour to rear up in *all* parts of the world.

"*Secondly*, All other Churches of Europe have been brought under *desolations*; and it may

* A call to leave their country and their home.

be feared that the like judgments are coming upon *us;* and who knows but God hath provided this place to be a *refuge* for many, whom he means to save out of the General Destruction.

"*Thirdly,* The land grows weary of her inhabitants, insomuch that *man,* which is the most precious of all creatures, is here more vile and base than the earth he treads upon: children, neighbours and friends, especially the *poor,* are counted the greatest burdens, which if things were right would be the chiefest earthly blessings.

"*Fourthly,* We are grown to that intemperance in all *excess of riot,* as no mean estate almost will suffice a man to keep sail with his *equals,* and he that fails in it, must live in scorn and contempt: hence it comes to pass, that all *arts* and *trades* are carried in that deceitful manner, and unrighteous course, as it is almost impossible for a good, upright man to maintain his constant charge, and live comfortably in them.

"*Fifthly,* The schools of learning and religion are so corrupted, as (besides the unsupportable charge of education) most children, even the best, wittiest, and of the fairest hopes, are perverted, corrupted, and utterly overthrown, by the multitude of evil examples and licentious behaviours in these *seminaries.*

"*Sixthly,* The *whole earth* is the Lord's *garden,* and he hath given it to the sons of Adam, to be tilled and improved by them: why then should we stand starving here for places of habitation, and in the mean time suffer whole countries, as profitable for the use of man, to lye waste without any improvement?

"*Seventhly,* What can be a better or nobler work, and more worthy of a Christian, than to erect and support a *reformed particular Church* in its infancy, and unite our forces with such a company of faithful people, as by a timely assistance may grow stronger and prosper; but for want of it, may be put to great hazards, if not be wholly ruined?

"*Eighthly,* If any such as are known to be godly, and live in wealth and prosperity here, shall forsake all this to join with this *reformed* church, and with it run the hazard of an hard and mean condition, it will be an example of great use, both for the removing of *scandal,* and to give more *life* unto the *faith* of God's people in their prayers for the plantation, and also to encourage others to join the more willingly in it."

§ 6. Mr. Higginson, and Mr. Skelton, and other good people that arrived at Salem, in the year 1629, resolved, like their father Abraham, to begin their plantation with "calling on the name of the Lord." The great Mr. Hildersham had advised our first planters to agree fully upon their form of church government, before their coming into New-England; but they had indeed agreed little further than in this general principle, "that the reformation of the church was to be endeavoured according to the written word of God." Accordingly ours, now arrived at Salem, consulted with their brethren at Plymouth, what steps to take for the more exact acquainting of themselves *with,* and conforming themselves *to,* that *written word;* and the Plymotheans, to their great satisfaction, laid before them what *warrant,* they judged, that they had in the *laws* of our Lord Jesus Christ, for every particular in their Church-order.

Whereupon having the concurrence and countenance of their deputy-governour, the worshipful John Endicott, Esq., and the approving presence of the messengers from the church of Plymouth, they set apart the sixth day of August, after their arrival, for fasting and prayer, for the settling of a *Church State* among them, and for their making a *Confession of their Faith,* and entering into an holy *Covenant,* whereby that Church State was formed.

Mr. Higginson then became the teacher, and Mr. Skelton the pastor, of the church thus constituted at Salem; and they lived very *peaceably* in Salem together, till the death of Mr. Higginson, which was about a twelvemonth after, and then of Mr. Skelton, who did not long survive him. Now, the Covenant whereto these Christians engaged themselves, which was about seven years after solemnly *renewed* among them, I shall here lay before all the Churches of God, as it was then expressed and inforced:

"*We covenant with our Lord, and one with another; and we do bind our selves in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself unto us in his blessed word of truth; and do explicitly, in the name and fear of God, profess and protest to walk as followeth, through the power and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

"*We avouch the Lord to be our God, and our selves to be his people, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits.*

"*We give our selves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and the word of his grace for the teaching, ruling and sanctifying of us in matters of worship and conversation, resolving to cleave unto him alone for life and glory, and to reject all contrary ways, canons, and constitutions of men in his worship.*

"*We promise to walk with our brethren, with all watchfulness and tenderness, avoiding jealousies and suspicions, back-bitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them; but in all offences to follow the rule of our Lord Jesus, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he hath taught us.*

"*In public or private, we will willingly do nothing to the offence of the church; but willing to take advice for our selves and ours, as occasion shall be presented.*

"*We will not in the congregation be forward either to show our own gifts and parts in speaking or scrupling, or there discover the weakness or failings of our brethren; but attend an orderly call thereunto, knowing how much the Lord may be dishonoured, and his gospel, and the profession of it, slighted by our distempers and weaknesses in public.*

"*We bind our selves to study the advancement of the gospel in all truth and peace; both in regard of those that are within or without; no way slighting our sister churches, but using their counsel, as need shall be; not laying a stumbling-block before any, no, not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote; and so to converse, as we may avoid the very appearance of evil.*

"*We do hereby promise to carry our selves in all lawful obedience to those that are over us, in Church or Commonwealth, knowing how well pleasing it will be to the Lord, that they should have encouragement in their places, by our not grieving their spirits through our irregularities.*

"*We resolve to approve our selves to the Lord in our particular callings; shunning idleness as the bane of any state; nor will we deal hardly or oppressingly with any, wherein we are the Lord's stewards.*

"*Promising also unto our best ability to teach our children and servants the knowledge of God, and of His Will, that they may serve Him also; and all this not by any strength of our own, but by the Lord Christ: whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our Covenant made in his name.*"

By this instrument was the Covenant of Grace explained, received, and recognized, by the *first Church* in this Colony, and applied unto the evangelical designs of a Church-estate before the Lord: this instrument they afterwards often read over, and renewed the *consent* of their souls unto every article in it; especially when their days of *humiliation* invited them to lay hold on particular opportunities for doing so.—So you have seen the *nativity* of the *first* Church in the Massachuset-colony.

§ 7. As for the circumstances of *admission* into this Church, they left it very much unto the discretion and faithfulness of their elders, together with the condition of the persons to be admitted. Some were admitted by expressing their consent unto their *confession* and *covenant;* some were admitted after their first answering to questions about Religion, propounded unto them; some were admitted, when they had presented in *writing* such things as might give *satisfaction* unto the people of God concerning them; and some that were admitted, *orally* addressed the people of God in such terms, as they thought proper to ask their communion with; which *diversity* was perhaps more *beautiful* than would have been a more *punctilious uniformity;* but none were admitted without regard unto a blameless and holy conversation. They did all agree with their brethren of Plymouth in this point, "That the children of the faithful were Church-members, with their parents; and that their baptism was a seal of their being so;" only before their admission to fellowship in a *particular* Church, it was judged necessary that, being free from scandal, they should be examined by the elders of the Church, upon whose approbation of their *fitness*, they should publickly and personally own the *covenant;* so they were to be received unto the table of the Lord: and accordingly the eldest son of Mr. Higginson, being about fifteen years of age, and laudably answering all the characters expected in a communicant, was then so received.

§ 8. It is to be remembered, that some of the passengers, who came over with those of our first Salemites, observing that the ministers did not use the "Book of Common-Prayer" in their administrations; that they administered the *baptism* and the *supper* of the Lord, without any unscriptural *ceremonies;* that they resolved upon using *discipline* in the congregation against scandalous offenders, according to the word of God; and that some *scandalous* persons had been denied admission into the communion of the Church; they began (Frankford fashion) to raise a deal of trouble hereupon. *Herodiana Malitia, nascentem persequi Religionem!** Of these there were especially two brothers; the one a lawyer, the other a merchant, both men of parts, estate and figure in the place. These gathered a company together, *separate* from the publick assembly; and *there*, the Common-Prayer-Worship was after a sort upheld among such as would resort unto them. The governour perceiving a disturbance to arise among the people on this occasion, sent for the brothers; who accused the ministers, as

* Herod-like malice, bent on crushing the infant Church.

JOHN WINTHROP.

departing from the orders of the Church of England; adding, "That they were Separatists, and would be shortly Anabaptists;" but for themselves, "They would hold unto the orders of the Church of England." The answer of the ministers to these accusations, was, "That they were neither Separatists nor Anabaptists; that they did not separate from the Church of England, nor from the ordinances of God there, but only from the corruptions and disorders of that Church: that they came away from the Common-Prayer and Ceremonies, and had suffered much for their nonconformity in their native land; and therefore being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them; inasmuch as they judged the imposition of these things to be a sinful violation of the worship of God."—The governour, the council, the people, generally approved of the answer thus given by the ministers; but these persons returned into England with very furious *threatnings* against the Church thus established; however the *threatned folks* have *lived so long*, that the Church has *out-lived* the grand *climacterical* year of humane age; it is now flourishing, more than sixty-three years after its first gathering, under the pastoral care of a most reverend and ancient person, even Mr. John Higginson, the *son* of that excellent man who laid the foundations of that society.

CHAPTER V.

PEREGRINI DEO CURÆ;*

OR, THE PROGRESS OF THE NEW COLONY; WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PERSONS, THE METHODS, AND THE TROUBLES, BY WHICH IT CAME TO SOMETHING.

§ 1. THE Governour and Company of the Massachuset-Bay, then in London, did in the year 1629, after exact and mature debates, conclude, that it was most convenient for the government, with the charter of the plantation, to be transferred into the plantation it self; and an *order of court* being drawn up for that end, there was then chosen a new governour, and a new deputy-governour, that were willing to remove themselves with their families thither on the first occasion. The governour was John Winthrop, Esq., a gentleman of that wisdom and virtue, and those manifold accomplishments, that after-generations must reckon him no less a *glory*, than he was a *patriot* of the country. The deputy-governour was Thomas Dudley, Esq., a gentleman, whose *natural* and *acquired* abilities, joined with his excellent *moral* qualities, entitled him to all the great

* Strangers are peculiar objects of God's care.

respects with which his country on all opportunities treated him. Several most worthy *assistants* were at the same time chosen to be in this transportation; moreover, several other gentlemen of prime note, and several famous ministers of the gospel, now likewise embarked themselves with these honourable adventurers; who equipped a *fleet* consisting of ten or eleven ships, whereof the admiral was, The Arabella (so called in honour of the right honourable the Lady Arabella Johnson, at this time on board), a ship of three hundred and fifty tuns; and in some of the said ships there were two hundred passengers; all of which arrived before the middle of July, in the year 1630, safe in the harbours of New-England. There was a time when the British sea was by Clements, and the other ancients, called ὠκεαντος ἀπεραντος, *the unpassable ocean.* What then was to be thought of the vast Atlantick sea, on the westward of Britain? But this ocean must now be passed! An heart of stone must have dissolved into *tears* at the affectionate *farewel* which the governour and other eminent persons took of their friends, at a *feast* which the governour made for them, a little before their going off; however, they were acted by principles that could carry them through *tears* and *oceans;* yea, through *oceans* of *tears:* principles that enabled them to leave, *Dulcia Limina, atque amabilem Larem, quem et parentum memoria, atque ipsius* (to use Stupius' words) *Infamiæ Rudimenta Confirmant.** Some very late geographers do assure us, that the breadth of the Atlantick sea is commonly over-reckoned by *six*, by *eight*, by *ten* degrees. But let that sea be as narrow as they please, I can assure the reader the passing of it was no little *trial* unto those worthy people that were now to pass it.

§ 2. But the most notable circumstance in their farewel, was their composing and publishing of what they called, "The humble request of his Majesties loyal subjects, the Governour and Company lately gone for New-England, to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England; for the obtaining of their prayers, and the removal of suspicions and misconstructions of their intentions." In this address of theirs, notwithstanding the trouble they had undergone for desiring to see the Church of England *reformed* of several things, which they thought its *deformities*, yet they now called the Church of England their *dear mother;* acknowledging that such *hope* and *part* as they had obtained in the *common salvation* they had *sucked from her breasts;* therewithal entreating their many *reverend fathers and brethren* to recommend them unto the mercies of God, in their constant prayers, as a Church now springing out of their own bowels. "You are not ignorant (said they) that the Spirit of God stirred up the Apostle Paul, to make a continual mention of the Church at Philippi which was a colony from Rome; let the same spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind, that are the Lord's remembrancers, to pray for us, without ceasing,

* Their sweet native shores and cherished firesides; cherished the more for the sake of their parents' memories and the early lessons there imbibed in the very principles which now make them objects of persecution.

who are the weak colony from your selves." And after such prayers, they concluded, "What goodness you shall extend unto us, in this or any other Christian kindness, we your brethren in Christ shall labour to repay, in what duty we are or shall be able to perform; promising so far as God shall enable us, to give him no rest on your behalfs; wishing our heads and hearts may be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations, which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor we hope unprofitably, befall us."

§ 3. Reader, If ever the *charity* of a right Christian, and enlarged soul, were examplarily seen in its proper *expansions*, 'twas in the address which thou hast now been reading; but if it now puzzle the reader to reconcile these passages with the *principles* declared, the *practices* followed, and the *persecutions* undergone, by these American Reformers, let him know, that there was more than one *distinction*, whereof these excellent persons were not ignorant. First, they were able to distinguish between the Church of England, as it *contained* the whole *body of the faithful*, scattered throughout the kingdoms, though of different perswasions about some *rites* and *modes* in religion; many thousands of whom our Nor-Angels knew could comply with many things, to which *our consciences*, otherwise enlightened and perswaded, could not yield such a compliance and the Church of England, as it was *confined* unto a certain constitution by *canons*, which pronounced *Ipso Facto*,* excommunicate all those who should affirm that the *worship* contained in the "Book of Common-Prayer and administrations of sacraments," is unlawful, or that any of the *thirty-nine articles* are erroneous, or that any of the *ceremonies* commanded by the authority of the church might not be approved, used and subscribed; and which will have to be *accursed*, all those who maintain that there are in the realm any other meetings, assemblies or congregations of the King's born subjects, than such as by the laws of the land are allowed, which may rightly challenge to themselves the name of *true* and *lawful Churches;* and by which all those that refuse to *kneel* at the reception of the sacrament, and to be present at publick prayers, according to the *orders* of the church, about which there are prescribed many formalities of *responses*, with bowing at the *name* of Jesus, are to be denied the *communion;* and all who dare not submit their children to be *baptized* by the undertaking of god-fathers, and receive the *cross* as a dedicating badge of Christianity, must not have *baptism* for their children: besides an *et-cætera* of how many more *impositions!* Again, they were able to distinguish between the Church of England, as it kept the true *doctrine* of the Protestant religion, with a disposition to pursue the *reformation* begun in the former century, among whom we may reckon such men as the famous *assembly of divines* at Westminster, who all but eight or nine, and the Scots had before then lived in *conformity;* and the Church of

* By their very act.

England, as limiting that name unto a certain *faction*, who, together with a *discipline* very much *unscriptural*, vigorously prosecuted the *tripartite plot* of Arminianism and conciliation with Rome, in the church, and unbounded *prerogative* in the state; who set themselves to cripple as fast as they could the more learned, godly, painful ministers of the land, and silence and ruin such as could not read a *book for sports on the Lord's days;* or did but use a *prayer* of their own conceiving, before or after sermon; or did but preach in an *afternoon*, as well as in a morning, or on a *lecture*, or on a *market*, or in aniwise discountenance *old* superstitions, or *new* extravagancies; and who at last threw the nation into the lamentable confusions of a civil war. By the light of this *distinction*, we may easily perceive what Church of England it was, that our New-England exiles called, *their* Mother; though their *mother* had been so harsh to them, as to turn them out of doors, yet they highly honoured her; believing that it was not so much their *mother*, but some of their angry *brethren*, abusing the name of their *mother*, who so harshly treated them; and all the harm they wished her, was to see her put off those *ill trimmings*, which at her first coming out of the popish Babylon, she had not fully so laid aside. If any of those envious brethren do now call these *dissenters*, as not very long since a great prelate in a sermon did, *the bastards of the Church of England*, I will not make the return which was made upon it by a person of quality then present; but instead thereof humbly demand, who are the *truer* sons to the Church of England; they that hold all the *fundamentals* of Christianity embraced by that Church, only questioning and forbearing a few *disciplinary* points, which are confessed *indifferent* by the greatest zealots for them; or they that have made Britain more unhabitable that the Torrid Zone? for the poor non-conformists, by their *hot* pressing of those *indifferencies*, as if they had been the only *necessaries*, in the mean time utterly subverting the *faith* in the important points of *predestination*, *free-will*, *justification*, *perseverance*, and some other things, which that Church requires all her children to give their *assent* and *consent* unto? If the *former*, then, say I, the planters of New-England were *truer* sons to the Church of England, than that part of the church which, then by their misemploying their heavy *church-keys*, banished them into this plantation. And, indeed, the more genuine among the most conformable *sons of the church*, did then accordingly wish all prosperity to their New-English brethren; in the number of whom I would particularly reckon that faithful man, Mr. Edward Symons, minister of Rayn in Essex; who in a Discourse printed Anno 1637, does thus express himself: "Many now promise to themselves nothing but successive happiness at New-England; which for a time, through God's mercy, they may enjoy; and I pray God, they may a long time, but in this world there is no happiness perpetual." Nor would I on this occasion leave unquoted some notable words of the learned, witty and famous Dr. Fuller, in his comment on Ruth, page 16: "Concerning our brethren which of late left

this kingdom to advance a plantation in New-England, I think the counsel best that King Joash prescribed unto Amaziah, '*Tarry at home?*' yet as for those that are already gone, far be it from us to conceive them to be such to whom we may not say, *God speed:* but let us pity them, and pray for them. I conclude of the two Englands, what our Saviour saith of the two wines: 'No man having tasted of the old, presently desireth the new; for he saith, the old is better.'"

§ 4. Being happily arrived at New-England, our new planters found the difficulties of a rough and hard wilderness presently assaulting them: of which the worst was the *sickliness* which many of them had contracted by their other difficulties. Of those who soon dyed after their first arrival, not the least considerable was the Lady Arabella, who left an earthly *paradise* in the family of an Earldom, to encounter the sorrows of a wilderness, for the entertainments of a *pure worship* in the house of God; and then immediately left that *wilderness* for the Heavenly *paradise,* whereto the compassionate Jesus, of whom she was a follower, called her. We have read concerning a noble woman of Bohemia, who forsook her friends, her plate, her house, and all; and because the gates of the city were guarded, crept through the common-sewer, that she might enjoy the *institutions* of our Lord at another place where they might be had. The spirit which acted that noble woman, we may suppose carried this blessed lady thus to and through the hardships of an American desart. But as for her virtuous husband, Isaac Johnson, Esq.,

* * * * * He try'd
To live without her, lik'd it not, and dy'd.

His mourning for the death of his honourable consort was too bitter to be extended a *year;* about a month after *her* death *his* ensued, unto the extream loss of the whole plantation. But at the end of this perfect and upright man, there was not only *peace* but *joy;* and his joy particularly expressed it self "that God hath kept his eyes open so long as to see one church of the Lord Jesus Christ gathered in these ends of the earth, before his own going away to Heaven." The *mortality* thus threatning of this new Plantation so *enlivened* the devotions of this good people, that they set themselves by fasting and prayer to obtain from God the removal of it; and their brethren at Plymouth also attended the like duties on their behalf: the issue whereof was, that in a little time they not only had *health* restored, but they likewise enjoyed the special directions and assistance of God in the further prosecution of their undertakings.

§ 5. But there were two terrible distresses more, besides that of *sickness,* whereto this people were exposed in the beginning of their settlement: though a most seasonable and almost unexpected *mercy from Heaven* still rescued them out of those distresses. One thing that sometimes extreamly exercised them, was a scarcity of provisions; in which 'twas wonderful to

see their *dependance* upon God, and God's *mindfulness* of them. When the parching droughts of the summer divers times threatned them with an utter and a total consumption to the fruits of the earth, it was their manner, with *heart-melting*, and I may say, *Heaven-melting* devotions, to fast and pray before God; and on the very days when they *poured out the water* of their *tears* before him, he would *shower down the water* of his *rain* upon their fields; *while they were yet speaking, he would hear them;* insomuch that the salvages themselves would on that occasion admire the Englishman's God! But the Englishmen themselves would celebrate their days of Thanksgiving to him. When their stock was likewise wasted so far, which divers times it was, that they were come to the last meal in the barrel, just then, unlooked for, arrived several ships from other parts of the world loaden with supplies; among which, one was by the *lord-deputy of Ireland* sent hither, although he did not know the necessities of the country to which he sent her; and if he had known them, would have been thought as unlikely as any man living to have helpt them: in these extremities, 'twas marvellous to see how *helpful* these good people were to one another, following the example of their most liberal governour Winthrop, who made an equal distribution of what he had in his own stores among the poor, *taking no thought for to-morrow!* And how content they were; when an honest man, as I have heard, inviting his friends to a dish of *clams*, at the table gave thanks to Heaven, who "had given them to suck the abundance of the seas, and of the treasures hid in the sands!"

Another thing that gave them no little exercise, was *the fear of the Indians*, by whom they were sometimes alarmed. But this fear was wonderfully prevented, not only by intestine wars happening then to fall out among those barbarians, but chiefly by the small-pox, which proved a great plague unto them, and particularly to one of the Princes in the Massachuset-Bay, who yet seemed hopefully to be *christianized* before he dyed. This distemper getting in, I know not how, among them, swept them away with a most prodigious desolation, insomuch that although the English gave them all the assistances of humanity in their calamities, yet there was, it may be, not *one* in *ten* among them left alive; of those *few* that lived, many also *fled* from the infection, leaving the country a meer Golgotha of unburied carcases; and as for the *rest*, the English treated them with all the civility imaginable; among the instances of which civility, let this be reckoned for *one*, that notwithstanding the *patent* which they had for the country, they fairly *purchased* of the natives the several tracts of land which they afterwards *possessed*.

§ 6. The people in the fleet that arrived at New-England, in the year 1630, left the fleet almost, as the family of Noah did the ark, having a whole world before them to be peopled. Salem was already supplied with a competent number of inhabitants; and therefore the governour, with most of the gentlemen that accompanied him in his voyage, took their

first opportunity to prosecute further settlements about the bottom of the Massachuset-Bay; but where-ever they sat down, they were so mindful of their *errand* into the wilderness, that still one of their *first works* was to gather a church into the *covenant* and *order* of the gospel. First, there was a church thus gathered at Charles-town, on the north side of Charles's river; where, keeping a solemn fast on August 27, 1630, to implore the conduct and blessing of Heaven on their ecclesiastical proceedings, they chose Mr. Wilson, a most holy and zealous man, formerly a minister of Sudbury, in the county of Suffolk, to be their teacher; and although he now submitted unto an ordination, with an imposition of such hands as were by the church invited so to pronounce the benediction of Heaven upon him; yet it was done with a *protestation* by all, that it should be only as a sign of his *election* to the charge of his new flock, without any intention that he should thereby renounce the ministry he had received in England. After the gathering of the church at Charles-town, there quickly followed another at the town of Dorchester.

And after Dorchester there followed another at the town of Boston, which issued out of Charles-town; one Mr. James took the care of the Church at Charles-town, and Mr. Wilson went over to Boston, where they that formerly belonged unto Charles-town, with universal approbation became a *distinct Church* of themselves. To Boston soon succeeded a church at Roxbury; to Roxbury, one at Lyn; to Lyn, one at Watertown; so that in one or two years' time there were to be seen *seven* Churches in this neighbourhood, all of them attending to what the *spirit* in the *Scripture said unto them;* all of them *golden candlesticks*, illustrated with a very sensible *presence* of our Lord Jesus Christ among them.

§ 7. It was for a matter of twelve years together, that persons of all ranks, well affected unto *Church-reformation*, kept sometimes *dropping*, and sometimes *flocking* into New-England, though some that were coming into New-England were not suffered so to do. The persecutors of those *Puritans*, as they were called, who were now *retiring* into that *cold* country from the *heat* of their persecution, did all that was possible to hinder as many as was possible from enjoying of that *retirement*. There were many *countermands* given to the passage of people that were now steering of this *western course;* and there was a sort of uproar made among no small part of the nation, that this people should not be *let go*. Among those bound for New-England, that were so stopt, there were especially three famous persons, whom I suppose their adversaries would not have so studiously detained at home, if they had *foreseen* events; those were Oliver Cromwell, and Mr. Hambden, and Sir Arthur Haselrig; nevertheless, this is not the only instance of *persecuting church-mens* not having the *spirit of prophesy*. But many others were diverted from an intended voyage hither by the pure providence of God, which had provided other improvements for them; and of this take one instance instead of many. Before the woeful wars which

broke forth in the three kingdoms, there were divers gentlemen in Scotland, who, being uneasie under the ecclesiastical burdens of the times, wrote unto New-England their enquiries, Whether they might be there suffered freely to exercise their *Presbyterian* church-government? And it was freely answered, "That they might." Hereupon they sent over an agent, who pitched upon a tract of land near the mouth of Merrimack river, whither they intended them to transplant themselves: but although they had so far proceeded in their voyage, as to be *half-seas* through; the manifold crosses they met withal, made them give over their intentions; and the providence of God so ordered it, that some of those very gentlemen were afterwards the *revivers* of that well-known *solemn league and covenant* which had so great an influence upon the following circumstances of the nations. However, the number of those who did actually arrive at New-England before the year 1640, have been computed about four thousand; since which time far more have gone out of the country than have come to it; and yet the God of Heaven so smiled upon the Plantation, while under an *easie* and *equal* government, the designs of Christianity in well-formed churches have been carried on, that no history can *parallel* it. That saying of Eutropius about Rome, which hath been sometimes applied unto the church, is capable of some application to this little part of the church: *Nec Minor ab Exordio, nec major Incrementis ulla.** Never was any plantation brought unto such a considerableness, in a space of time so inconsiderable! an *howling wilderness* in a few years became a *pleasant land*, accommodated with the *necessaries*—yea, and the *conveniences* of humane life; the *gospel* has carried with it a *fulness of all other blessings;* and (albeit, that mankind generally, as far as we have any means of enquiry, have increased in one and the same given proportion, and so no more than *doubled* themselves in about three hundred and sixty years, in all the past ages of the world, since the fixing of the present period of humane life) the four thousand first planters, in less than fifty years, notwithstanding all transportations and mortalities, increased into, they say, more than an hundred thousand.

CHAPTER VI.

QUI TRANS MARE CURRUNT;†

OR, THE ADDITION OF SEVERAL OTHER COLONIES TO THE FORMER; WITH SOME OTHER CONSIDERABLES IN THE CONDITION OF THESE LATER COLONIES.

§ 1. It was not long before the Massachuset Colony was become like an *hive* overstocked with *bees;* and many of the new inhabitants entertained thoughts of *swarming* into plantations extended further into the country,

* Never was any thing more mean in inception or more mighty in progress. † "Those who cross the sea.

The colony might fetch its own description from the dispensations of the great God, unto his ancient Israel, and say, "O, God of Hosts, thou hast brought a vine out of *England;* thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it; thou preparedst room before it, and didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the land; the hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars; she sent out her boughs unto the sea." But still there was one stroak wanting for the complete accommodations of the description; to wit, "She sent forth her branches unto the river;" and this therefore is to be next attended. The fame of Connecticut river, a long, fresh, rich river, (as indeed the name *Connecticut* is Indian for a long river,) had made a little *Nilus,** of it in the expectations of the good people about the Massachuset-bay: whereupon many of the planters belonging especially to the towns of Cambridge, Dorchester, Watertown and Roxbury, took up resolutions to travel an hundred miles westward from those towns, for a further settlement upon this famous river. When the learned Fernandius had been in the Indies, he did in his preface to his *Commentaries* afterwards published, give this account of it: *Deo sic volente, prodii in remotissimos usque Indos, tam non avidus lucis et gloriæ, ut eam vere dixerim, ultro elegerim mei ipsius adhuc viventis verissimam Sepulturam.*† Reader, come with me now to behold some worthy, and learned, and genteel persons going to be *buried alive* on the banks of Connecticut, having been first *slain* by the ecclesiastical impositions and persecutions of Europe.

§ 2. It was in the year 1635, that this design was first formed; and the disposition of the celebrated Mr. Thomas Hooker, with his people now in Cambridge, to engage in the design, was that which gave most life unto it. They then sent their agents to view the country, who returned with so advantageous a report, that the next year there was a great *remove* of good people thither: on this remove, they that went from Cambridge became a church upon a spot of ground now called Hartford; they that went from Dorchester, became a church at Windsor; they that went from Watertown, sat down at Wethersfield; and they that left Roxbury were inchurched higher up the river at Springfield, a place which was afterwards found within the line of the Massachuset-charter. Indeed, the *first* winter after their going thither, proved an *hard* one; and the grievous disappointments which befel them, through the unseasonable freezing of the river, whereby their vessel of provisons was detained at the mouth of the river, threescore miles below them, caused them to encounter with very disastrous difficulties. Divers of them were hereby obliged in the depth of winter to travel back into the Bay; and some of them were frozen to death in the journey.

However, such was their courage, that they prosecuted their Plantation-

* Nile.

† By God's permission, I penetrated into the remotest parts of India, actuated less by curiosity or ambition, than by a desire to say, with truth, that I had voluntarily sought out a spot where I was in reality buried alive.

work with speedy and blessed successes; and when bloody salvages in their neighbourhood, known by the name of Pequots, had like to have nipt the plantation in the bud, by a cruel war, within a year or two after their settlement, the marvellous providence of God immediately extinguished that war, by prospering the New-English arms, unto the utter subduing of the quarrelsome nation, and affrightning of all the other natives.

§ 3. It was with the countenance and assistance of their brethren in the Massachuset-bay, that the first Planters of Connecticut made their essays thus to discover and cultivate the remoter parts of this mighty wilderness; and accordingly several gentlemen went furnished with some kind of *commission* from the government of the Massachuset-bay, for to maintain some kind of government among the inhabitants, till there could be a more orderly settlement. But the inhabitants quickly perceiving themselves to be without the *line* of the Massachuset-charter, entered into a combination among themselves, whereby with mutual consent they became a *body-politick*, and framed a body of necessary laws and orders, to the execution whereof they chose all necessary officers, very much, though not altogether, after the form of the colony from whence they issued. So they jogged on for many years; and whereas, before the year 1644, that worthy gentleman, George Fenwick Esq., did, on the behalf of several persons of quality, begin a plantation about the mouth of the river, which was called Say-brook, in remembrance of those right honourable persons, the Lord Say and the Lord Brook, who laid a claim to the land thereabouts, by virtue of a patent granted by the Earl of Warwick; the inhabitants of Connecticut that year purchased of Mr. Fenwick this tract of land. But the confusions then embarrassing the affairs of the English nation, hindred our *Connecticotians* from seeking of any further settlement, until the restoration of K. Charles II., when they made their application to the King for a charter, by the agency of their honourable governour, John Winthrop, Esq., the most accomplished son of that excellent person who had been so considerable in the foundations of the Massachuset-colony. This renowned *virtuoso* had justly been the darling of New-England, if they had only considered his eminent qualities, as he was a *Christian*, a *gentleman*, and a *philosopher*, well worthy to be, as he was, a member of the *Royal-Society;* but it must needs further endear his memory to his country, that God made him the instrument of obtaining for them, as he did from the King of England, as amply priviledged a charter as was ever enjoyed perhaps by any people under the cope of heaven. Under the protection and encouragement of this charter they flourished many years; and many towns being successively erected among them, their churches had "rest, and walked in the fear of God, and in the comfort of the Holy Spirit."

§ 4. The *church-order* observed in the churches of Connecticut, has been the same that is observed by their *sisters* in the Massachuset-bay; and in

this *order* they lived exceeding peaceably all the eleven years that Mr. Hooker lived among them. Nevertheless there arose at length some unhappy contests in one town of the colony, which grew into an alienation that could not be cured without such a parting, and yet, indeed, hardly so kind a parting, as that whereto once Abraham and Lot were driven. However, these little, idle, angry *controversies*, proved occasions of *enlargements* to the church of God; for such of the inhabitants as chose a *cottage in a wilderness*, before the most beautiful and furnished edifice, overheated with the *fire* of contention, removed peaceably higher up the river, where a whole county of holy churches has been added unto the number of our congregations.

§ 5. But there was one thing that made this colony to become very considerable; which thing remains now to be considered. The well-known Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Eaton, and several eminent persons that came over to the Massachuset-bay among some of the first planters, were strongly urged, that they would have settled in this Bay; but hearing of another Bay to the south-west of Connecticut, which might be more capable to entertain those that were to follow them, they desired that their friends at Connecticut would purchase of the native proprietors for *them*, all the land that lay between themselves and Hudson's River, which was in part effected. Accordingly removing thither in the year 1637, they seated themselves in a pleasant Bay, where they spread themselves along the *sea-coast*, and one might have been suddenly as it were surprized with the sight of such notable towns, as first New-Haven; then Guilford; then Milford; then Stamford; and then Brainford, where our Lord Jesus Christ is worshipped in churches of an evangelical constitution; and from thence, if the enquirer make a salley over to Long-Island, he might there also have seen the churches of our Lord beginning to take root in the eastern parts of that island. All this while this *fourth colony* wanted the legal *basis* of a *charter* to build upon; but they did by mutual agreement form themselves, into a *body-politick* as like as they judged fit unto the other colonies in their neighbourhood; and as for there *church-order*, it was generally *secundum usum Massachusettensem*.*

§ 6. Behold, a fourth colony of New-English Christians, in a manner *stolen* into the world, and a colony, indeed, *constellated* with many stars of the first magnitude. The colony was under the conduct of as holy, and as prudent, and as genteel persons as most that ever visited these nooks of America; and yet *these* too were tryed with very humbling circumstances.

Being Londoners, or merchants and men of traffick and business, their design was in a manner wholly to apply themselves unto *trade;* but the design failing, they found their great estates sink so fast, that they must quickly *do something*. Whereupon in the year 1646, gathering together almost all the strength which was left them, they built one ship more,

* After the Massachusetts model.

which they fraighted for England with the best part of their tradable estates; and sundry of their eminent persons embarked themselves in her for the voyage. But, alas! the ship was never after heard of: she foundred in the sea; and in her were lost, not only the *hopes* of their future trade, but also the *lives* of several excellent persons, as well as divers *manuscripts* of some great men in the country, sent over for the service of the church, which were now buried in the ocean. The fuller story of that grievous matter, let the reader with a just astonishment accept from the pen of the reverend person who is now the pastor of New-Haven. I wrote unto him for it, and was thus answered:

"Reverend and Dear Sir: In compliance with your desires, I now give you the relation of that apparition of a ship in the air, which I have received from the most credible judicious, and curious surviving observers of it.

"In the year 1647, besides much other lading, a far more rich treasure of passengers, (five or six of which were persons of chief note and worth in New-Haven) put themselves on board a new ship, built at Rhode-Island, of about 150 tuns; but so walty, that the master (Lamberton) often said she would prove their grave. In the month of January, cutting their way through much ice, on which they were accompanied with the Reverend Mr. Davenport, besides many other friends, with many fears, as well as prayers and tears, they set sail. Mr. Davenport in prayer, with an observable emphasis, used these words: 'Lord, if it be thy pleasure to bury these our friends in the bottom of the sea, they are thine: save them.' The spring following, no tidings of these friends arrived with the ships from England: New-Haven's heart began to fail her: this put the godly people on much prayer, both publick and private, 'that the Lord would (if it was his pleasure) let them hear what he had done with their dear friends, and prepare them with a suitable submission to his Holy Will.' In June next ensuing, a great thunder-storm arose out of the north-west after which (the hemisphere being serene) about an hour before sun-set, a Ship of like dimensions with the aforesaid, with her canvas and colours abroad (though the wind northernly) appeared in the air coming up from our harbour's mouth, which lyes southward from the town, seemingly with her sails filled under a fresh gale, holding her course north, and continuing under observation, sailing against the wind for the space of half an hour.

"Many were drawn to behold this great work of God; yea, the very children cryed out, 'There's a brave ship!' At length, crowding up as far as there is usually water sufficient for such a vessel, and so near some of the spectators, as that they imagined a man might hurl a stone on board her, her *main-top* seemed to be blown off, but left hanging in the shrouds; then her *mizzen-top;* then all her *masting* seemed blown away by the board: quickly after the *hulk* brought unto a careen, she overset, and so vanished into a smoaky cloud, which in some time dissipated, leaving, as everywhere else, a clear air. The admiring spectators could distinguish the several colours of each part, the principal rigging, and such proportions, as caused not only the generality of persons to say, 'This was the mould of their ship, and thus was her tragick end,' but Mr. Davenport also in publick declared to this effect, 'That God had condescended, for the quieting of their afflicted spirits, this extraordinary account of his sovereign disposal of those for whom so many fervent prayers were made continually.' Thus I am Sir, "Your humble servant,

"James Pierpont."

Reader, there being yet living so many credible gentlemen, that were eye-witnesses of this *wonderful* thing, I venture to publish it for a thing as *undoubted* as 'tis wonderful.

But let us now proceed with our story. Our colony of New-Haven apprehended themselves disadvantageously seated for the affairs of husbandry; and therefore upon these disasters they made many attempts of removing into some other parts of the world. One while they were invited unto Delaware-bay, another while they were invited unto Jamaica; they had offers made them from Ireland also, after the wars there were over; and they entred into some treaties about the city of Galloway, which they were to have had as a small *province* to themselves. But the God of Heaven still strangely disappointed all these attempts; and whereas they were concerned how their *posterity* should be able to live, if they must make husbandry their main shift for their living; that posterity of theirs, by the good providence of God, instead of coming to beggary and misery, have thriven wonderfully: the colony is improved with many wealthy husbandmen, and is become no small part of the best granary for all New-England. And the same good Providence has all along so preserved them from annoyance by the Indians, that although at their first setting down there were few towns but what wisely perswaded a body of Indians to dwell near them: whereby such kindnesses passed between them that they always dwelt peaceably together; nevertheless there are few of those towns but what have seen their body of Indians utterly extirpated by nothing but *mortality* wasting them.

§ 7. But what is now become of New-Haven colony? I must answer, *It is not:* and yet it has been growing ever since it first *was*. But when Connecticut-colony petitioned the restored King for a CHARTER, they procured New-Haven colony to be annexed unto them in the same charter; and this, not without having first the private concurrence of some *leading* men in the colony; though the minds of *others* were so uneasie about the coalition, that it cost some time after the arrival of the Charter for the colony, like Jephtha's daughter to bewail her condition, before it could be quietly complied withal. Nevertheless they have lived ever since, *one colony*, very happily together, and the *God of love and peace* has remarkably dwelt among them: however, these children of God have not been without their *chastisements*, especially in the malignant fevers and agues, which have often proved very mortal in most or all of their plantations.

§ 8. While the south-west parts of New-England were thus filled with new colonies, the north-east parts of the country were not forgotten. There were ample regions beyond the line of the Massachuset-patent, where new settlements were attempted, not only by such as designed a *fishing*-trade at sea, or a *Bever*-trade on shore; not only by some that were uneasie under the Massachuset-government in a *day of temptation*, which came upon the first planters; but also by some very serious Christians, who propounded the enlargement and enjoyment of our Lord's evangelical interests in those territories. The effect of these *excursions* were, that several well-constituted churches were gathered in the province of East-

Hampshire, besides one or two in the province of Mam, whereto were added a large number of other congregations, wherein weekly *prayers* and *sermons* were made, although the inhabitants belonging to those congregations, proceeded not so far as to all the ordinances of a more compleat Church-State among them. That which contributed more than a little to the growth of Christianity in those parts of New-England, was the application, which the people being tired with many quarrelsome circumstances about their government, made unto the general court of the Massachusetbay, to be taken under their protection; which petition of theirs being answered by that general court, surely after a more charitable and accountable manner, than such authors as Ogilby in his America have represented it, [*Vos magis Historicis, Lectores, Credite veris!*]* there followed many successful endeavours to spread the effects and orders of the gospel along that coast.

But thus was the settlement of New-England brought about; these were the *beginnings*, these the *foundations* of those colonies, which have not only enlarged the English empire in some regards more than any other outgoings of our nation, but also afforded a singular prospect of churches erected in an American corner of the world, on purpose to express and pursue the Protestant Reformation.

CHAPTER VII.

HECATOMPOLIS;† OR, A FIELD WHICH THE LORD HATH BLESSED.

A MAP OF THE COUNTRY.

It is proper that I should now give the reader an Ecclesiastical Map of the country, thus undertaken. Know, then, that although for more than twenty years, the *blasting strokes* of Heaven upon the secular affairs of this country have been such, as rather to *abate* than *enlarge* the growth of it; yet there are to be seen in it, at this present year 1696, these Colonies, Counties, and Congregations.

¶ *The Numbers and Places of the Christian Congregations, now worshipping our Lord Jesus Christ, in the several Colonies of New-England, and the Names of the Ministers at this time employed in the service of those Congregations.*

Notandum, Where the name of any minister hath *H. C.* added unto it in our catalogue, it is to be understood that Harvard-Colledge was the mother in whose arms that minister was educated.

I. In Plymouth colony there are three counties; and the several congregations therein are thus accomodated:

* Readers, rather trust truthful historians than such.

† A city of sacrifice.

PLYMOUTH COUNTY MINISTERS.

Bridgewater,	Mr. James Keith.	*Middlebury,*	Mr. —— ——
Duxbury,	" Ichabod Wiswul, H. C.	*Plymouth,*	" John Cotton, H. C.
Marshfield,	" Edward Thompson, H. C.	*Scituate, which hath two churches,*	Mr. Jeremiah Cushing, H. C. and Mr. Deodate Lawson.

BARNSTABLE COUNTY MINISTERS.

Barnstable,	Mr. Jonathan Russel, H. C.	*Rochester,*	Mr. —— Arnold.
Eastham,	" Samuel Treat, H. C.	*Sandwich,*	" Rowland Cotton. H. C.
Falmouth, Harwich and Manamoyet,	" Nathaniel Stone, H. C.	*Yarmouth,*	" John Cotton, H. C.

BRISTOL COUNTY MINISTERS.

Bristol,	Mr. John Sparhawk, H. C.	*Little-Compton,*	Mr. Eliphelet Adams, H. C.
Dartmouth,	PERISHING WITHOUT VISION.	*Swansy,*	" —— ——
Freetown,	Mr. —— ——	*Tanton,*	" Samuel Danforth, H. C.

Hereto an ecclesiastical reckoning may annex the Islands of—

Martha's Vineyard,	Mr. Ralph Thatcher, Mr. Denham, besides *Indian* churches and pastors.		
Nantucket,	Indian Pastors.	*Newport, in Rhode-Island,*	Mr. Nathaniel Clap, H. C.

II. In Massachuset colony are four counties, and the several congregations in them are so supplied:

THE COUNTY OF SUFFOLK MINISTERS.

Boston, { Of the *Old* church, Mr. James Allen, Mr. Benj. Wadsworth, H. C.
Of the *North* church, Mr. Increase Mather, President of the Colledge, and his son Cotton Mather, H. C.
Of the *South* church, Mr. Samuel Wilward, H. C.

Besides these, there is in the town a small congregation that worship God with the ceremonies of the Church of England; served generally by a change of persons, occasionally visiting these parts of the world.

And another small congregation of Antipedo-Baptists, wherein Mr. Emblin is the settled minister.

And a French congregation of Protestant *Refugees*, under the pastoral cares of Monsieur Daille.

Braintree,	Mr. Moses Fisk, H. C.	*Mendon,*	Mr. Grindal Rawson, H. C.
Dedham,	" Joseph Belcher, H. C.	*Milton,*	" Peter Thacher, H. C.
Dorchester,	" John Danforth, H. C.	*Roxbury,*	" Nehemiah Walter, H. C.
Hingham,	" John Norton, H. C.	*Weymouth,*	" Samuel Torrey, H. C.
Hull,	" Zechariah Whitman, H. C.	*Woodstock,*	" Josiah Dwight, H. C.
Medfield,	" Joseph Baxter, H. C.	*Wrentham,*	" Samuel Man, H. C.

THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX MINISTERS.

Billerica,	Mr. Samuel Whiteing, H. C.	*Newtown,*	Mr. Nehemiah Hobart, H. C.
Cambridge,	" William Brattle, H. C.	*Oxford,*	" —— ——
Charles-town,	" Charles Morton.	*Reading,*	" Jonathan Pierpont, H. C.
Chelmsford,	" Thomas Clark, H. C.	*Sherborn,*	" Daniel Gookin, H. C.
Concord,	" Joseph Eastabrook, H. C.	*Stow,*	" —— ——
Dunstable,	" Thomas Weld, H. C.	*Sudbury,*	" James Sherman.
Groton,	" Gershom Hobart, H. C.	*Watertown,*	{ EAST, Mr. Henry Gibs, H. C. WEST, Mr. Samuel Angier, H. C.
Lancaster,	" John Whiteing, H. C.		
Malborough,	" William Brinsmead, H. C.	*Woburn,*	Mr. Jabez Fox, H. C.
Malden,	" Michael Wigglesworth, H. C.	*Worcester,*	" —— ——
Medford,	" Simon Bradstreet, H. C.		

THE COUNTY OF ESSEX MINISTERS.

Amesbury,	Mr. —— —— [Barnard, H. C.	*Manchester,*	Mr. John Emerson, H. C.
Andover,	" Francis Dean, and Mr. Thomas	*Marblehead,*	" Samuel Cheever, H. C.
Beverly,	" John Hale, H. C.	*Newbury,*	{ EAST, Mr. —— Tappin, H. C. WEST, Mr. Samuel Belcher, H. C.
Boxford,	" —— ——	*Rowly,*	Mr. Edward Payson, H. C.
Bradford,	" Zechariah Symmes, H. C.	*Salem,*	" John Higginson, and Nicholas
Glocester,	" John Emerson, H. C.	*And village,*	" Saml. Paris, H. C. [Noyes, H.C.
Haveril,	" Benjamin Rolfe, H. C.	*Salsbury,*	" Caleb Cushing, H. C.
Ipswich,	" Wm. Hubbard and John Rog-	*Topsfield,*	" Joseph Capen, H. C.
And village,	" John Wise, H. C. [ers, H. C.	*Wenham,*	" Joseph Gerish, H. C.
Lyn,	" Jeremiah Shepard, H. C.		

THE COUNTY OF HAMPSHIRE MINISTERS.

Deerfield,	Mr. John Williams, H. C.	*Northampton,*	Mr. Solomon Stoddard, H. C.
Endfield,	" —— ——	*Springfield,*	" Daniel Brewer, H. C.
Hatfield,	" William Williams, H. C.	*Southfield,*	" Benjamin Ruggles, H. C.
Hadley,	" —— ——	*Westfield,*	" Edward Taylor, H. C.

To which, if we add the Congregations in Piscataqua.

Dover,	Mr. John Pike, H. C.	*And in the Province of Maine.*	
Exeter,	" John Clark, H. C.	*Isle of Sholes,*	Mr. —— ——
Hampton,	" John Cotton, H. C.	*Kittery,*	" —— ——
Newcastle,	" Samuel Moodey, H. C.	*Wells, York,*	" —— Hancock, H. C.
Portsmouth,	" Joshua Moodey, H. C.		

III. In Connecticut colony there are four counties, and the several congregations therein are illuminated by these preachers of the gospel:

HARTFORD COUNTY MINISTERS.

Farmington,	Mr. Samuel Hooker, H. C.	*Simsbury,*	Mr. Dudly Woodbridge, H. C.
Glastenbury,	" Timothy Stevens, H. C.	*Waterbury,*	" Jeremiah Peck, H. C.
Hadham,	" Jeremiah Hobart, H. C.	*Wethersfield,*	" Steven Mix, H. C.
Hartford, old church,	" Timothy Woodbridge, H. C.	*Windsor,*	" Samuel Mather, H. C.
Do. new do.	" Thomas Buckingham, H. C.	*And Farme,*	" Timothy Edwards, H. C.
Middletown,	" Noadiah Russel, H. C.	*Windham,*	" Samuel Whiting.

NEW LONDON COUNTY MINISTERS.

Killingworth,	Mr. Abraham Pierson, H. C.	*Pescamsik,*	Mr. Joseph Mors, H. C.
Lebanon,	" —— ——	*Preston,*	" Samuel Tread, H. C.
Linne,	" Moses Noyse, H. C.	*Saybrook,*	" Thomas Buckingham.
New London,	" Gordon Saltonstal, H. C.	*Stonington,*	" James Noyse, H. C.
Norwich,	" James Fitch.		

NEW-HAVEN COUNTY MINISTERS.

Brainford,	Mr. Samuel Russel, H. C.	*Milford,*	Mr. Samuel Andrews, H. C.
Derby,	" John James, H. C.	*New-Haven,*	" James Pierpont, H. C.
Guilford,	" Thomas Ruggles, H. C.	*Wallingford,*	" Samuel Street, H. C.

FAIRFIELD COUNTY MINISTERS.

Danbury,	Mr. Seth Shove, H. C.	*Rye,*	Mr. —— Bowers, H. C.
Fairfield,	" Joseph Web, H. C.	*Stamford,*	" John Davenport, H. C.
Fairfield village,	" Charles Chauncey, H. C.	*Stratford,*	" Israel Chauncey, H. C.
Greenwich,	" Joseph Morgan.	*Woodbury,*	" Zachariah Walker, H. C.
Norwalk,	" Steven Buckingham, H. C.		

REMARKS UPON THE CATALOGUE OF PLANTATIONS.

§ 1. There are few towns to be now seen in our list but what were existing in this land before the dreadful Indian war, which befel us twenty years ago; and there are few towns broken up within the then Massachuset-line by that war, but what have revived out of their *ashes.* Nevertheless, the many calamities which have ever since been wasting of the country, have so nipt the growth of it, that its later progress hath held no proportion with what was *from the beginning;* but yet with such variety, that while the *trained companies* of some towns are no bigger than they were thirty or forty years ago, others are as big again.

§ 2. The calamities that have carried off the inhabitants of our several towns have not been all of *one sort;* nor have all our towns had an equal share in *any sort.* Pestilential sicknesses have made fearful havock in divers places, where the *sound* perhaps have not been enough to tend the *sick;* while others have not had one touch from that *angel of death.* And the *sword* hath cut off *scores* in sundry places, when others, it may be, have not lost a man by that *avenger.*

§ 3. 'Tis no *unusual,* though no *universal* experiment among us, that while an excellent, laborious, illuminating ministry has been continued in

a town, the place has thriven to admiration; but ever since *that man's time*, they have gone down the wind in all their interests. The gospel has evidently been the *making* of our towns, and the blessings of the *upper* have been accompanied with the blessings of the *nether-springs*. Memorable also is the remark of Slingsby Bethel, Esq., in his most judicious book of *The Interest of Europe:* "Were not the cold climate of New-England supplied by good laws and discipline, the barrenness of that country would never have brought people to it, nor have advanced it in consideration and formidableness above the other English plantations, exceeding it much in fertility, and other inviting qualities."

§ 4. Well may New-England lay claim to the name it wears, and to a room in the tenderest affections of its mother, the *happy Island!* for as there are few of our towns but what have their *name-sakes* in England, so the reason why most of our towns are called what they are, is because the chief of the first inhabitants would thus bear up the *names* of the particular places there from whence they came.

§ 5. I have heard an aged saint, near his death, cheerfully thus express himself: "Well, I am going to heaven, and I will there tell the faithful, who are gone long since from New-England thither, that though they who gathered our churches are all dead and gone, yet the churches are still alive, with as numerous flock of Christians as ever were among them." Concerning the most of the churches in our catalogue, the report thus carried unto *heaven*, I must now also send through the *earth;* but if with *as numerous*, we could in every respect say, *as gracious*, what joy unto all the saints, both in heaven and on earth, might be from thence occasioned!

THE BOSTONIAN EBENEZER.

SOME HISTORICAL REMARKS ON THE STATE OF BOSTON,

THE CHIEF TOWN OF NEW-ENGLAND, AND OF THE ENGLISH AMERICA.

WITH

SOME AGREEABLE METHODS

FOR PRESERVING AND PROMOTING THE GOOD STATE OF THAT, AS WELL AS ANY OTHER TOWN IN THE LIKE CIRCUMSTANCES.

HUMBLY OFFERED BY A NATIVE OF BOSTON.

THE NAME OF THE CITY FROM THAT DAY SHALL BE, "THE LORD IS THERE."—*Ezek.* xlviii. 35.

"*Urbs Metropolis, ut sit maximæ Auctoritatis, constituatur præcipuum pietatis Exemplum et Sacrarium.*"*
APHOR. POLIT.

THE HISTORY OF BOSTON RELATED AND IMPROVED.

AT BOSTON LECTURE, 7 D. 2 M., 1698.

REMARKABLE and memorable was the time, when an army of terrible destroyers was coming against one of the chief towns in the land of Israel. God rescued the town from the irresistible fury and approach of those destroyers, by an immediate hand of heaven upon them. Upon that miraculous rescue of the town, and of the whole country, whose fate was much enwrapped in it, there followed that action of the Prophet SAMUEL which is this day to be, with some imitation, repeated in the midst of thee, O BOSTON, *thou helped of the Lord.*

Then Samuel took a stone, and set *it* up, and called the name of it EBEN-EZER, saying, Hitherto the Lord hath helped us.—1 *Sam.* vii. 12.

The thankful servants of God have used sometimes to erect monuments of stone, as durable tokens of their thankfulness to God for mercies received in the places thus distinguished. Jacob did so; Joshua did so; and Samuel did so; but they so did it, as to keep clear of the transgression forbidden in Lev. xxvi. 1: "Ye shall not set up an image of stone in your land, for to bow down unto it."

The Stone erected by Samuel, with the name of Ebenezer, which is as much as to say, *a stone of help;* I know not whether any thing might be *writ* upon it, but I am sure there is one thing to be now *read* upon it, by

* A metropolitan city, in order to command the widest influence, should become a special exemplar and depository of piety.

our selves, in the text where we find it: namely, thus much, "That a people whom the God of Heaven hath remarkably helped in their distresses, ought greatly and gratefully to acknowledge what help of heaven they have received."

Now 'tis not my design to lay the scene of my discourse as far off as Bethcar, the place where Samuel set up his Ebenezer. I am immediately to transfer it into the heart of Boston, a place where the remarkable help received from Heaven by the people, does loudly call for an Ebenezer. And I do not ask you to change the name of the town into that of *Helpstone*, as there is a town in England of that name, which may seem the English of Ebenezer; but my Sermon shall be this day, your Ebenezer, if you will with a favourable and a profitable attention entertain it. May the Lord Jesus Christ accept me, and assist me now to glorifie him in the town where I drew my first sinful breath; a town whereto I am under great obligations for the precious opportunities to glorifie him, which I have quietly and publickly enjoyed therein for near eighteen years together. "O, my Lord God, remember me, I pray thee, and strengthen me this once, to speak from thee unto thy people!"

And now, sirs, that I may set up an EBENEZER among you, there are these things to be inculcated.

I. Let us *thankfully*, and *agreeably*, and *particularly* acknowledge *what* HELP we have received from the God of Heaven, in the years that have rouled over us. While the blessed Apostle Paul was, as it should seem, yet short of being threescore years old, how affectionately did he set up an Ebenezer, with an acknowledgment in Acts xxvi. 22: "Having obtained help of God, I continue to this day!" Our town is now threescore and eight years old; and certainly 'tis time for us, with all possible affection, to set up our Ebenezer, saying, "Having obtained help from God, the town is continued until almost the age of man is passed over it!" The town hath indeed three elder sisters in this colony, but it hath wonderfully outgrown them all; and her mother, Old Boston, in England also; yea, within a few years after the first settlement, it *grew* to be THE METROPOLIS OF THE WHOLE ENGLISH AMERICA. Little was *this* expected by them that first settled the town, when for a while Boston was proverbially called *Lost-town*, for the mean and sad circumstances of it. But, O Boston! it is because thou hast obtained help from God, even from the Lord Jesus Christ, who for the sake of his gospel, preached and once prized here, undertook thy patronage. When the world and the church of God had seen twenty-six generations, a psalm was composed, wherein that note occurs with twenty-six repetitions: "His mercy endureth for ever." Truly there has not one year passed over this town, *Ab Urbe Condita*,* upon the story whereof we might not make that note our Ebenezer: "His mercy endureth for ever." It has been a town of great experiences.

* Since the city was founded.

There have been several years wherein the terrible famine hath terribly stared the town in the face; we have been brought sometimes unto the *last meal* in the barrel; we have cried out with the disciples, "We have not loaves enough to feed a tenth part of us!" but the feared *famine* has always been kept off; always we have had seasonable and sufficient supplies after a surprizing manner sent in unto us: let the three last years in this thing most eminently proclaim the goodness of our heavenly Shepherd and Feeder. This has been the *help* of our God; because "his mercy endureth for ever!" The angels of death have often shot the arrows of death into the midst of the town; the small-pox has especially four times been a great plague upon us: how often have there been bills desiring prayers for more than an hundred sick on one day in one of our assemblies? in one twelve-month, about one thousand of our neighbours have one way or other been carried unto their long home: and yet we are, after all, many more than seven thousand souls of us at this hour living on the spot. Why is not a "Lord, have mercy upon us," written on the doors of our abandoned habitations? This hath been the *help* of our God, because "his mercy endureth for ever." Never was any town under the cope of heaven more liable to be laid in ASHES, either through the carelessness or through the wickedness of them that sleep in it. That such a combustible heap of contiguous houses yet stands, it may be called a *standing miracle;* it is not because "the watchman keeps the city; perhaps there may be too much cause of reflection in that thing, and of inspection too; no, "it is from thy watchful protection, O thou keeper of *Boston*, who neither slumbers nor sleeps." TEN TIMES has the *fire* made notable ruins among us, and our *good servant* been almost our *master;* but the ruins have mostly and quickly been rebuilt. I suppose that many more than a thousand houses are to be seen on this little piece of ground, all filled with the undeserved favours of God. Whence this preservation? This hath been the *help* of our God; because "his mercy endureth for ever!" But if ever this town saw a year of salvations, transcendently such was the last year unto us. A formidable French squadron hath not shot one bomb into the midst of thee, O thou *munition of rocks!* our streets have not run with blood and gore, and horrible devouring flames have not raged upon our substance: those are *ignorant*, and *unthinking*, and *unthankful* men, who do not own that we have narrowly escaped as dreadful things as Carthagena, or Newfoundland, have suffered. I am sure our more considerate friends beyond-sea were very suspicious, and well nigh despairing, that victorious enemies had swallowed up the town. But "thy soul is escaped, O *Boston*, as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers." Or, if you will be insensible of *this*, ye vain men, yet be sensible that an English squadron hath not brought among us the tremendous pestilence, under which a neighbouring plantation hath undergone prodigious desolations. Boston, 'tis a marvellous thing a plague has not laid thee desolate!

Our deliverance from our *friends* has been as full of astonishing mercy, as our deliverance from our *foes*. We read of a certain city in Isa. xix. 18, called, "The city of Destruction." Why so? some say, because delivered from destruction. If that be so, then hast thou been a city of destruction: or I will rather say, a city of salvation: and this by the *help* of God; because "his mercy endureth for ever." Shall I go on? I will. We have not had the *bread of adversity* and the *water of affliction*, like many other places. But yet all this while "our eyes have seen our teachers." Here are several "golden candlesticks" in the town. "Shining and burning lights" have illuminated them. There are gone to shine in an higher *orb* seven divines that were once the *stars* of this town, in the pastoral charge of it; besides many others, that for some years gave us transient influences. Churches flourishing with much love, and peace, and many "comforts of the Holy Spirit," have hitherto been our greatest glory. I wish that some sad *eclipse* do not come ere long upon this *glory!* The dispensations of the gospel were never enjoyed by any town with more liberty and purity for so long a while together. Our opportunities to draw near unto the Lord Jesus Christ in his ordinances, cannot be paralleled. Boston, thou hast been lifted up to heaven; there is not a town upon earth which, on some accounts, has more to answer for. Such, O such has been our *help* from our God, because "his mercy endureth for ever."

II. Let us acknowledge WHOSE *help* it is that we have received, and not "give the glory of our God unto another." Poorly helped had we been, I may tell you, if we had none but humane help all this while to depend upon. The favours of our superiors we deny not; we forget not the instruments of our help. Nevertheless, this little *outcast Zion* shall, with my consent, engrave the name of no MAN upon her Ebenezer! It was well confessed in Psal. cviii. 12, "Vain is the help of man!" It was well counselled in Psal. cxlvi. 3, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help."

Wherefore, first, let God in our Lord JESUS CHRIST have the glory of bestowing on us all the help that we have had. When the Spirit of God came upon a servant of his, he cried out unto David, in 1 Chron. xii. 18, "Thy God helpeth thee." This is the voice of God from heaven to Boston this day, "Thy God hath helped thee: thou hast by thy sin destroyed thy self, but in thy God hath been thy help." A great man once building an edifice, caused an inscription of this importance to be written on the gates of it: "Such a place planted me, such a place watered me, and Cæsar gave the increase." One that passed by, with a witty sarcasm, wrote under it, *Hic Deus nihil fecit;* i. e. "God, it seems, did nothing for this man." But the inscription upon our Ebenezer, owning what *help* this town hath had, shall say, "Our God hath done all that is done!" Say then, O helped BOSTON, say as in Psal. cxxi. 2, "My help is from the Lord which made heaven and earth." Say as in Psal. xciv. 17, "Unless the Lord had been

my help, my soul had quickly dwelt in silence." And boldly say, "'Tis only because the Lord has been my helper, that earth and hell have never done all that they would unto me."

Let our Lord JESUS CHRIST be praised as our blessed helper! that *stone* which the *foolish builders* have refused, Oh! set up that stone; even that high rock: set him on high in our praises, and say, that "*that* is our Ebenezer." 'Tis our Lord JESUS CHRIST, who in his infinite compassions for the town hath said, as in Isa. lxiii. 5, "I looked, and there was none to help; therefore my own arm hath brought salvation unto it." It is foretold concerning the idolatrous Roman Catholicks, that together with the Lord Jesus Christ, they shall worship other *Mauzzim;* that is to say, other *protectors.* Accordingly, all their towns ordinarily have singled out their protectors among the saints of heaven; such a saint is entitled unto the *patronage* of such a town among them, and such a saint for another: old BOSTON, by name, was but Saint Botolph's town. Whereas thou, O Boston, shalt have but one *protector* in heaven, and that is our Lord JESUS CHRIST. Oh! rejoice in him alone, and say, "the Lord is my fortress and my deliverer!" There was a song once made for a town, which in its distresses had been helped wonderously; and the first clause in that song, (you have it in Isa. xxvi. 1,) may be so rendered: "We have a strong town; salvation [or JESUS the Lord, whose name hath salvation in it] will appoint walls and bulwarks." Truly what help we have had we will sing, "'Tis our JESUS that hath appointed them." The old pagan towns were sometimes mighty solicitous to conceal the name of the particular god that they counted their protector, *Ne ab hostibus Evocatus, aliò commigraret.** But I shall be far from doing my town any damage by publishing the name of its protector; no, let all mankind know, that the name of our protector is JESUS CHRIST: for "among the gods there is none like unto thee, O, LORD: nor is any help like unto thine: and there is no rock like to our God."

Yea, when we ascribe the name of *helper* unto our Lord JESUS CHRIST, let us also acknowledge that the name is not sufficiently expressive, emphatical and significant. Lactantius of old blamed the heathen for giving the highest of their gods no higher a title than that of Jupiter, or Juvans pater, i. e. an *helping father;* and he says, *Non intelligit Divina Beneficia, qui se a Deo tantummodo Juvari putat:* (the kindnesses of God are not understood by that man who makes no more than an helper of him.) Such indeed is the penury of our language, that we cannot coin a more *expressive name.* Nevertheless, when we say, the Lord JESUS CHRIST hath been our helper, let us intend more than we express; "Lord, thou hast been *all* unto us."

Secondly, Let the sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ most explicitely have the glory of purchasing for us all our help. What was it that procured an Ebenezer for the people of God? We read in 2 Sam. vii. 9, "Samuel took a sucking lamb, and offered it a burnt-offering wholly unto

* Lest, beguiled by the prayers and offerings of the enemy, he should take up a residence elsewhere.

the Lord; and Samuel cried unto the Lord for Israel, and the Lord heard him." Shall I tell you? Our Lord Jesus Christ is that lamb of God; and he has been a lamb slain as a sacrifice; and he is a sacrifice pleadable not only for *persons*, but also for *peoples* that belong unto him. To teach us this evangelical and comfortable *mystery*, there was a sacrifice for the whole congregation prescribed in the Mosaic Pædagogy. 'Tis notorious that the sins of this town have been many sins, and mighty sins; the "cry thereof hath gone up to heaven." If the Almighty God should from heaven rain down upon the town an horrible tempest of thuderbolts, as he did upon the cities "which he overthrew in his anger, and repented not," it would be no more than our unrepented sins deserve. How comes it then to pass that we have had so much help from Heaven after all? Truly the sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ has been pleaded for Boston, and *therefore* say, *therefore* it is that the town is not made a sacrifice to the vengeance of God. God sent *help* to the town that was the very *heart* and *life* of the land that he had a pity for: but why so? He said in Isa. xxxvii. 35, "I will defend this town, to save it for my servant David's sake." Has this town been defended? It has been for the sake of the beloved JESUS: therefore has the daughter of Boston shaken her head at you, O ye calamities that have been impending over her head. O, helped and happy town! thou hast had those believers in the midst of thee, that have pleaded this with the great God: "Ah! Lord, thou hast been more honoured by the sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ, than thou couldst be honoured by overwhelming this town with all the plagues of thy just indignation. If thou wilt spare, and feed, and keep, and help this poor town, the sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ shall be owned as the prize of all our help." 'Tis *this* that hath procured us all our help: 'tis *this* that must have all our praise.

Thirdly, Let the Lord be in a special manner glorified for the ministry of his good angels, in that help that has been ministered unto us. A Jacob, lying on a *stone*, saw the angels of God helping him. We are setting up an Ebenezer; but when we lay our heads and our thoughts upon the stone, let us then see, the angels of God have helped us. When Macedonia was to have some help from God, an angel, whom the apostle in Acts xvi. 9, saw habited like a *man of Macedonia*, was a mean of its being brought unto them. There is abundant cause to think that every town in which the Lord Jesus Christ is worshipped, hath an angel to watch over it. The primitive Christians were perswaded from the scriptures of truth to make no doubt of this, *Quòd per Civitates distributæ sunt Angelorum præfecturæ.** When the capital town of Judea was rescued from an invasion, we read in 2 Kings xix. 35, "The angel of the Lord WENT OUT, and smote the camp of the Assyrians." It should seem there was an angel which did reside in, and preside over the town, who *went out* for that amazing exploit. And is it not likely, that the angel of the Lord WENT OUT for to smite

* That angel-guards were stationed along the various cities where they dwelt.

the fleet of the Assyrians with a sickness, which the last summer hindered their invading of this town? The angel of BOSTON was concerned for it! Why have not the destroyers broke in upon us, to prey upon us with sore destruction? 'Tis because we have had a wall of fire about us; that is to say, a guard of angels; those flames of fire have been as a wall unto us. It was an angel that helped a Daniel when the lions would else have swallowed him up. It was an angel that helped a Lot out of the fires that were coming to consume his habitation. It was an angel that helped an Elias to meat when he wanted it. They were angels that helped the whole people of God in the wilderness to their daily bread; their manna was angel's food: and is it nothing that such angels have done for this town, think you? Oh! think not so. Indeed, if we should go to thank the angels for doing these things, they would zealously say, "See thou do it not!" But if we thank their Lord and ours for his employing them to do these things, it will exceedingly gratifie them. Wherefore, "Bless ye the Lord, ye his angels; and bless the Lord, O my *town*, for those his *angels*."

III. Let the *help* which we have *hitherto* had from our God, encourage us to hope in him for MORE HELP hereafter as the matter may require. The help that God had given to his people of old was commemorated, as with monumental pillars, conveying down the remembrance of it unto their children. And what for? We are told in Psal. lxxviii. 7, "That they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God." I am not willing to say how much this town may be threatned, even with an *utter extirpation*. But this I will say, the motto upon all our Ebenezers is, HOPE IN GOD! HOPE IN GOD! The use of the former help that we have had from God, should be an hope for future help from him, that is "a present help in the time of trouble." As in the three first verses of the eighty-fifth Psalm, six times over there occurs, "Thou hast," "Thou hast," all to usher in this, "Therefore thou WILT still do so," O let our faith proceed in that way of arguing in 2 Cor. i. 10, "The Lord hath delivered, and he doth deliver, and in him we trust that he will still deliver." We are to-day writing, "Hitherto the Lord hath helped us;" let us write under it, "And we hope the Lord has more help for us in the time of need!" It may be some are purposing suddenly and hastily to leave the town through their fears of the straits that may come upon it. But I would not have you be too sudden and hasty in your purposes, as too many have been unto their *after-sorrow*. There was a time when people were so discouraged about a *subsistence* in the principal town of the Jews, that they talked of plucking up stakes, and flying away; but the minister of God came to them, (and so do I to you this day!) saying, in Isa. xxx. 7, "I cried concerning this, their strength is to sit still!" Boston was no sooner come to some *consistence* threescore years ago, but the people found themselves plunged into a sad *non-plus* what way to take for a *subsistence*. God then immediately put them into a way, and "hitherto the Lord has

helped us!" The town is at this day full of widows and orphans, and a multitude of them are very helpless creatures. I am astonished how they live! In that church whereof I am the servant, I have counted the widows make about a sixth part of our communicants, and no doubt in the whole town the proportion differs not very much. Now stand still, my friends, and behold the help of God! Were any of these ever starved yet? No: these widows are every one in some sort provided for. And let me tell you, ye handmaids of the Lord, you shall be still provided for! The Lord, whose *family* you belong unto, will conveniently and wonderfully provide for you; if you say, and Oh! say of him, "The Lord is my helper; I will not fear!"

What shall I say? When Moses was ready to faint in his *prayers* for his people, we read in Exod. xvii. 12, "They took a stone, and put it under him." Christians, there are some of you who abound in *prayers*, that the *help* of God may be granted unto the town; the town is much upheld by those prayers of yours. Now, that you may not faint in your prayers, I bring you a *stone:* the stone, 'tis our Ebenezer; or, the relation of the *help* that *hitherto* the Lord hath given us.

IV. Let all that bear PUBLIC OFFICE in the town contribute all the help they can, that may continue the help of God unto us. Austin, in his *Confessions*, gives thanks to God, that when he was a helpless infant, he had a nurse to help him, and one that was both able and willing to help him. Infant-Boston, thou hast those whom the Bible calls *nursing-fathers*. Oh, be not froward, as thou art in thy treating of thy nurses; but give thanks to God for them. I forget my self; 'tis with the fathers themselves that I am concerned.

When it was demanded of Demosthenes, what it was that so long preserved Athens in a flourishing state, he made this answer: "The orators are men of learning and wisdom, the magistrates do justice, the citizens love quiet, and the laws are kept among them all." May Boston flourish in such happy order!

And first, you may assure yourselves that the MINISTERS of the Lord Jesus Christ among you will be joyful to approve themselves, as the Book of God has called them, "The helpers of your joy." O, our dear flocks, we owe you our all; all our love, all our strength, all our time; we watch for you as those that must give an account; and I am very much mistaken if we are not willing to *die* for you, too, if called unto it. If our Lord Jesus Christ should say to us, "My servant, if you'll die to-night, you shall have this reward: the people that you preach to shall be all converted unto me!" I think we should with triumphing souls reply, "Ah! Lord, then I'll die with all my heart." Sirs, we should go away "rejoycing with joy unspeakable and full of glory." I am satisfied that the most furious and foul-mouthed reviler that God may give any of us to be buffeted withal, if he will but come to sober thoughts, he will say, That there is

not any one man in the town, but the ministers wish that man as well as they do their own souls, and would gladly serve that man by day or by night, in any thing that it were possible to do for him. Wherefore, O our beloved people, I beseech you leave off, leave off to throw stones at your Ebenezers. Instead of that, *pray for us*, and "strive together with us in your prayers to God for us." Then with the help of Christ we'll promise you we will set our selves to observe what special *truths* may be most needful to be inculcated upon you, and we will inculcate them. We will set our selves to observe the *temptations* that beset you, the *afflictions* that assault you, and the *duties* that are incumbent on you; and we will accommodate our selves unto them. We will set our selves to observe what souls among you do call for our more particular addresses, and we will address them faithfully, and even *travel* in *birth* for them. Nor will we give over praying, and fasting, and crying to our great LORD for you until we die. Whatever other helpers the town enjoys, they shall have that convenience in Ezra v. 2, "With them were the prophets of God, helping them." Well, then, let the rest of our worthy helpers lend an helping hand for the promoting of those things wherein the weal of the town is wrapped up! When the Jews thought that a defiling thing was breaking in among them, in Acts xxi. 28, "They cried out, Men of Israel, help!" Truly there is cause to make that cry, "Men of *Boston*, help!" for ignorance, and prophaneness, and bad living, and the worst things in the world, are breaking in upon us.

And now will the JUSTICES of the town set themselves to consider, How they may help to suppress all growing vices among us?

Will the CONSTABLES of the town set themselves to consider, How they may help to prevent all evil orders among us?

There are some who have the eye of the town so much upon them, that the very name of TOWNS-MEN is that by which they are distinguished. Sirs, will you also consider how to help the affairs of the town, so as that all things may go well among us?

Moreover, may not SCHOOL-MASTERS do much to instil principles of religion and civility, as well as other points of good education, into the children of the town? Only let the town well encourage its well-deserving school-masters.

There are some officers; but concerning *all*, there are these two things to be desired: First, it is to be desired that such officers as are chosen among us, may be chosen in the fear of God. May none but pious and prudent men, and such as *love* the town, be chosen to serve it. And, secondly, it is to be desired that officers of several sorts would often come together for consultation. Each of the sorts by themselves, may they often come together to consult, "What shall we do to serve the town in those interests which are committed unto our charge?" Oh! what a deplorable thing will it be for persons to be entrusted with talents, (your opportunities to serve the

town are so many talents!) and they never seriously consider, "What good shall I do with my talents in the place where God hath stationed me?"

And will the REPRESENTATIVES of the town be considered among the rest, as entrusted with some singular advantages for our help? The Lord give you understanding in all things!

V. God help the town to manifest all that PIETY, which a town so helped of him is obliged unto! When the people of God had been carried by his help through their difficulties, they set up *stones* to keep in mind how he had helped them; and something was written on the stones: but what was written? see Josh. viii. 32, "Joshua wrote upon the stones a copy of the law." Truly upon those Ebenezers which we set up, we should write the law of our God, and recognize the obligations which the help of our God has laid upon us to keep it.

We are a very unpardonable town, if, after all the help which our God has given us, we do not ingenuously enquire, "What shall we render to the Lord for all his benefits?" Render! Oh! let us our selves thus answer the enquiry: "Lord, we will render all possible and filial obedience unto thee, because hitherto thou hast helped us: only do thou also help us to render that obedience!" Mark what I say: if there be so much as one *prayerless house* in such a town as this, 'tis inexcusable! How inexcusable then will be all flagitious outrages? There was a town ('twas the town of Sodom!) that had been wonderfully saved out of the hands of their enemies. But after the help that God sent unto them, the town went on to sin against God in very prodigious instances. At last a provoked God sent a fire upon the town that made it an eternal desolation. Ah, Boston, beware, beware, lest the sins of Sodom get footing in thee! And what were the sins of Sodom? We find in Ezek. xvi. 49, "Behold, this was the iniquity of Sodom; pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness was in her; neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and the needy;" there was much oppression there. If you know of any scandalous disorders in the town, do all you can to suppress them, and redress them; and let not those that send their sons hither from other parts of the world, for to be improved in virtue, have cause to complain, "That after they came to Boston, they lost what little virtue was before budding in them; that in Boston they grew more debauched and more malignant than ever they were before!" It was noted concerning the famous town of Port-Royal in Jamaica, which you know was the other day swallowed up in a stupendous earthquake, that just before the earthquake the people were violently and scandalously set upon going to *Fortune-tellers* upon all occasions: much notice was taken of this *impiety* generally prevailing among the people: but none of those wretched Fortune-tellers could foresee or forestal the direful catastrophe. I have heard that there are Fortune-tellers in this town sometimes consulted by some of the sinful inhabitants. I wish the town could be made too hot for these *dangerous transgressors.*

I am sure the preservation of the town from horrendous earthquakes, is one thing that bespeaks our Ebenezers; 'tis from the merciful *help* of our God unto us. But beware, I beseech you, of those provoking evils that may expose us to a plague, exceeding all that are in the catalogue of the twenty-eighth of Deuteronomy. Let me go on to say, What! shall there be any bawdy-houses in such a town as this! It may be the neighbours, that could smoke them, and rout them, if they would, are loth to stir, for fear of being reputed ill neighbours. But I say unto you, that you are ill neighbours because you do it not. All the neighbours are like to have their children and servants poisoned, and their dwellings laid in ashes, because you do it not. And, Oh! that the drinking-houses in the town might once come under a laudable *regulation*. The town has an *enormous number* of them; will the *haunters* of those houses hear the counsels of Heaven? For you that are the town-dwellers, to be oft or long in your visits of the *ordinary*, 'twill certainly expose you to mischiefs more than ordinary. I have seen certain taverns, where the pictures of horrible devourers were hanged out for the signs; and, thought I, 'twere well if such signs were not sometimes too *significant:* alas, men have their estates *devoured*, their names *devoured*, their hours *devoured*, and their very souls *devoured*, when they are so besotted that they are not in their element, except they be tipling at such houses. When once a man is bewitched with the ordinary, what usually becomes of him? He is a gone man; and when he comes to die, he will cry out, as many have done, "Ale-houses are hell-houses! ale-houses are hell-houses!" But let the owners of those houses also now hear our counsels. "Oh! hearken to me, that God may hearken to you another day!" It is an *honest*, and a *lawful*, though it may not be a very *desirable* employment, that you have undertaken: you may glorifie the Lord Jesus Christ in your employment if you will, and benefit the town considerably. There was a very godly man that was an innkeeper, and a great minister of God could say to that man, in 3 John 2, "Thy soul prospereth." O let it not be said of you, since you are fallen into this employment, "Thy soul withereth!" It is thus with too many: especially, when they that get a license perhaps to sell drink out of doors, do stretch their license to sell within doors. Those private houses, when once a professor of the gospel comes to *steal* a living out of them, it commonly precipitates them into an abundance of wretchedness and confusion. But I pray God assist you that keep ordinaries, to keep the commandments of God in them. There was an Inn at Bethlehem where the Lord Jesus Christ was to be met withal. Can Boston boast of many such? Alas, too ordinarily it may be said, "there is no room for him in the Inn!" My friends, let me beg it of you, banish the unfruitful works of darkness from your houses, and then the sun of righteousness will shine upon them. Don't countenance drunkenness, revelling, and mis-spending of precious time in your houses; let none have the snares

of death laid for them in your houses. You'll say, "I shall starve then!" I say, "Better starve than sin:" but you shall not. It is the word of the Most High, "Trust in the Lord, and do good, and verily thou shalt be fed." And is not *peace of conscience*, with a *little*, better than those riches that will shortly melt away, and then run like scalding metal down the very bowels of thy soul?

What shall I say more? There is one article of *piety* more to be recommended unto us all; and it is an articie which all piety does exceedingly turn upon, that is, THE SANCTIFICATION OF THE LORD'S DAY. Some very judicious persons have observed, that as "they sanctify the Lord's day, remissly or carefully, just so their affairs usually prospered all the ensuing week." Sirs, you cannot more consult the prosperity of the town, in all its affairs, than by endeavouring that the Lord's day may be exemplarily sanctified. When people about Jerusalem took too much liberty on the Sabbath, the ruler of the town contended with them, and said, "Ye bring wrath upon Israel, by prophaning the Sabbath." I fear—I fear there are many among us, to whom it may be said, "Ye bring wrath upon Boston, by prophaning the Sabbath." And what wrath? Ah, Lord, prevent it! But there is an awful sentence in Jer. xvii. 27, "If ye will not hearken unto me, to sanctifie the Sabbath day, then will I kindle a fire *on the town*, and it shall devour, and shall not be quenched."

Finally, Let the piety of the town manifest it self in a due regard unto the INSTITUTIONS of Him whose *help* has *hitherto* been a shield unto us. Let the *ark* be in the town, and God will bless the town! I believe it may be found, that in the mortal scourges of heaven, which this town has felt, there has been a *discernable* distinction of those that have come up to attend all the ordinances of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the communion of his churches. Though these have had, as 'tis fit they should, a share in the common deaths, yet the destroying angel has not had so great a proportion of these in his commission, as he has had of others. Whether *this* be so, or no, to uphold, and support, and attend the ordinances of the Lord Jesus Christ in reforming churches, this will entitle the town to the *help* of heaven; for, "Upon the glory there shall be a defence!" There were the victorious forces of Alexander, that in going backward and forward, passed by Jerusalem without hurting it. Why so? Said the Lord in Zech. ix. 8, "I will encamp about my house, because of the army." If our God have an *house* here, he'll encamp about it. Nazianzen, a famous minister of the gospel, taking his farewel of Constantinople, an old man that had sat under his ministry, cried out, "Oh! my father, don't you dare to go away: you'll carry the whole Trinity with you!" How much more may it be cried out, "If we lose or slight the ordinances of the Lord Jesus Christ, we forego the help of all the Trinity with them!"

VI. Extraordinary EQUITY and CHARITY, as well as *piety*, well becomes a town that hath been by the *help* of God so extraordinarily signalized.

A town marvellously helped by God, has this foretold concerning it, in Isa. i. 26, "Afterward thou shalt be called, the city of righteousness, the faithful city." May the Ebenezers of this town render it a town of equity, and a town of charity! Oh! there should be none but fair dealings in a town wherewith Heaven has dealt so favourably. Let us deal fairly in bargains; deal fairly in taxes; deal fairly in paying respects to such as have been benefactors unto the town. 'Tis but equity, that they who have been *old standers* in the town, and both with person and estate served the town unto the utmost for many years together, should on all proper occasions be considered. For *charity*—I may indeed speak it without flattery—this town has not many equals on the face of the earth. Our Lord Jesus Christ from heaven wrote unto the good people of a town in the lesser Asia, [Rev. ii. 19,] "I know thy works and charity." From that blessed Lord I may venture to bring that message unto the good people of this town; "the glorious Lord of heaven knows thy works, O Boston, and all thy charity." This is a poor town, and yet it may be said of the Bostonians, as it was of the Macedonians, "their deep poverty hath abounded unto the riches of their liberality." O ye bountiful people of God, all your daily bounties to the needy, all your subscriptions to send the bread of life abroad unto places that are perishing in wickedness, all your collections in your assemblies as often as they are called for; "all these alms are come up for a memorial before God!" The Lord Jesus Christ in heaven hath beheld your helpfulness, and readiness to every good work; and he hath requited it with his helpful Ebenezers. It was said, in Isa. xxxii. 8, "The liberal deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things he shall stand." There are some in this town that are always devising liberal things, and our Lord Jesus Christ lets the town stand for the sake of those! Instead of exhorting you to augment your charity, I will rather utter an exhortation, or at least a supplication, that you may not *abuse* your charity by misapplying of it. I remember I have read, that an inhabitant of the city Pisa being asked why their town so went, as it then did, unto decay?—he fetched a deep sigh, and said, "Our young men are too prodigal, our old men are too affectionate, and we have no punishment for those that spend their years in idleness." Ah! the last stroak of that complaint I must here sigh it over again. *Idleness*, alas! *idleness* increases in the town exceedingly; idleness, of which there never came any goodness! idleness, which is a "reproach to any people." *We* work hard all summer, and the *drones* count themselves wronged if they have it not in the winter divided among them. The *poor* that *can't* work, are objects for your liberality. But the poor that *can* work and *won't*, the best liberality to them is to *make* them. I beseech you, sirs, find out a method quickly, that the idle persons in the town may earn their bread; it were the best piece of charity that could be shown unto them, and equity unto us all. Our beggars do shamefully grow upon us, and such beggars,

too, as our Lord Jesus Christ himself hath expressly forbidden us to countenance. I have read a printed sermon which was preached before "both Houses of Parliament, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and the Assembly of Divines;" the greatest audience then in the world: and in that sermon the preacher had this passage: "I have lived in a country where in seven years I never saw a beggar, nor heard an oath, nor looked upon a drunkard." Shall I tell you where that Utopia was? 'Twas NEW-ENGLAND! But they that go from hence must now tell another story.

VII. May the *changes*, and especially the *judgments* that have come upon the town, direct us what *help* to petition from the "God of our salvations." The Israelites had formerly seen dismal things, where they now set up their Ebenezer: the Philistines had no less than twice beaten them there, and there taken from them the Ark of God. Now we are setting up our Ebenezer, let us a little call to mind some dismal things that we have seen; the Ebenezer will go up the better for it.

We read in 1 Sam. vi. 18, concerning "the great stone of Abel." Some say, that Adam erected that stone, as a grave-stone for his Abel, and wrote that epitaph upon it, "Here was poured out the blood of the righteous ABEL." I know nothing of *this;* the names, I know, differ in the original; but as we may erect many a stone for an Ebenezer, so we may erect many a *great stone* of ABEL, that is to say, we may write MOURNING and SORROW upon the condition of the town in various examples. Now from the stones of Abel, we will a little gather what we should wish to write upon the stones of our Ebenezer.

What *changes* have we seen in point of religion! It was noted by Luther, he "could never see good order in the church last more than fifteen years together in the purity of it." Blessed be God, religion hath here flourished in the *purity* of it for more than *fifteen years together.* But certainly the *power of Godliness* is now grievously decayed among us. As the prophet of old exclaimed, in Joel i. 2, "Hear this, ye old men, and give ear, ye inhabitants! has this been in your days?" Thus may I say, "Hear this, ye old men, that are the inhabitants of the town: can't you remember that *in your days*, a prayerful, a watchful, a fruitful Christian, and a well-governed family, was a more common sight, than it is now in *our days?* Can't you remember that *in your days* those abominable things did not *show their heads*, that are now *bare faced* among us? Here then is a petition to be made unto our God: "Lord, help us to remember whence we are fallen, and to repent, and to do the first works!"

Again, What *changes* have we seen in point of *mortality*? By mortality almost all the old race of our first planters here are carried off; the old stock is in a manner expired. We see the fulfilment of that word in Eccl. i. 4, "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh." It would be no unprofitable thing for you to pass over the several streets, and call to mind, *who lived here so many years ago?* Why? In *that place* lived

such an one. But, *where are they now?* Oh! they are gone; they are gone into that eternal world, whither *we* must quickly follow them. Here is another petition to be made unto God: "Lord, help us to number our days, and apply our hearts unto wisdom, that when the places that now know us, do know us no more, we may begone into the city of God!"

Furthermore, What *changes* have we seen in point of possessions? If some that are now *rich* were once *low* in the world, 'tis possible, more that were once *rich* are now brought very *low*. Ah! Boston, thou hast seen the vanity of all worldly possessions. One fatal morning, which laid fourscore of thy dwelling-houses, and seventy of thy ware-houses, in a ruinous heap, not nineteen years ago, gave thee to read it in fiery characters. And an huge *fleet* of thy vessels, which they would make if they were all together, that have miscarried in the late war, has given thee to read more of it. Here is one petition more to be made unto our God: "Lord, help us to ensure a better and a lasting substance in heaven, and the good part that cannot be taken away."

In fine, how dreadfully have the *young people* of Boston perished under the *judgments* of God! A renowned writer among the Pagans could make this remark: there was a town so irreligious and atheistical, that they did not pay their first-fruits unto God; (which the *light of nature* taught the Pagans to do!) and, says he, they were by a sudden desolation so strangely destroyed, that there were no remainders either of the persons, or of the houses, to be seen any more. Ah, my young folks, there are few first-fruits paid unto the Lord Jesus Christ among you. From hence it comes to pass, that the consuming wrath of God is every day upon you. New-England has been like a *tottering house*, the very *foundations* of it have been shaking; but the house thus oversetting by the whirlwinds of the wrath of God, hath been like Job's house: "It falls upon the young men, and they are dead!" The disasters on our young folks have been so multiplied, that there are few parents among us but what will go with wounded hearts down unto their graves: their daily moans are, "Ah, my son, cut off in his youth! My son, my son!" Behold then the *help* that we are to ask of our God; and why do we, with no more days of prayer with fasting, ask it? "Lord, help the young people of Boston to remember thee in the days of their youth, and satisfie unto the survivers the terrible things that have come upon so many of that generation."

And now as Joshua, having reasoned with his people a little before he died, in Josh. xxiv. 26, 27, "took a great *stone*, and set it up, and said unto all the people, Behold, this stone shall be a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God;" thus we have been this day setting up a STONE, even an Ebenezer, among you; and I conclude, earnestly testifying unto you, Behold this stone shall be a witness unto you, that the Lord JESUS CHRIST has been a good Lord unto you, and if you seek him, he will be still found of you; but if you forsake him, he will cast you off for ever.

ECCLESIARUM CLYPEI.—["THE SHIELDS OF THE CHURCHES."]

THE SECOND BOOK

OF

THE NEW-ENGLISH HISTORY:

CONTAINING

THE LIVES OF THE GOVERNOURS,

AND

THE NAMES OF THE MAGISTRATES,

THAT HAVE BEEN SHIELDS UNTO THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND,

UNTIL THE YEAR 1686.

PERPETUATED BY THE ESSAY OF COTTON MATHER.

Priscatque ne Veteris vanescat Gloria Sæcli,
Vivida defensant, quæ Monumenta damur.
[The glories of that elder age,
Lustrous and pure, shall never wane,
While hero, martyr, ruler, sage,
Its living monuments remain.]

Qui aliis præsunt, tanto privatis Hominibus Meliores esse Oportet,
Quanto Honoribus et Dinitate antecellunt.—PANORINITAN.
[In respect to men in authority, it is needful that they should surpass private citizens in loftiness of character, as much as they excel them in dignity of station.]

Nondum hæc, quæ nunc tenet Sæculum, Negligentia
Dei Venerat.—LIV. l. 3.
[That forgetfulness of the Deity, which marks the present age, had not yet begun to appear.]

Optimus quisque Nobilissimus.—PLATO.
[He is most honoured who is most virtuous.]

HARTFORD:
SILAS ANDRUS & SON.
1853.

INTRODUCTION.

'TWERE to be wished that there might never be any English translation of that wicked position in Machiavel, *Non requiri in Principe veram pietatem, sed sufficere illius quandam umbram, et simultationem Externam.** It may be there never was any region under heaven happier than poor New-England hath been in Magistrates, whose *true piety* was worthy to be made the *example* of after-ages.

Happy hast thou been, O land! in Magistrates, whose disposition to serve the Lord Jesus Christ, unto whom they still considered themselves accountable, answered the good rule of Agapetus, "*Quo quis in Republica Majorem Dignitatis gradum adeptus est, eo Deum Colat Submissius:*"† Magistrates, whose disposition to serve the people that chose them to rule over them, argued them sensible of that great stroak in Cicero, "*Nulla re propius Homines ad Deum Accedunt, quam salute Hominibus danda:*‡ Magistrates, acted in their administrations by the spirit of a Joshua. When the wise man observes unto us, "That oppressions make a wise man mad," it may be worth considering, whether the *oppressor* is not intended rather than the *oppressed* in the observation. 'Tis very certain that a *disposition* to oppress other men, does often make those that are otherwise very *wise* men, to forget the rules of *reason*, and commit most *unreasonable* exorbitancies. Rehoboam in some things acted wisely; but this admonition of his inspired father could not restrain him from acting madly, when the spirit of oppression was upon him. The rulers of New-England have been *wise men*, whom that spirit of oppression betrayed not into this madness.

The father of Themistocles disswading him from government, showed him the *old oars* which the mariners had now thrown away upon the sea-shores with neglect and contempt; and said, "That people would certainly treat their old rulers with the same contempt." But, reader, let us now take up our *old oars* with all possible respect, and see whether we cannot still make use of them to serve our little vessel. But this the rather, because we may with an easie turn change the name into that of *pilots*.

The word GOVERNMENT, properly signifies the *guidance of a ship:* Tully uses it for that purpose; and in Plutarch, the art of *steering a ship*, is, Τεχνη πυβερνητικη. New-England is a little *ship*, which hath weathered many a terrible storm; and it is but reasonable that they who have sat at the helm of the ship, should be remembred in the *history* of its deliverances.

Prudentius calls Judges, "The great lights of the sphere;" Symmachus calls Judges, "The better part of mankind." Reader, thou art now to be entertained with the Lives of Judges which have deserved that character. And the Lives of those who have been called speaking laws, will excuse our History from coming under the observation made about the work of Homer, That the word LAW, is never so much as once occuring in them. They are not written like the *Cyrus* of Xenophon, like the *Alexander* of Curtius, like Virgil's *Æneas*, and like Pliny's *Trajan:* but the reader hath in every one of them a real and a faithful History. And I please my self with hopes, that there will yet be found among the sons of New-England, those young gentlemen by whom the copies given in this History will be written after; and that saying of old Chaucer be remembred, "To do the genteel deeds, that makes the gentleman."

* True piety is superfluous in a prince: it is enough if he assume its semblance and outward show.

† The loftier the station one reaches in the government, the truer should be his devotion to the service of God.

‡ Men approach nearest to the character of God in doing good to mankind.

ECCLESIARUM CLYPEI.

THE SECOND BOOK

OF THE

NEW-ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

GALEACIUS SECUNDUS.*

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM BRADFORD, ESQ., GOVERNOUR OF PLYMOUTH COLONY.

Omnium Somnos illius vigilantia defendit; omnium otium, illius Labor; omnium Delitias, illius Industria; omnium vacationem, illius occupatio.†

§ 1. It has been a matter of some observation, that although Yorkshire be one of the largest shires in England; yet, for all the *fires* of martyrdom which were kindled in the days of Queen Mary, it afforded no more *fuel* than one poor *Leaf;* namely, John Leaf, an apprentice, who suffered for the doctrine of the Reformation at the same time and stake with the famous John Bradford. But when the reign of Queen Elizabeth would not admit the Reformation of worship to proceed unto those degrees, which were proposed and pursued by no small number of the faithful in those days, Yorkshire was not the least of the shires in England that afforded suffering *witnesses* thereunto. The Churches there gathered were quickly molested with such a raging persecution, that if the spirit of separation in them did carry them unto a further *extream* than it should have done, one blameable cause thereof will be found in the *extremity* of that persecution. Their troubles made that *cold* country too *hot* for them, so that they were under a necessity to *seek* a retreat in the Low Countries; and yet the watchful malice and fury of their adversaries rendred it almost impossible for them to *find* what they sought. For them to leave their native soil, their lands and their friends, and go into a strange place, where they must hear foreign language, and live meanly and hardly, and in other imployments than that of husbandry, wherein they had been educated, *these* must needs have been such discouragements as could have been conquered by none, save those who "sought first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof." But that which would have made these discouragements the more

* The second shield-bearer.

† His watchfulness guards others' slumbers; his toil secures others' rest; his diligence protects others' enjoyments; his constant application, others' leisure.

unconquerable unto an ordinary faith, was the terrible zeal of their enemies to guard all ports, and search all ships, that none of them should be carried off. I will not relate the sad things of this kind then *seen* and *felt* by this people of God; but only exemplifie those trials with one short story. Divers of this people having hired a Dutchman, then lying at Hull, to carry them over to Holland, he promised faithfully to take them in between Grimsly and Hull; but they coming to the place a day or two too soon, the appearance of such a multitude alarmed the officers of the town adjoining, who came with a great body of soldiers to seize upon them. Now it happened that one boat full of men had been carried aboard, while the women were yet in a bark that lay aground in a creek at low water. The Dutchman perceiving the storm that was thus beginning ashore, swore by the sacrament that he would stay no longer for any of them; and so taking the advantage of a fair wind then blowing, he put out to sea for Zealand. The women thus left near Grimsly-common, bereaved of their husbands, who had been hurried from them, and forsaken of their neighbours, of whom none durst in this fright stay with them, were a very rueful spectacle; some crying for *fear*, some shaking for *cold*, all dragged by troops of armed and angry men from one Justice to another, till not knowing what to do with them, they even dismissed them to shift as well as they could for themselves. But by their singular *afflictions*, and by their Christian *behaviours*, the *cause* for which they exposed themselves did gain considerably. In the mean time, the men at sea found reason to be glad that their families were not with them, for they were surprized with an horrible tempest, which held them for fourteen days together, in seven whereof they saw not sun, moon or star, but were driven upon the coast of Norway. The mariners often despaired of life, and once with doleful shrieks gave over all, as thinking the vessel was foundred: but the vessel rose again, and when the mariners with sunk hearts often cried out, "We sink! we sink!" the passengers, without such distraction of mind, even while the water was running into their mouths and ears, would chearfully shout, "Yet, Lord, thou canst save! Yet, Lord, thou canst save!" And the Lord accordingly brought them at last safe unto their desired haven: and not long after helped their distressed relations thither after them, where indeed they found upon almost all accounts *a new world*, but a world in which they found that they must live like strangers and pilgrims.

§ 2. Among those devout people was our William Bradford, who was born *Anno* 1588, in an obscure village called Ansterfield, where the people were as unacquainted with the Bible, as the Jews do seem to have been with *part* of it in the days of Josiah; a most ignorant and licentious *people*, and *like unto their priest*. Here, and in some other places, he had a comfortable inheritance left him of his honest parents, who died while he was yet a child, and cast him on the education, first of his grand

parents, and then of his uncles, who devoted him, like his ancestors, unto the affairs of husbandry. Soon a long sickness kept him, as he would afterwards thankfully say, from the *vanities of youth*, and made him the fitter for what he was afterwards to undergo. When he was about a dozen years old, the reading of the Scriptures began to cause great impressions upon him; and those impressions were much assisted and improved, when he came to enjoy Mr. Richard Clifton's illuminating ministry, not far from his abode; he was then also further befriended, by being brought into the company and fellowship of such as were then called professors; though the young man that brought him into it did after become a prophane and wicked *apostate*. Nor could the wrath of his uncles, nor the scoff of his neighbours, now turned upon him, as one of the *Puritans*, divert him from his pious inclinations.

§ 3. At last, beholding how fearfully the evangelical and apostolical *church-form*, whereinto the churches of the primitive times were cast by the good spirit of God, had been *deformed* by the apostacy of the succeeding times; and what little progress the Reformation had yet made in many parts of Christendom towards its recovery, he set himself by reading, by discourse, by prayer, to learn whether it was not his duty to withdraw from the communion of the parish-assemblies, and engage with some society of the faithful, that should keep close unto the *written word* of God, as the *rule* of their worship. And after many distresses of mind concerning it, he took up a very deliberate and understanding resolution, of doing so; which resolution he chearfully prosecuted, although the provoked rage of his friends tried all the ways imaginable to reclaim him from it, unto all whom his answer was:

"Were I like to endanger my life, or consume my estate by any ungodly courses, your counsels to me were very seasonable; but you know that I have been diligent and provident in my calling, and not only desirous to augment what I have, but also to enjoy it in your company; to part from which will be as great a cross as can befal me. Nevertheless, to keep a good conscience, and walk in such a way as God has prescribed in his Word, is a thing which I must prefer before you all, and above life it self. Wherefore, since 'tis for a good cause that I am like to suffer the disasters which you lay before me, you have no cause to be either angry with me, or sorry for me; yea, I am not only willing to part with every thing that is dear to me in this world for this cause, but I am also thankful that God has given me an heart to do, and will accept me so to suffer for him."

Some lamented him, some derided him, *all* disswaded him: nevertheless, the more they did it, the more fixed he was in his purpose to seek the ordinances of the gospel, where they should be dispensed with most of the *commanded purity;* and the sudden deaths of the chief relations which thus lay at him, quickly after convinced him what a folly it had been to have quitted his profession, in expectation of any satisfaction from them. So to Holland he attempted a removal.

§ 4. Having with a great company of Christians hired a ship to trans-

port them for Holland, the master perfidiously betrayed them into the hands of those persecutors, who rifled and ransacked their goods, and clapped their persons into prison at Boston, where they lay for a month together. But Mr. Bradford being a young man of about eighteen, was dismissed sooner than the rest, so that within a while he had opportunity with some others to get over to Zealand, through *perils*, both by *land* and *sea* not inconsiderable; where he was not long ashore ere a viper seized on his hand—that is, an officer—who carried him unto the magistrates, unto whom an envious passenger had accused him as having *fled* out of England. When the magistrates understood the true cause of his coming thither, they were well satisfied with him; and so he repaired joyfully unto his brethren at Amsterdam, where the difficulties to which he afterwards stooped in learning and serving of a Frenchman at the working of silks, were abundantly compensated by the delight wherewith he sat under the shadow of our Lord, in his purely dispensed ordinances. At the end of two years, he did, being of age to do it, convert his estate in England into money; but setting up for himself, he found some of his designs by the *providence* of God frowned upon, which he judged a *correction* bestowed by God upon him for certain decays of *internal piety*, whereinto he had fallen; the consumption of his *estate* he thought came to prevent a consumption in his *virtue*. But after he had resided in Holland about half a score years, he was one of those who bore a part in that hazardous and generous enterprise of removing into New-England, with part of the English church at Leyden, where, at their first landing, his dearest consort accidentally falling overboard, was drowned in the harbour; and the rest of his days were spent in the services, and the temptations, of that American wilderness.

§ 5. Here was Mr. Bradford, in the year 1621, unanimously chosen the governour of the plantation: the difficulties whereof were such, that if he had not been a person of more than ordinary piety, wisdom and courage, he must have sunk under them. He had, with a laudable industry, been laying up a treasure of experiences, and he had now occasion to use it: indeed, nothing but an *experienced* man could have been suitable to the necessities of the people. The potent nations of the Indians, into whose country they were come, would have cut them off, if the blessing of God upon *his* conduct had not quelled them; and if his prudence, justice and moderation had not over-ruled them, they had been ruined by their own distempers. One specimen of his demeanour is to this day particularly spoken of. A company of young fellows that were newly arrived, were very unwilling to comply with the governour's order for working abroad on the publick account; and therefore on Christmas-day, when he had called upon them, they excused themselves, with a pretence that it was against their conscience to *work* such a day. The governour gave them no answer, only that he would spare them till they were better

informed; but by and by he found them all at *play* in the street, sporting themselves with various diversions; whereupon commanding the instruments of their games to be taken from them, he effectually gave them to understand, "*That it was against his conscience that they should play whilst others were at work:* and that if they had any devotion to the day, they should show it at home in the exercises of religion, and not in the streets with pastime and frolicks;" and this gentle reproof put a final stop to all such disorders for the future.

§ 6. For two years together after the beginning of the colony, whereof he was now governour, the poor people had a great experiment of "man's not living by bread alone;" for when they were left all together without one morsel of bread for many months one after another, still the good providence of God relieved them, and supplied them, and this for the most part out of the *sea.* In this low condition of affairs, there was no little exercise for the prudence and patience of the governour, who chearfully bore his part in all: and, that industry might not flag, he quickly set himself to settle *propriety* among the new-planters; foreseeing that while the whole country laboured upon a common stock, the husbandry and business of the plantation could not flourish, as Plato and others long since dreamed that it would, if a *community* were established. Certainly, if the spirit which dwelt in the old puritans, had not inspired these new-planters, they had sunk under the burden of these difficulties; but our Bradford had a double portion of that spirit.

§ 7. The plantation was quickly thrown into a storm that almost overwhelmed it, by the unhappy actions of a minister sent over from England by the adventurers concerned for the plantation; but by the blessing of Heaven on the conduct of the governour, they weathered out that storm. Only the adventurers hereupon breaking to pieces, threw up all their concernments with the infant-colony; whereof they gave this as one reason, "That the planters dissembled with his Majesty and their friends in their petition, wherein they declared for a church-discipline, agreeing with the French and others of the reforming churches in Europe." Whereas 'twas now urged, that they had admitted into their communion a person who at his admission utterly renounced the Churches of England, (which person, by the way, was *that* very man who had made the complaints against them,) and therefore, though they denied the *name* of Brownists, yet they were the thing. In answer hereunto, the very words written by the governour were these:

"Whereas you tax us with dissembling about the *French discipline*, you do us wrong, for we both hold and practice the *discipline* of the French and other Reformed Churches (as they have published the same in the *Harmony of Confessions*) according to our means, in effect and substance. But whereas you would tie us up to the *French discipline* in every circumstance, you derogate from the *liberty* we have in Christ Jesus. The Apostle Paul would have none to *follow him* in any thing, but wherein he *follows* Christ; much less ought

any Christian or church in the world to do it. The French may err, we may err, and other churches may err, and doubtless do in many *circumstances*. That honour therefore belongs only to the *infallible Word of God*, and *pure Testament of Christ*, to be propounded and followed as the only rule and pattern for direction herein to all churches and Christians. And it is too great arrogancy for any man or church to think that he or they have so sounded the Word of God unto the bottom, as precisely to set down the church's discipline without error in substance or circumstance, that no other without blame may digress or differ in any thing from the same. And it is not difficult to shew that the Reformed Churches differ in many *circumstances* among themselves.

By which words it appears how far he was free from that rigid spirit of separation, which broke to pieces the Separatists themselves in the Low Countries, unto the great scandal of the reforming churches. He was indeed a person of a well-tempered spirit, or else it had been scarce possible for him to have kept the affairs of Plymouth in so good a temper for thirty-seven years together; in every one of which he was chosen their governour, except the three years wherein Mr. Winslow, and the two years wherein Mr. Prince, at the choice of the people, took a turn with him.

§ 8. The leader of a people in a wilderness had need be a Moses; and if a Moses had not led the people of Plymouth Colony, when this worthy person was their governour, the people had never with so much unanimity and importunity still called him to lead them. Among many instances thereof, let this one piece of self-denial be told for a memorial of him, wheresoever this History shall be considered: The Patent of the Colony was taken in his name, running in these terms: "To William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns." But when the number of the freemen was much increased, and many new townships erected, the General Court there desired of Mr. Bradford, that he would make a surrender of the same into their hands, which he willingly and presently assented unto, and confirmed it according to their desire by his hand and seal, reserving no more for himself than was his proportion, with others, by agreement. But as he found the providence of Heaven many ways recompensing his many acts of self-denial, so he gave this testimony to the faithfulness of the divine promises: "That he had forsaken friends, houses and lands for the sake of the gospel, and the Lord gave them him again." Here he prospered in his estate; and besides a worthy son which he had by a former wife, he had also two sons and a daughter by another, whom he married in this land.

§ 9. He was a person for study as well as action; and hence, notwithstanding the difficulties through which he passed in his youth, he attained unto a notable skill in languages: the Dutch tongue was become almost as vernacular to him as the English; the French tongue he could also manage; the Latin and the Greek he had mastered; but the Hebrew he most of all studied, "Because," he said, "he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God in their native beauty." He was also well skilled in History, in Antiquity, and in Philosophy; and for Theology he

became so versed in it, that he was an irrefragable disputant against the *errors*, especially those of Anabaptism, which with trouble he saw rising in his colony; wherefore he wrote some significant things for the confutation of those errors. But the *crown* of all was his holy, prayerful, watchful, and fruitful walk with God, wherein he was very exemplary.

§ 10. At length he fell into an indisposition of body, which rendred him unhealthy for a whole winter; and as the spring advanced, his health yet more declined; yet he felt himself not what he counted sick, till one day; in the night after which, the God of heaven so filled his mind with ineffable consolations, that he seemed little short of Paul, rapt up unto the unutterable entertainments of Paradise. The next morning he told his friends, "That the good Spirit of God had given him a pledge of his happiness in another world, and the first-fruits of his eternal glory;" and on the day following he died, May 9, 1657, in the 69th year of his age—lamented by all the colonies of New-England, as a common blessing and father to them all.

*O mihi si Similis Contingat Clausula Vitæ!**

Plato's brief description of a governour, is all that I will now leave as his character, in an

EPITAPH.

Νομευς Τροφος ἀγελης ἀνθρωπινης.†

MEN are but FLOCKS: BRADFORD beheld their need,
And long did them at once both rule and feed.

CHAPTER II.

SUCCESSORS.

Inter omnia quæ Rempublicam, ejusque fælicitatem conservant, quid utilius, quid præstantius, quàm Viros ad Magistratus gerendos Eligere, summa prudentia et Virtute preditos, quique ad Honores obtinendos, non Ambitione, non Largitionibus, sed Virtute et Modestia sibi parent adytum!‡

§ 1. THE merits of Mr Edward Winslow, the son of Edward Winslow, Esq., of Draughtwich, in the county of Worcester, obliged the votes of the Plymothean colony (whereto he arrived in the year 1624, after his prudent and faithful dispatch of an agency in England, on the behalf of that infant colony) to chuse him for many years a magistrate, and for two

* O, that life's end may be as sweet to me! † A shepherd-guardian of his human fold.

‡ Amongst all such things as tend to the stability and happiness of a commonwealth, what is more salutary or more glorious than to select men for office who will acquire renown, not by an ambitious chase for honour, or by popular arts, but by virtue and self-control.

GOV. EDWARD WINSLOW.

or three their governour. Travelling into the Low-Countries, he fell into acquaintance with the English church at Leyden, and joining himself to them, he shipped himself with that part of them which first came over into America; from which time he was continually engaged in such extraordinary actions, as the assistance of that people to encounter their more than ordinary difficulties, called for. But their publick affairs then requiring an *agency* of as wise a man as the country could find at Whitehall for them, he was again prevailed withal, in the year 1635, to appear for them at the Council-board; and his appearance there proved as *affectual*, as it was very *seasonable*, not only for the colony of Plymouth, but for the Massachusets also, on very important accounts. It was by the blessing of God upon his wary and proper applications, that the attempts of many adversaries to overthrow the whole settlement of New-England, were themselves wholly overthrown; and as a small acknowledgment for his great service therein, they did, upon his return again, chuse him their governour. But in the year 1646, the place of governour being rëassumed by Mr. Bradford, the Massachuset-colony addressed themselves unto Mr. Winslow to take another voyage for England, that he might there procure their deliverance from the designs of many troublesome adversaries that were petitioning unto the Parliament against them; and this Hercules having been from his very early days accustomed unto the crushing of that sort of *serpents*, generously undertook another agency, wherein how many good services he did for New-England, and with what fidelity, discretion, vigour and success he pursued the interests of that happy people, it would make a large history to relate—an history that may not now be expected until the "resurrection of the just." After this he returned no more unto New-England; but being in great favour with the greatest persons then in the nation, he fell into those imployments wherein the whole nation fared the better for him. At length he was imployed as one of the grand commissioners in the expedition against Hispaniola, where a disease (rendred yet more uneasie by his dissatisfaction at the strange miscarriage of that expedition) arresting him, he died between Domingo and Jamaica, on May 8, 1655, in the sixty-first year of his life, and had his body honourably committed unto the sea.

§ 2. Sometimes during the *life*, but always after the *death* of Governour Bradford, even until his own, Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen GOVERNOUR of Plymouth. He was a gentleman whose *natural parts* exceeded his *acquired;* but the want and worth of acquired parts was a thing so sensible unto him, that Plymouth never had a greater Mecænas of learning in it: it was he that, in spite of much contradiction, procured revenues for the support of grammar-schools in that colony. About the time of Governour Bradford's death, *religion* it self had like to have *died* in that colony, through a libertine and Brownistick spirit then prevailing among the people, and a strange disposition to discountenance the gospel-ministry,

by setting up the "gifts of private brethren" in opposition thereunto. The good people being in extream distress from the prospect which this matter gave to them, saw no way so likely and ready to save the churches from ruin, as by the election of Mr. Prince to the place of governour; and this point being by the gracious and marvellous providence of the Lord Jesus Christ gained at the next election, the adverse party from that very time sunk into confusion. He had sojourned for awhile at Eastham, where a church was by his means gathered; but after this time he returned unto his former scituation at Plymouth, where he resided until he died, which was March 29, 1673, when he was about seventy-three years of age. Among the many excellent qualities which adorned him as governour of the colony, there was much notice taken of that *integrity*, wherewith indeed he was most exemplarily qualified: whence it was that as he ever would refuse any thing that looked like a *bribe;* so if any person having a case to be heard at Court, had sent a present unto his family in his absence, he would presently send back the value thereof in money unto the person. But had he been only a private Christian, there would yet have been seen upon him those ornaments of *prayerfulness*, and *peaceableness*, and profound resignation to the conduct of the Word of God, and a strict *walk* with God, which might justly have been made an *example* to a whole colony.

§ 3. Reader, if thou wouldest have seen the true picture of *wisdom*, *courage*, and *generosity*, the successor of Mr. Thomas Prince in the government of Plymouth would have represented it. It was the truly honourable Josiah Winslow, Esq., the first governour that was born in New-England, and one well worthy to be an example to all that should come after him; a true English gentleman, and (that I may say all at once) the true son of that gentleman whom we parted withal no more than two paragraphs ago. His education and his disposition was that of a gentleman; and his many services to his country in the field, as well as on the bench, ought never to be buried in oblivion. All that Homer desired in a ruler was in the life of this gentleman expressed unto the life; to be, *Fortes in Hostes*, and *Bonus in Cives.** Though he hath left an off-spring, yet I must ask for *one daughter* to be remembred above the rest. As of old, Epaminondas being upbraided with want of issue, boasted that he left behind him one daughter, namely, the battel of Leuctra, which would render him immortal; so our general Winslow hath left behind him his battel at the fort of the Narragansets, to immortalize him: *there* did he with his own *sword* make and shape a *pen* to write his history. But so large a *field* of merit is now before me, that I dare not give my self the liberty to range in it lest I lose my self. He died on Dec. 18, 1680.

Jam Cinis est, et de tam magno restat Achille
Nescio quid; parvam quod non bene compleat urnam.†

* Brave against the enemy—kind to his subjects.

† Behold Achilles' dust! the issue learn
Of that heroic will:
These mighty relics now a paltry urn
Can scarcely fill.

§ 4. And what successor had *he?* Methinks of the two last words in the wonderful prediction of the *succession*, oracled unto King Henry VII., LEO, NULLUS,* the first would have well suited the valiant Winslow of Plymouth; and the last were to have been wished for him that followed.

CHAPTER III.

PATRES CONSCRIPTI;† OR, ASSISTENTS.

THE GOVERNOURS of New-England have still had "righteousness the girdle of their loins, and faithfulness the girdle of their reins"—that is to say, *righteous* and *faithful* men about them, in the assistance of such magistrates as were called by the *votes* of the freemen unto the administration of the government, (according to their charters) and made the judges of the land. These persons have been such members of the churches, and such patrons to the churches, and generally been such examples of courage, wisdom, justice, goodness and religion, that it is fit our Church-History should remember them. The blessed Apollonius, who in a set oration generously and eloquently pleaded the cause of Christianity before the Roman Senate, was not only a learned person, but also (if Jerom say right) a Senator of Rome. The Senators of New-England also have pleaded the cause of Christianity, not so much by *orations*, as by *practising* of it, and by *suffering* for it. Nevertheless, as the Sicyonians would have no other epitaphs written on the tombs of their Kings, but only their *names*, that they might have no honour but what the remembrance of their actions and merits in the minds of the people should procure for them; so I shall content my self with only reciting the *names* of these worthy persons, and the *times* when I find them first chosen unto their magistracy.

MAGISTRATES IN THE COLONY OF NEW-PLYMOUTH.

The good people, soon after their first coming over, chose Mr. William Bradford for their governour, and added five assistents, whose names, I suppose, will be found in the catalogue of them whom I find sitting on the seat of judgment among them, in the year 1633.

Edward Winslow, Gov.	Miles Standish.	John Alden.	Stephen Hopkins.
William Bradford.	John Howland.	John Done.	William Gilson.

AFTERWARDS AT SEVERAL TIMES WERE ADDED,

Thomas Prince,	1634.	Edmund Freeman,	1640.	William Bradford, *F.*	1558.
William Collier,	1634.	William Thomas,	1642.	Thomas Hinkley,	1658.
Timothy Hatherly,	1636.	Thomas Willet,	1651.	James Brown,	1665.
John Brown,	1636.	Thomas Southworth,	1652.	John Freeman,	1666.
John Jenny,	1637.	James Cudworth,	1656.	Nathanael Bacon,	1667.
John Atwood,	1638.	Josiah Winslow,	1657.		

* First a lion—then, a nobody. † Senators.

Thus far we find in a book entituled, *New-England's Memorial* which was published by Mr. Nathanael Morton, the Secretary of Plymouth colony, in the year 1669. Since then there have been added at several times,

Constant Southworth,	1670.	Barnabas Lothrop,	1681.	John Walley,	——.
Daniel Smith,	1674.	John Thatcher,	——.		

CHAPTER IV.

NEHEMIAS AMERICANUS.*

THE LIFE OF JOHN WINTHROP, ESQ., GOVERNOR OF THE MASSACHUSET COLONY.

Quicunque Venti erunt, Ars nostra certe non aberit.—CICERO.†

§ 1. LET Greece boast of her patient Lycurgus, the lawgiver, by whom diligence, temperance, fortitude and wit were made the fashions of a therefore long-lasting and renowned commonwealth: let Rome tell of her devout Numa, the lawgiver, by whom the most famous commonwealth saw peace triumphing over extinguished war and cruel plunders; and murders giving place to the more mollifying exercises of his religion. Our New-England shall tell and boast of her WINTHROP, a lawgiver as patient as Lycurgus, but not admitting any of his criminal disorders; as devout as Numa, but not liable to any of *his* heathenish madnesses; a governour in whom the excellencies of Christianity made a most improving addition unto the virtues, wherein even without *those* he would have made a *parallel* for the great men of Greece, or of Rome, which the pen of a Plutarch has eternized.

§ 2. A stock of *heroes* by right should afford nothing but what is *heroical;* and nothing but an extream degeneracy would make any thing less to be expected from a stock of Winthrops. Mr. Adam Winthrop, the son of a worthy gentleman wearing the same name, was himself a worthy, a discreet, and a learned gentleman, particularly eminent for skill in the law, nor without remark for love to the gospel, under the reign of King Henry VIII., and brother to a memorable favourer of the reformed religion in the days of Queen Mary, into whose hands the famous martyr Philpot committed his papers, which afterwards made no inconsiderable part of our *martyr-books.* This Mr. Adam Winthrop had a son of the same name also, and of the same endowments and imployments with his father; and this third Adam Winthrop was the father of that renowned John Winthrop, who was the father of New-England, and the founder of *a colony,* which, upon many accounts, like *him* that founded it, may challenge the first place among the English glories of America. Our JOHN

* The American Nehemiah. † Whatever winds may blow, this art of ours can never be lost.

WINTHROP, thus born at the mansion-house of his ancestors, at Groton in Suffolk, on June 12, 1587, enjoyed afterwards an agreeable education. But though he would rather have devoted himself unto the study of Mr. John Calvin, than of Sir Edward Cook; nevertheless, the accomplishments of a lawyer were those wherewith Heaven made his chief opportunities to be serviceable.

§ 3. Being made, at the unusually early age of *eighteen*, a justice of peace, his virtues began to fall under a more general observation; and he not only so bound himself to the behaviour of a Christian, as to become exemplary for a conformity to the laws of Christianity in his own conversation, but also discovered a more than ordinary measure of those qualities which adorn an officer of humane society. His justice was impartial, and used the ballance to weigh not the *cash*, but the *case* of those who were before him: *prosopolatria** he reckoned as bad as *idolatria*:† his wisdom did exquisitely temper things according to the *art of governing*, which is a business of more contrivance than the *seven arts* of the schools; *oyer* still went before *terminer* in all his administrations: his courage made him *dare to do right*, and fitted him to stand among the lions that have sometimes been the supporters of the throne: all which virtues he rendred the more illustrious, by emblazoning them with the constant liberality and hospitality of a gentleman. This made him the *terror* of the wicked, and the *delight* of the sober, the *envy* of the many, but the *hope* of those who had any hopeful design in hand for the common good of the nation and the interests of religion.

§ 4. Accordingly when the noble design of carrying a colony of chosen people into an American wilderness, was by some eminent persons undertaken, *this* eminent person was, by the consent of all, chosen for the Moses, who must be the leader of so great an undertaking: and indeed nothing but a *Mosaic spirit* could have carried him through the temptations, to which either his farewel to his own land, or his travel in a strange land, must needs expose a gentleman of his education. Wherefore having sold a fair estate of six or seven hundred a year, he transported himself with the effects of it into New-England in the year 1630, where he spent it upon the service of a famous plantation, founded and formed for the seat of the most *reformed Christianity:* and continued there, conflicting with temptations of all sorts, as many years as the *nodes* of the *moon* take to dispatch a revolution. Those persons were never concerned in a new plantation, who know not that the unavoidable difficulties of such a thing will call for all the prudence and patience of a mortal man to encounter therewithal; and they must be very insensible of the influence, which the *just wrath* of Heaven has permitted the *devils* to have upon this world, if they do not think that the difficulties of a new plantation, devoted unto the evangelical worship of our Lord Jesus

* Face-worship, or respect of persons. † Idol-worship.

Christ, must be yet more than ordinary. How prudently, how patiently, and with how much resignation to our Lord Jesus Christ, our brave Winthrop waded through these difficulties, let posterity consider with admiration. And know, that as the picture of this their governour was, after his death, hung up with honour in the state-house of his country, so the wisdom, courage, and holy zeal of his life, were an example well-worthy to be copied by all that shall succeed him in government.

§ 5. Were he now to be considered only as a Christian, we might therein propose him as greatly imitable. He was a very religious man; and as he strictly kept his *heart*, so he kept his *house*, under the laws of piety; there he was every day constant in holy duties, both morning and evening, and on the Lord's days, and lectures; though he wrote not after the preacher, yet such was his attention, and such his retention in hearing, that he repeated unto his family the sermons which he had heard in the congregation. But it is chiefly as a governour that he is now to be considered. Being the governour over the considerablest part of New-England, he maintained the figure and honour of his place with the spirit of a true gentleman; but yet with such obliging condescention to the circumstances of the colony, that when a certain troublesome and malicious calumniator, well known in those times, printed his libellous nick-names upon the chief persons here, the worst nick-name he could find for the governour, was *John Temper-well;* and when the calumnies of that ill man caused the Arch-bishop to summon one Mr. Cleaves before the King, in hopes to get some accusation from him against the country, Mr. Cleaves gave such an account of the governour's laudable carriage in all respects, and the serious devotion wherewith prayers were both publickly and privately made for his Majesty, that the King expressed himself most highly *pleased* therewithal, only *sorry* that so worthy a person should be no better accommodated than with the hardships of America. He was, indeed, a governour, who had most exactly studied that book which, pretending to teach politicks, did only contain *three leaves*, and but *one word* in each of those leaves, which word was, MODERATION. Hence, though he were a zealous enemy to all vice, yet his practice was according to his judgment thus expressed: "In the infancy of plantations, justice should be administered with more lenity than in a settled state; because people are more apt then to transgress; partly out of ignorance of new laws and orders, partly out of oppression of business, and other straits. [LENTO GRADU]* was the old rule; and if the strings of a new instrument be wound up unto their heighth, they will quickly crack." But when some leading and learned men took offence at his conduct in this matter, and upon a conference gave it in as their opinion, "That a stricter discipline was to be used in the beginning of a plantation, than after its being with more age established and confirmed," the governour being readier

* By slow degrees.

to see *his own* errors than *other men's*, professed his purpose to endeavour their satisfaction with less of *lenity* in his administrations. At that conference there were drawn up several other articles to be observed between the governour and the rest of the magistrates, which were of this import: "That the magistrates, as far as might be, should aforehand ripen their consultations, to produce that unanimity in their publick votes, which might make them liker to the voice of God; that if differences fell out among them in their publick meetings, they should speak only to the case, without any reflection, with all due modesty, and but by way of question; or desire the deferring of the cause to further time; and after sentence to imitate privately no dislike; that they should be more familiar, friendly and open unto each other, and more frequent in their visitations, and not any way expose each other's infirmities, but seek the honour of each other, and all the Court; that one magistrate shall not cross the proceedings of another, without first advising with him; and that they should in all their appearances abroad, be so circumstanced as to prevent all contempt of authority; and that they should support and strengthen all under officers. All of which articles were observed by no man more than by the governour himself.

§ 6. But whilst he thus did, as our New-English Nehemiah, the part of a *ruler* in managing the public affairs of our American Jerusalem, when there were Tobijahs and Sanballats enough to vex him, and give him the experiment of Luther's observation, *Omnis qui regit est tanquam signum, in quod omnia jacula, Satan et Mundus dirigunt;** he made himself still an exacter *parallel* unto that governour of Israel, by doing the part of a neighbour among the distressed people of the new plantation. To teach them the frugality necessary for those times, he abridged himself of a thousand comfortable things, which he had allowed himself elsewhere: his *habit* was not that *soft raiment*, which would have been disagreeable to a wilderness; his table was not covered with the superfluities that would have invited unto sensualities: water was commonly his own drink, though he gave wine to others. But at the same time his liberality unto the needy was even beyond measure generous; and therein he was continually causing "the blessing of him that was ready to perish to come upon him, and the heart of the widow and the orphan to sing for joy:" but none more than those of deceased Ministers, whom he always treated with a very singular compassion; among the instances whereof we still enjoy with us the worthy and now aged son of that reverend Higginson, whose death left his family in a wide world soon after his arrival here, publickly acknowledging the charitable Winthrop for his *foster-father*. It was oftentimes no small trial unto his faith, to think how a table for the people should be furnished when they first came into the wilderness! and for very many of the people his own good works were needful, and accordingly employed for the

* A man in authority is a target, at which Satan and the world launch all their darts.

answering of his faith. Indeed, for a while the governour was the Joseph, unto whom the whole body of the people repaired when their corn failed them; and he continued relieving of them with his open-handed bounties, as long as he had any stock to do it with; and a lively *faith* to *see* the return of the "bread after many days," and not starve in the days that were to pass till that return should be seen, carried him chearfully through those expences.

Once it was observable that, on February 5, 1630, when he was distributing the last handful of the meal in the barrel unto a poor man distressed by the "wolf at the door," at that instant they spied a ship arrived at the harbour's mouth, laden with provisions for them all. Yea, the governour sometimes made his own *private purse* to be the *publick:* not by *sucking* into it, but by *squeezing* out of it; for when the publick treasure had nothing in it, he did himself defray the charges of the publick. And having learned that lesson of our Lord, "that it is better to give than to receive," he did, at the general court, when he was a third time chosen governour, make a speech unto this purpose: "That he had received gratuities from divers towns, which he accepted with much comfort and content; and he had likewise received civilities from particular persons, which he could not refuse without incivility in himself: nevertheless, he took them with a trembling heart, in regard of God's word, and the conscience of his own infirmities; and therefore he desired them that they would not hereafter take it ill if he refused such presents for the time to come." 'Twas his custom also to send some of his family upon errands unto the houses of the poor, about their *meal time*, on purpose to *spy* whether they *wanted;* and if it were found that they wanted, he would make *that* the opportunity of sending supplies unto them. And there was one passage of his charity that was perhaps a little unusual: in an hard and long winter, when wood was very scarce at Boston, a man gave him a private information that a needy person in the neighbourhood stole wood sometimes from *his* pile; whereupon the governour in a seeming anger did reply, "Does he so? I'll take a course with him; go, call that man to me; I'll warrant you I'll cure him of stealing." When the man came, the governour considering that if he had stolen, it was more out of necessity than disposition, said unto him, "Friend, it is a severe winter, and I doubt you are but meanly provided for wood; wherefore I would have you supply your self at my wood-pile till this cold season be over." And he then merrily asked his friends, "Whether he had not effectually cured this man of stealing his wood?"

§ 7. One would have imagined that so good a man could have had no enemies, if we had not had a daily and woful experience to convince us that goodness it self will make enemies. It is a wonderful speech of Plato, (in one of his books, *De Republica,*) "For the trial of true vertue, 'tis necessary that a good man μηδεν αδικῶν, δοζαν εχει των μεγι την ἀδικιας: Though

he do no unjust thing, should suffer the infamy of the greatest injustice." The governour had by his unspotted integrity procured himself a great reputation among the people; and then the crime of popularity was laid unto his charge by such, who were willing to deliver him from the danger of having *all men speak well of him.* Yea, there were persons eminent both for figure and for number, unto whom it was almost *essential* to *dislike* every thing that came from *him;* and yet *he* always maintained an amicable correspondence with them; as believing that they acted according to their judgment and conscience, or that their eyes were held by some temptation in the worst of all their oppositions. Indeed, his right works were so many, that they exposed him unto the envy of his neighbours; and of such *power* was that *envy*, that sometimes he could not *stand before it;* but it was by *not standing* that he most effectually *withstood* it all. Great attempts were sometimes made among the freemen to get him left out from his place in the government upon little pretences, lest by the too frequent choice of one man, the government should cease to be by *choice;* and with a particular aim at him, sermons were preached at the anniversary Court of election, to disswade the freemen from chusing one man twice together. This was the reward of his *extraordinary serviceableness!* But when these attempts *did* succeed, as they sometimes did, his profound humility appeared in that equality of mind, wherewith he applied himself chearfully to serve the country in whatever station their votes had alloted for him. And one year when the votes came to be numbered, there were found six less for Mr. Winthrop than for another gentleman who then stood in competition: but several other persons regularly tendring their votes before the election was published, were, upon a very frivolous objection, refused by some of the magistrates that were afraid lest the election should at last fall upon Mr. Winthrop: which, though it was well perceived, yet such was the self-denial of this patriot, that he would not permit any notice to be taken of the injury. But these trials were nothing in comparison of those harsher and harder treats, which he sometimes had from the frowardness of not a few in the days of their paroxisms; and from the faction of some against him, not much unlike that of the Piazzi in Florence against the family of the Medices: all of which he at last conquered by conforming to the famous Judge's motto, *Prudens qui Patiens.** The oracles of God have said, "Envy is rottenness to the bones;" and Gulielmus Parisiensis applies it unto rulers, who are as it were the *bones* of the societies which they belong unto: "Envy," says he, "is often found among them, and it is rottenness unto them." Our Winthrop encountred this *envy* from others, but conquered it, by being free from it himself.

§ 8. Were it not for the sake of introducing the exemplary skill of this wise man, *at giving soft answers*, one would not chuse to relate those

* He is prudent who is patient.

instances of wrath which he had sometimes to encounter with; but he was for his gentleness, his forbearance, and longanimity, a pattern so worthy to be written *after*, that something must here be written *of* it. He seemed indeed never to speak any other language than that of Theodosius: "If any man speak evil of the governour, if it be through lightness, 'tis to be contemned; if it be through madness, 'tis to be pitied; if it be through injury, 'tis to be remitted." Behold, reader, the "meekness of wisdom" notably exemplified! There was a time when he received a very sharp letter from a gentleman who was a member of the Court, but he delivered back the letter unto the messengers that brought it, with such a Christian speech as this: "I am not willing to keep such a matter of provocation by me! Afterwards the same gentleman was compelled by the scarcity of provisions to send unto him that he would sell him some of his cattle; whereupon the governour prayed him to accept what he had sent for as a *token* of his good will; but the gentleman returned him this answer: "Sir, your overcoming of yourself hath overcome me;" and afterwards gave demonstration of it. The French have a saying, That *Un honesté homme, est un homme mesle!*—a *good* man is a *mixt* man; and there hardly ever was a more sensible *mixture* of those two things, *resolution* and *condescention*, than in this good man. There was a time when the court of election being, for fear of tumult, held at Cambridge, May 17, 1637, the sectarian part of the country, who had the year before gotten a governour more unto their mind, had a project now to have confounded the election, by demanding that the court would consider a petition then tendered before their proceeding thereunto. Mr. Winthrop saw that this was only a trick to throw all into confusion, by putting off the choice of the governour and assistents until the *day* should be over; and therefore he did, with a strenuous resolution, procure a disappointment unto that mischievous and ruinous contrivance. Nevertheless, Mr. Winthrop himself being by the voice of the freemen in this exigence chosen the governour, and all of the other party left out, that ill-affected party discovered the *dirt* and *mire*, which remained with them, after the *storm* was over; particularly the serjeants, whose office 'twas to attend the governour, laid down their halberts; but such was the condescention of this governour, as to take no present notice of this anger and contempt, but only order some of his own servants to take the halberts; and when the country manifested their deep resentments of the affront thus offered him, *he* prayed them to overlook it. But it was not long before a compensation was made for these things by the *doubled respects* which were from all parts paid unto him. Again, there was a time when the suppression of an *antinomian* and *familistical* faction, which extreamly threatned the ruin of the country, was generally thought much owing unto this renowned man; and therefore when the friends of that faction could not wreak their displeasure on him with any *politick* vexations, they

set themselves to do it by *ecclesiastical* ones. Accordingly when a sentence of banishment was passed on the ringleaders of those disturbances, who

——Maria et Terras, Cœlumque profundum,
*Quippe ferant Rapidi, secum vertantque per Auras;**

many at the church of Boston, who were then that way too much inclined, most earnestly solicited the elders of that church, whereof the governour was a member, to call him forth as an *offender*, for passing of that sentence. The elders were unwilling to do any such thing; but the governour understanding the ferment among the people took that occasion to make a speech in the congregation to this effect:

"Brethren: Understanding that some of you have desired that I should answer for an *offence* lately taken among you; had I been called upon so to do, I would, first, have advised with the ministers of the country, whether the *church* had power to call in question the *civil court;* and I would, secondly, have advised with the rest of the *court*, whether I might discover their counsels unto the *church*. But though I know that the reverend elders of this church, and some others, do very well apprehend that the *church* cannot enquire into the proceedings of the *court;* yet, for the satisfaction of the weaker, who do not apprehend it, I will declare my mind concerning it. If the church have any such power, they have it from the Lord Jesus Christ; but the Lord Jesus Christ hath disclaimed it, not only by *practice*, but also by *precept*, which we have in his gospel, Matt. xx. 25, 26. It is true, indeed, that *magistrates*, as they are *church-members*, are accountable unto the *church* for their failings; but that is when they are out of their calling. When Uzziah would go offer incense in the *temple*, the officers of the church called him to an account, and withstood him; but when Asa put the prophet in prison, the officers of the church did not call *him* to an account for *that*. If the *magistrate* shall in a *private way* wrong any man, the church may call him to an account for it; but if he be in pursuance of a course of *justice*, though the thing that he does be *unjust*, yet he is not accountable for it before the church. As for my self, I did nothing in the causes of any of the brethren but by the advice of the elders of the church. Moreover, in the *oath* which I have taken there is this clause: "In all cases wherein you are to give your vote, you shall do as in your judgment and conscience you shall see to be just, and for the publick good." And I am satisfied, it is most for the glory of God, and the publick good, that there has been such a sentence passed; yea, those brethren are so divided from the rest of the country in their opinions and practices, that it cannot stand with the *publick peace* for them to continue with us; Abraham saw that Hagar and Ishmael must be sent away."

By such a speech he marvellously convinced, satisfied and mollified the uneasie brethren of the church; *Sic cunctus Pelagi cecidit Fragor*—.† And after a little patient waiting, the *differences* all so wore away, that the church, meerly as a token of respect unto the governour when he had newly met with some *losses* in his estate, sent him a present of several hundreds of pounds. Once more there was a time when some active spirits among the deputies of the colony, by their endeavours not only to make themselves a Court of Judicature, but also to take away the *negative* by which the magistrates might check their votes, had like by over-driving to have run the whole government into something too *democratical*. And

* Rack sea and land and sky with mingled wrath,
In the wild tumult of their stormy path.

† To silence sunk the thunder of the wave.

if there were a town in Spain undermined by *coneys*, another town in Thrace destroyed by *moles*, a third in Greece ranversed by *frogs*, a fourth in Germany subverted by *rats;* I must on this occasion add, that there was a country in America like to be confounded by a *swine*. A certain *stray sow* being found, was claimed by two several persons with a claim so equally maintained on both sides, that after six or seven years' *hunting* the business from one court unto another, it was brought at last into the General Court, where the final determination was, "that it was impossible to proceed unto any judgment in the case." However, in the debate of this matter, the *negative* of the *upper-house* upon the *lower* in that Court was brought upon the stage; and agitated with so hot a zeal, that a *little more, and all had been in the fire.* In these agitations, the governour was informed that an offence had been taken by some eminent persons at certain passages in a discourse by him written thereabout; whereupon, with his usual *condescendency*, when he next came into the General Court, he made a speech of this import:

"I understand that some have taken offence at something that I have lately written; which offence I desire to remove now, and begin this year in a reconciled state with you all. As for the *matter* of my writing, I had the concurrence of my brethren; it is a point of judgment which is not at my own disposing. I have examined it over and over again by such light as God has given me, from the rules of religion, reason and custom; and I see no cause to retract any thing of it: wherefore I must enjoy my liberty in that, as you do your selves. But for the *manner*, this, and all that was blame-worthy in it, was wholly my own; and whatsoever I might alledge for my own justification therein before men, I wave it, as now setting my self before another Judgment seat. However, what I wrote was upon great provocation, and to vindicate my self and others from great aspersion; yet that was no sufficient warrant for me to allow any distemper of spirit in my self; and I doubt I have been too prodigal of my brethren's reputation; I might have maintained my cause without casting any blemish upon others, when I made that my conclusion, 'And now let religion and sound reason give judgment in the case;' it looked as if I arrogated too much unto my self, and too little to others. And when I made that profession, 'That I would maintain what I wrote before all the world,' though such words might modestly be spoken, yet I perceive an unbeseeming *pride* of my own heart breathing in them. For these failings, I ask pardon of God and man."

Sic ait, et dicto citius Tumida Æquora placat,
*Collectasque fugat Nubes, Solemque reducit.**

This acknowledging disposition in the governour made them all acknowledge, that he was truly "a man of an excellent spirit." In fine, the victories of an Alexander, an Hannibal, or a Cæsar over *other men*, were not so glorious as the victories of this great man over *himself*, which also at last proved victories over other men.

§ 9. But the stormiest of all the *trials* that ever befel this gentleman, was in the year 1645, when he was, in *title*, no more than Deputy-governour of the colony. If the famous Cato were forty-four times called into

* He speaks—but ere the word is said,
Each mounting billow droops its head,
And brightening clouds one moment stay
To pioneer returning day.

judgment, but as often acquitted; let it not be wondred, and if our famous Winthrop were one time so. There hapning certain seditious and mutinous practices in the town of Hingham, the Deputy-governour, as legally as prudently, interposed his authority for the checking of them: whereupon there followed such an *enchantment* upon the minds of the deputies in the General Court, that upon a scandalous petition of the delinquents unto them, wherein a pretended invasion made upon the liberties of the people was complained of, the Deputy-governour was most irregularly called forth unto an ignominious *hearing* before them in a vast assembly; whereto with a *sagacious humilitude* he consented, although he shewed them how he might have refused it. The result of that hearing was, that notwithstanding the touchy jealousie of the people about their liberties lay at the bottom of all this prosecution, yet Mr. Winthrop was publickly acquitted, and the offenders were severally fined and censured. But Mr. Winthrop then resuming the place of Deputy-governour on the bench, saw cause to speak unto the *root of the matter* after this manner:

"I shall not now speak any thing about the past proceedings of this Court, or the persons therein concerned. Only I bless God that I see an issue of this troublesome affair. I am well satisfied that I was publickly *accused*, and that I am now publickly *acquitted*. But though I am justified before men, yet it may be the Lord hath seen so much amiss in my administrations, as calls me to be humbled; and indeed for me to have been thus charged by men, is it self a matter of humiliation, whereof I desire to make a right use before the Lord. If Miriam's father spit in her face, she is to be ashamed. But give me leave, before you go, to say something that may rectifie the *opinions* of many people, from whence the distempers have risen that have lately prevailed upon the body of this people. The questions that have troubled the country have been about the *authority of the magistracy*, and the *liberty of the people*. It is *you* who have called *us* unto this office; but being thus called, we have our authority from God; it is the ordinance of God, and it hath the image of God stamped upon it; and the contempt of it has been vindicated by God with terrible examples of his vengeance. I entreat you to consider, that when you chuse magistrates, you take them from among your selves, 'men subject unto like passions with your selves.' If you see *our* infirmities, reflect on *your own*, and you will not be so severe censurers of *ours*. We count him a good servant who breaks not his covenant: the covenant between us and you, is the oath you have taken of us, which is to this purpose, 'that we shall govern you, and judge your causes, according to God's laws, and our own, according to our best skill.' As for our skill, you must run the hazard of it; and if there be an error, not in the will, but only in skill, it becomes you to bear it. Nor would I have you to mistake in the point of your own *liberty*. There is a liberty of corrupt nature, which is affected both by men and beasts, to do what they list; and this liberty is inconsistent with authority, impatient of all restraint; by this liberty, *Sumus Omnes Deteriores*;* 'tis the grand enemy of *truth* and *peace*, and all the ordinances of God are bent against it. But there is a civil, a moral, a federal liberty, which is the proper end and object of authority; it is a liberty for that only which is *just* and *good;* for this liberty you are to stand with the hazard of your very lives; and whatsoever crosses it is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained in a way of subjection to authority; and the authority set over you will in all administrations for your good be quietly submitted unto, by all but such as have a disposition to shake off the yoke, and lose their true liberty, by their murmuring at the honour and power of authority."

* We are all the worse for it.

The spell that was upon the eyes of the people being thus dissolved, their distorted and enraged notions of things all vanished; and the people would not afterwards entrust the helm of the weather-beaten bark in any other hands but Mr. Winthrop's until he died.

§ 10. Indeed, such was the *mixture* of distant qualities in him, as to make a most admirable temper; and his having a certain greatness of soul, which rendered him grave, generous, courageous, resolved, well-applied, and every way a *gentleman* in his demeanour, did not hinder him from taking sometimes the old Roman's way to avoid confusions, namely, *Cedendo*;* or from discouraging some things which are agreeable enough to most that wear the name of *gentlemen*. Hereof I will give no instances, but only *oppose* two passages of his life.

In the year 1632, the governour, with his pastor, Mr. Wilson, and some other gentlemen, to settle a good understanding between the two colonies, travelled as far as Plymouth, more than forty miles, through an howling wilderness, no better accommodated in those early days than the princes that in Solomon's time saw "servants on horseback," or than *genus* and *species* in the old epigram, "going on foot." The difficulty of the *walk*, was abundantly compensated by the honourable, *first* reception, and *then* dismission, which they found from the rulers of Plymouth; and by the good correspondence thus established between the new colonies, who were like the floating bottels wearing this motto: *Si Collidimur Frangimur.*† But there were at this time in Plymouth two ministers, leavened so far with the humours of the rigid separation, that they insisted vehemently upon the uulawfulness of calling any unregenerate man by the name of "good-man such an one," until by their indiscreet urging of this whimsey, the place began to be disquieted. The wiser people being troubled at these trifles, they took the opportunity of Governour Winthrop's being there, to have the thing publickly propounded in the congregation; who in answer thereunto, distinguished between a *theological* and a *moral* goodness; adding, that when Juries were first used in England, it was usual for the crier, after the names of persons fit for that service were called over, to bid them all, "Attend, good men and true;" whence it grew to be a *civil custom* in the English nation, for neighbours living by one another, to call one another "good man such an one;" and it was pity now to make a stir about a civil custom, so innocently introduced. And that speech of Mr. Winthrop's put a lasting stop to the little, idle, whimsical conceits, then beginning to grow obstreperous. Nevertheless, there was one civil custom used *in* (and in few *but*) the English nation, which this gentleman did endeavour to abolish in this country; and that was, *the usage of drinking to one another*. For although by drinking to one another, no more is meant than an act of courtesie, when one going to drink, does invite another to do so too, for the same ends with himself;

* By yielding the point.

† If we come into collision, we break.

nevertheless the governour (not altogether unlike to Cleomenes, of whom 'tis reported by Plutarch, ἀηοντι ἀδεις ποτηριον προσφερε, *Nolenti poculum nunquam præbuit,*)* considered the *impertinency* and *insignificancy* of this usage, as to any of *those ends* that are usually pretended for it; and that indeed it ordinarily served for *no ends* at all, but only to provoke persons unto *unseasonable* and perhaps *unreasonable* drinking, and at last produce that abominable *health-drinking*, which the fathers of old so severely rebuked in the Pagans, and which the Papists themselves do condemn, when their casuists pronounce it, *Peccatum mortale, provocare ad Æquales Calices, et Nefas Respondere.*† Wherefore in his own most hospitable house he left it off; not out of any silly or stingy fancy, but meerly that by his *example* a greater temperance, with liberty of drinking, might be recommended, and sundry inconveniences in drinking avoided; and his example accordingly began to be much followed by the sober people in this country, as it now also begins among persons of the highest rank in the English nation it self; until an order of court came to be made against that ceremony in drinking, and then, the *old wont* violently returned, with a *Nitimur in Vetitum.*‡

§ 11. Many were the afflictions of this righteous man! He lost much of his estate in a ship, and in an house, quickly after his coming to New-England, besides the prodigious expence of it in the difficulties of his first coming hither. Afterwards his assiduous application unto the publick affairs, (wherein *Ipse se non habuit, postquam Respublica eum Gubernatorem habere cœpit*)§ made him so much to neglect his own private interests, that an unjust steward ran him £2,500 in debt before he was aware; for the payment whereof he was forced, many years before his decease, to sell the most of what he had left unto him in the country. Albeit, by the observable blessings of God upon the posterity of this liberal man, his children all of them came to fair estates, and lived in good fashion and credit. Moreover, he successively buried three wives; the first of which was the daughter and heiress of Mr. Forth, of Much-Stambridge in Essex, by whom he had "wisdom with an inheritance;" and an excellent son. The second was the daughter of Mr. William Clopton, of London, who died with her child, within a very little while. The third was the daughter of the truly worshipful Sir John Tyndal, who made it her whole care to please, first God, and then her husband; and by whom he had four sons, which survived and honoured their father. And unto all these, the addition of the *distempers*, ever now and then raised in the country, procured unto him a very singular share of trouble; yea, so hard was the measure which he found even among pious men, in the temptations of a wilderness, that when the thunder and lightning had smitten a wind-mill whereof he was owner,

* Never urged the reluctant to drink.
† It is a deadly sin to challenge another to a drinking match, and it is impious to accept such challenges.
‡ A bias towards the forbidden indulgence.
§ He no longer belonged to himself, after the Republic had once made him her Chief Magistrate.

some had such things in their heads as publickly to reproach this charitablest of men as if the voice of the Almighty had rebuked, I know not what oppression, which they judged him guilty of; which things I would not have mentioned, but that the instances may fortifie the expectations of my *best* readers for such afflictions.

§ 12. He that had been for his attainments, as they said of the blessed Macarius, a παιδαριογερων, (*an old man, while a young one,*) and that had in his *young* days met with many of those *ill* days, whereof he could say, he had "little pleasure in them;" now found *old age* in its infirmities advancing *earlier* upon him, than it came upon his much longer-lived progenitors. While he was yet seven years off of that which we call "the grand climacterical," he felt the approaches of his dissolution; and finding he could say,

Non Habitus, non ipse Color, non Gressus Euntis,
*Non Species Eadem, quæ fuit ante, manet;**

He then wrote this account of himself: "Age now comes upon me, and infirmities therewithal, which makes me apprehend, that the time of my departure out of this world is not far off. However, our times are all in the Lord's hand, so as we need not trouble our thoughts how long or short they may be, but how we may be found faithful when we are called for." But at last when *that year* came, he took a cold which turned into a feaver, whereof he lay sick about a month, and in that sickness, as it hath been observed, that there was allowed unto the serpent the "bruising of the heel;" and accordingly at the *heel* or the *close* of our lives the *old serpent* will be nibbling more than ever in our lives before; and when the devil sees that we shall shortly be, "where the wicked cease from troubling," that *wicked one* will trouble us more than ever; so this eminent saint now underwent sharp conflicts with the tempter, whose *wrath* grew *great*, as the *time* to exert it grew *short;* and he was buffeted with the disconsolate thoughts of black and sore *desertions*, wherein he could use that sad representation of his own condition:

Nuper eram Judex; Jam Judicor; Ante Tribunal
Subsistens paveo; Judicor ipse modo.†

But it was not long before those clouds were dispelled, and he enjoyed in his holy soul the great consolations of God! While he thus lay ripening for heaven, he did out of obedience unto the *ordinance* of our Lord, send for the elders of the church to pray with him; yea, they and the whole church *fasted* as well as *prayed* for him; and in that *fast* the venerable Cotton preached on Psal. xxxv. 13, 14: "When they were sick, I humbled my self with fasting; I behaved my self as though he had been my friend or brother; I bowed down heavily, as one that mourned for his mother:" from whence I find him raising that observation, "The sick-

* I am not what I was in form or face,
In healthful colour or in vigorous pace.

† I once judged others, but now trembling stand
Before a dread tribunal, to BE judged.

ness of one that is to us as a friend, a brother, a mother, is a just occasion of deep humbling our souls with fasting and prayer;" and making this application:

"Upon this occasion we are now to attend this duty for a governour, who has been to us as a friend in his *counsel* for all things, and help for our bodies by *physick*, for our estates by *law*, and of whom there was no fear of his becoming an *enemy*, like the friends of David: a governour who has been unto us as a brother; not usurping authority over the church; often speaking his advice, and often contradicted, even by young men, and some of low degree; yet not replying, but offering satisfaction also when any supposed offences have arisen; a governour who has been unto us as a mother, parent-like distributing his goods to brethren and neighbours at his first coming; and *gently* bearing our infirmities without taking notice of them."

Such a governour, after he had been more than ten several times by the people chosen their governour, was New-England now to lose; who having, like Jacob, first left his council and blessing with his children gathered about his bed-side; and, like David, "served his generation by the will of God," he "gave up the ghost," and fell asleep on March 26, 1649. Having, like the dying Emperour Valentinian, this above all his other *victories* for his triumphs, *His overcoming of himself.*

The words of Josephus about Nehemiah, the governour of Israel, we will now use upon this governour of New-England, as his

EPITAPH.

Ἀνηρ ἐγενετο χρηστος την φυσιν, και δικαιος,
Και περι τες ομοεθνεις φιλοτιμοτατος
Μνημεῖον αιωνιον αυτω καταλιπων, τα τῶν
Ἱεροσολυμων τειχη.*

VIR FUIT INDOLE BONUS, AC JUSTUS:
ET POPULARIUM GLORIÆ AMANTISSIMUS:
QUIBUS ETERNUM RELIQUIT MONUMENTUM,
Novanglorum MŒNIA.*

CHAPTER V.

SUCCESSORS.

§ 1. ONE as well acquainted with the matter, as Isocrates, informs us, that among the judges of Areopagus none were admitted, πλην οἱ καλῶς γεγονοτες, και πολλην αρετην και σωφροσυνην ἐν τῶ βιω ἐνδεδειγμενοι (unless they were nobly born, and eminently exemplary for a virtuous and a sober life). The report may be truly made concerning the Judges of New-

* He was by nature a man, at once benevolent and just: most zealous for the honour of his countrymen; and to them he left an imperishable monument—the walls of Jerusalem. [The Latin paraphrase substitutes *New-England* for *Jerusalem.*]

England, though they were not *nobly born*, yet they were generally *well born;* and by being *eminently exemplary for a virtuous and a sober life*, gave demonstration that they were *new-born*. Some account of them is now more particularly to be endeavoured.

We read concerning Saul, (1 Sam. xv. 12,) "He set up himself a place." The Hebrew word, יד, there used, signifies *a monumental pillar*. It is accordingly promised unto them who please God, (Isa. lvi. 5,) "That they shall have a place and a name in the house of God; that is to say, a pillar erected for *fame* in the church of God. And it shall be fulfilled in what shall now be done for our governours in this our Church-History. Even while the *Massachusettensians* had a Winthrop for their governour, they could not restrain the channel of their affections from running towards another gentleman in their elections for the year 1634, particularly when they chose unto the place of governour Thomas Dudley, Esq., one whom, after the death of the gentleman above mentioned, they again and again voted into the chief place of government. He was born at the town of Northampton, in the year 1574, the only son of Captain Roger Dudley, who being slain in the wars, left this our Thomas, with his only sister, for the "Father of the orphans" to "take them up." In the family of the Earl of Northampton he had opportunity perfectly to learn the points of good behaviour; and here having fitted himself to do many other benefits unto the world, he next became a clerk unto Judge Nichols, who being his kinsman by the mother's side, therefore took the more special notice of him. From his relation to this judge, he had and used an advantage to attain such a skill in the law, as was of great advantage to him in the future changes of his life; and the judge would have preferred him unto the higher imployments, whereto his prompt wit not a little recommended him, if he had not been by death prevented. But before he could appear to do much at the *pen*, for which he was very well accomplished, he was called upon to do something at the *sword;* for being a young gentleman well-known for his ingenuity, courage and conduct, when there were soldiers to be raised by order from Queen Elizabeth for French service, in the time of King Henry the Fourth, the young sparks about Northampton were none of them willing to enter into the service, until a commission was given unto our young Dudley to be their captain; and then presently there were fourscore that listed under him. At the head of these he went over into the Low Countries, which was then an *academy* of *arms*, as well as *arts;* and thus he came to furnish himself with endowments for the *field*, as well as for the *bench*. The post assigned unto him with his company, was after at the siege of Amiens, before which the King himself was now encamped; but the providence of God so ordered it, that when both parties were drawn forth in order to battel, a treaty of peace was vigorously set on foot, which diverted the battel that was expected. Captain Dudley hereupon returned into England, and settling

himself about Northampton, he married a gentlewoman whose extraction and estate were considerable; and the scituation of his habitation after this helped him to enjoy the ministry of Mr. Dod, Mr. Cleaver, Mr. Winston, and Mr. Hildersham, all of them excellent and renowned men: which *puritan ministry* so seasoned his heart with a sense of religion, that he was a devout and serious Christian, and a follower of the ministers that most effectually preached *real Christianity*, all the rest of his days. The spirit of real Christianity in him now also disposed him unto sober non-conformity; and from this time, although none more hated the *fanaticisms* and *enthusiasms* of wild *opinionists*, he became a judicious Dissenter from the unscriptural ceremonies retained in the Church of England. It was not long after this that the Lord Say, the Lord Compton, and other persons of quality, made such observations of him, as to commend him unto the service of the Earl of Lincoln, who was then a young man, and newly come unto the possession of his earldom, and of what belonged thereunto. The grandfather of this noble person had left his heirs under vast entanglements, out of which his father was never able to extricate himself; so that the difficultics and incumbrances were now devolved upon this Theophilus, which caused him to apply himself unto this our Dudley for his assistances, who proved so able, and careful, and faithful a steward unto him, that within a little while the debts of near twenty thousand pounds, whereinto the young Earl found himself desperately ingulphed, were happily waded through; and by his means also a match was procured between the young Earl and the daughter of the Lord Say, who proved a most virtuous lady, and a great blessing to the whole family. But the Earl finding Mr. Dudley to be a person of more than ordinary discretion, he would rarely, if ever, do any matter of any moment without his advice; but some into whose hands there fell some of his manuscripts after his leaving of the Earl's family, found a passage to this purpose: "The estate of the Earl of Lincoln I found so, and so, much in debt, which I have discharged, and have raised the rents unto so many hundreds *per annum;* God will, I trust, bless me and mine in such a manner. I can, as sometimes Nehemiah did, appeal unto God, who knows the hearts of all men, that I have with integrity discharged the duty of my place before him."

I had prepared and intended a more *particular* account of this gentleman; but not having any opportunity to commit it unto the *perusal* of any descended from him (unto whom I am told it will be unacceptable for me to publish any thing of this kind, by them not perused) I have laid it aside, and summed all up in this more general account.

It was about nine or ten years that Mr. Dudley continued a steward unto the Earl of Lincoln; but then growing desirous of a more private life, he retired unto Boston, where the acquaintance and ministry of Mr. Cotton became no little satisfaction unto him. Nevertheless, the Earl of Lincoln found that he could be no more without Mr. Dudley, than Pha-

raoh without his Joseph, and prevailed with him to resume his former imployment, until the storm of persecution upon the non-conformists caused many men of great worth to transport themselves into New-England. Mr. Dudley was not the least of the worthy men that bore a part in this transportation, in hopes that in an American wilderness they might peaceably attend and enjoy the pure worship of the Lord Jesus Christ. When the first undertakers for that plantation came to know him, they soon saw *that* in him, that caused them to chuse him their deputy-governour, in which capacity he arrived unto these coasts in the year 1630, and had no small share in the distresses of that young plantation, whereof an account, by him written to the Countess of Lincoln, has been since published unto the world. Here his *wisdom* in managing the most weighty and thorny affairs was often signalized: his *justice* was a perpetual terror to evil-doers: his *courage* procured his being the first major-general of the colony, when they began to put themselves into a military figure. His *orthodox piety* had no little influence unto the deliverance of the country from the contagion of the *famalistical errors*, which had like to have overturned all. He dwelt first at Cambridge; but upon Mr. Hooker's removal to Hartford, he removed to Ipswich; nevertheless, upon the importunity and necessity of the government for his coming to dwell nearer the center of the whole, he fixed his habitation at Roxbury, two miles out of Boston, where he was always at hand upon the publick exigencies. Here he died, July 31, 1653, in the seventy-seventh year of his age; and there were found after his death, in his pocket, these lines of his own composing, which may serve to make up what may be wanting in the character already given him:

Dim eyes, deaf ears, cold stomach, shew
My dissolution is in view.
Eleven times seven near lived have I,
And now God calls, I willing die.
My shuttle's shot, my race is run,
My sun is set, my day is done.
My span is measured, tale is told,
My flower is faded, and grown old.
My dream is vanish'd, shadow's fled,
My soul with Christ, my body dead.

Farewel, dear wife, children and friends
Hate heresie—make blessed ends.
Bear poverty; live with good men;
So shall we live with joy agen.
Let men of God in courts and churches watch
O'er such as do a *tolcration* hatch,
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poison all with heresie and vice.
If men be left, and otherwise combine,
My *Epitaph's*, I DY'D NO LIBERTINE.

But when I mention the *poetry* of this gentleman as one of his accomplishments, I must not leave unmentioned the fame with which the *poems* of one descended from him have been celebrated in both Englands. If the rare learning of a daughter was not the least of those bright things that adorned no less a Judge of England than Sir Thomas More; it must now be said, that a Judge of New-England, namely, Thomas Dudley, Esq., had a daughter (besides other children) to be a crown unto him. Reader, America justly admires the learned women of the other hemisphere. She has heard of those that were tutoresses to the old professors of all philosophy: she hath heard of Hippatia, who formerly taught the liberal

arts; and of Sarocchia, who more lately was very often the moderatrix in the disputations of the learned men of Rome: she has been told of the three Corinnæs, which equalled, if not excelled, the most celebrated poets of their time: she has been told of the Empress Endocia, who composed poetical paraphrases on divers parts of the Bible; and of Rosuida, who wrote the lives of holy men; and of Pamphilia, who wrote other histories unto the life: the writings of the most renowned Anna Maria Schurnian have come over unto her. But she now prays, that into such catalogues of authoresses as Beverovicius, Hottinger, and Voetius have given unto the world, there may be a room now given unto Madam ANN BRADSTREET, the daughter of our Governour Dudley, and the consort of our Governour Bradstreet, whose poems, divers times printed, have afforded a grateful entertainment unto the ingenious, and a monument for her memory beyond the stateliest marbles. It was upon these poems that an ingenious person bestowed this epigram:

Now I believe *tradition*, which doth call
The Muses, Virtues, Graces, females all.
Only they are not *nine*, *eleven*, or *three*;
Our *auth'ress* proves them but an *unity*.
Mankind, take up some blushes on the score;
Monopolize *perfection* hence no more.

In your own arts confess your selves outdone;
The *moon* hath totally eclips'd the *sun*:
Not with her sable mantle muffling him,
But her bright *silver* makes his *gold* look dim:
Just as his beams force our pale lamps to wink,
And earthly *fires* within their ashes shrink.

What else might be said of Mr. Dudley, the reader shall construe from the ensuing

EPITAPH.

Helluo Librorum, Lectorum Bibliotheca
Communis, Sacræ Syllabus Historiæ.
Ad Mensam Comes, hinc facundus, Rostra disertus,
(Non Cumulus verbis, pondus, Acumen erat,)

Morum acris Censor, validus Defensor amansque
Et Sanæ et Canæ Catholicæ fidei.
Angli-novi Columen Summum Decus atque Senatus;
Thomas Dudleius, *conditur hoc Tumulo.**—*E. R.*

§ 2. In the year 1635, at the anniversary election, the freemen of the colony testified their grateful esteem of Mr John Haines, a worthy gentleman, who had been very serviceable to the interests of the colony, by chusing him their governour. Of him in an ancient manuscript I find this testimony given: "To him is New-England many ways beholden; had he done no more but stilled a storm of dissention, which broke forth in the beginning of his government, he had done enough to endear our hearts unto him, and account that day happy when he took the reins of government into his hands." But this pious, humble, well-bred gentleman, removing afterwards into Connecticut, he took his turn with Mr. Edward Hopkins in being every other year the governour of that colony. And as he was a great friend of peace while he lived, so at his death he entered into that

* In books a prodigal, they say;
A living cyclopædia;
Of histories of church and priest
A full compendium, at least;
A table-talker, rich in sense,
And witty without wit's pretence;
An able champion in debate,
Whose words lacked number but not weight

In character a critic bold;
And of that faith, both sound and old—
Both CATHOLIC and CHRISTIAN too,
A soldier trusty, tried and true;
New-England's Senate's crowning grace,
In merit truly as in place,
Condemned to share the common doom,
Reposes here in DUDLEY'S tomb.

peace which attends the end of the perfect and upright man, leaving behind him the character sometimes given of a *greater*, though not a *better* man, (Vespasian) *Bonis Legibus multa correxit, sed exemplo probæ vitæ plus effecit apud populum.**

§ 3. Near twenty ships from Europe visited New-England in the year 1635, and in one of them was Mr. Henry Vane, (afterwards Sir Henry Vane,) an accomplished young gentleman, whose father was much against his coming to New-England; but the King, upon information of his disposition, commanded him to allow his son's voyage hither, with a consent for his continuing three years in this part of the world. Although his business had some relation to the plantation of Connecticut, yet in the year 1636, the Massachuset colony chose him their governour. And now, reader, I am as much a *seeker* for his *character* as many have taken him to be a *seeker* in *religion*, while no less persons than Dr. Manton have not been to *seek* for the *censure* of *a wicked book*, with which they have noted the Mystical Divinity, in the book of this knight, entituled, "*The retired man's Meditations.*" There has been a strange variety of translations bestowed upon the Hebrew names of some animals mentioned in the Bible: *Kippod*, for instance, which we translate a *bittern*, R. Salomon will have to be an *owl*, but Luther will have it be an *eagle*, while Paynin will have it be an *hedge-hog*, but R. Kimchi will have it a *snail;* such a variety of opinions and resentments has the *name* of this gentleman fallen under; while some have counted him an eminent *Christian*, and others have counted him almost an *heretick;* some have counted him a renowned *patriot*, and others an infamous *traitor*. If *Barak* signifie both to *bless* and to *curse;* and Ευλογειν† be of the same significancy with Βλασφεμειν,‡ in such philology as that of Suidas and Hesychias; the usage which the memory of this gentleman has met withal, seems to have been accommodated unto that indifferency of signification in the terms for such an usage.

On the one side, I find an old New-English manuscript thus reflecting:

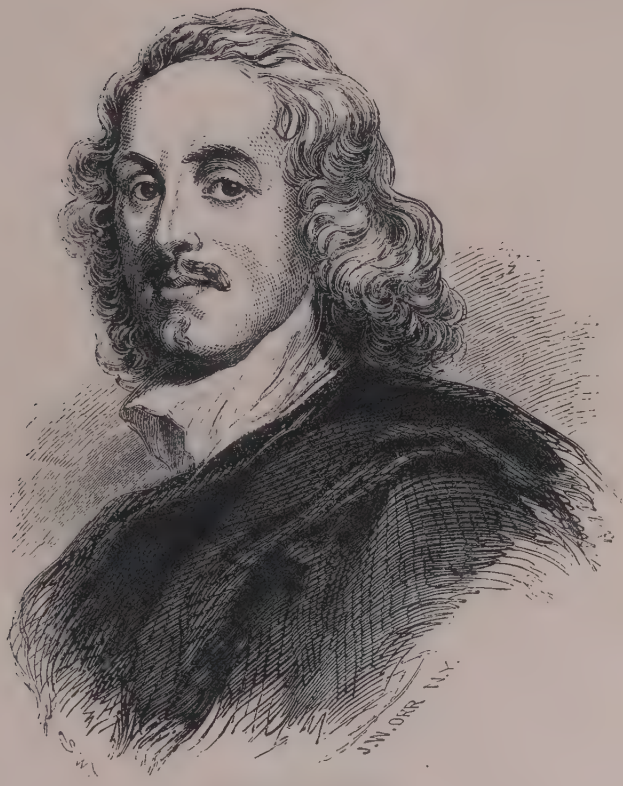
"His election will remain as a blemish to their judgments who did elect him, while New-England remains a nation; for he coming from Old-England, a young unexperienced gentleman, (and as young in judgment as he was in years,) by the industry of some that could do much, and thought by him to play their own game, was presently elected governour; and before he was scarce warm in his seat, began to broach new tenets; and these were agitated with as much violence, as if the welfare of New-England must have been sacrificed rather than these not take place. But the wisdom of the state put a period to his government; necessity caused them to undo the works of their own hands, and leave us a caveat, that all good men are not fit for government."

But on the other side, the historian who has printed, "The Trial of Sir Henry Vane, Knt. at the King's Bench, Westminster, June 2, and 6, 1662, with other Occasional Speeches; also his Speech and Prayer on the scaf-

* Reformed many abuses by means of wise laws, but accomplished much more for his people by setting them an example of extraordinary virtue.

† To eulogize.

‡ To malign.



SIR HENRY VANE.

GOV. JOHN ENDICOTT,

THE ORIGINAL GRANTEE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

fold," has given us in him the picture of nothing less than an *heroe.* He seems indeed by that story to have suffered *hardly* enough, but no man can deny that he suffered *bravely:* the English nation has not often seen more of Roman (and indeed more than Roman) gallantry, out-facing death in the most pompous terrours of it. A great royalist, present, at his decollation, swore, "He died like a prince:" he could say, "I bless the Lord I am so far from being affrighted at death, that I find it rather shrink from me, than I from it!" He could say, "Ten thousand deaths rather than defile my conscience; the chastity and purity of which I value beyond all this world: I would not for ten thousand worlds part with the peace and satisfaction I have in my own heart." When mention was made of the difficult proceeding against him, all his reply was, "Alas, what ado do they keep to make a poor creature like his Saviour!" On the scaffold they did, by the blast of trumpets in his face, with much incivility, hinder him from speaking what he intended; which incivility he aforehand suspecting, committed a true copy of it unto a friend before his going thither; the last words whereof were these:

"As my last words, I leave this with you, that as the present storm we now lye under, and the dark clouds that yet hang over the reformed churches of Christ, (which are coming thicker and thicker for a season) were not unforeseen by me for many years past; (as some writings of mine declare) so the coming of Christ in these clouds, in order to a speedy and sudden revival of his cause, and spreading his kingdom over the face of the whole earth, is most clear to the eye of my faith, even that faith in which I die."

His execution was June 14, 1662, about the fiftieth year of his age.

§ 4. After the death of Mr. Dudley, the notice and respect of the colony fell chiefly on Mr. John Endicot, who, after many services done for the colony, even before it was yet a colony, as well as when he saw it grown into a populous nation, under his prudent and equal government, expired in a good old age, and was honourably interred at Boston, March 23, 1665.

The gentleman that succeeded Mr. Endicot was Mr. Richard Bellingham, one who was bred a lawyer, and one who lived beyond eighty, well esteemed for his laudable qualities, but as the Thebans made the statues of their magistrates *without hands*, importing that they must be no *takers;* in this fashion must be formed the statue for this gentleman; for among all his virtues, he was noted for none more than for his notable and perpetual hatred of a *bribe*, which gave him, with his country, the reputation of old claimed by Pericles, to be, φιλοπολις τε και χρηματων κρεισσων: *Civitatis Amans et ad pecunias Invictus.** And as he never *took* any from any one living; so he neither could nor would have *given* any to death; but in the latter end of the year 1672 he had his "soul gathered, not with sinners, whose right hand is full of bribes," but with such as "walk in their uprightness."

The gentleman that succeeded Mr. Bellingham was Mr. John Leveret,

* A true patriot, superior to the temptations of gain.

one to whom the affections of the freemen were signalized, in his quick advances through the lesser stages of office and honour unto the highest in the country; and one whose *courage* had been as much recommended by martial actions abroad in his younger years, as his *wisdom* and *justice* were now at home in his elder. The anniversary election constantly kept him at the helm from the time of his first sitting there, until March 16, 1678, when *mortality* having first put him on severe trials of his passive-courage, (much more difficult than the active) in pains of the *stone*, released him.

PATER PATRIÆ;* OR, THE LIFE OF SIMON BRADSTREET, ESQ.

—Extinctus amabitur idem.†

The gentleman that succeeded Mr. Leveret was Mr. Simon Bradstreet, the son of a minister in Lincolnshire, who was always a non-conformist at home, as well as when preacher at Middleburgh abroad. Him the New-Englanders, in their addresses full of profound respects unto him, have with good reason called, "The venerable *Mordecai* of his country." He was born at Horbling, March, 1603. His father (who was the son of a Suffolk gentleman of a fine estate) was one of the first fellows in Immanuel Colledge, under Dr. Chaderton, and one afterwards highly esteemed by Mr. Cotton and by Dr. Preston. Our Bradstreet was brought up at the grammar-school, until he was about fourteen years old; and then the death of his father put a stop for the present unto the designs of his further education. But according to the *faith* of his dying father, that "he should be well provided for," he was within two or three years after this taken into the religious family of the Earl of Lincoln, (the best family of any nobleman then in England,) where he spent about eight years under the direction of Mr. Thomas Dudley, sustaining successively divers offices. Dr. Preston then (who had been my lord's tutor) moved my lord that Mr. Bradstreet might have their permission to come unto Immanuel Colledge, in the capacity of governour to the Lord Rich, the son of the Earl of Warwick; which they granting, he went with the Doctor to Cambridge, who provided a chamber for him, with advice that he should apply himself to study until my lord's arrival. But he afterwards, in a writing of his, now in my hands, made this humble complaint: "I met with many obstacles to my study in Cambridge; the Earl of Lincoln had a brother there, who often called me forth upon pastimes. Divers masters of art, and other scholars also, constantly met, where we spent most part of the afternoons many times in discourse to little purpose or profit; but that seemed an easie and pleasant life then, which too late I repented." My

* The Father of his Country.

† Though dead, he shall none the less be loved.

Lord Rich not coming to the University, Mr. Bradstreet returned after a year to the Earl of Lincoln's; and Mr. Dudley then removing to Boston, his place of steward unto the Earl was conferred on Mr. Bradstreet. Afterwards he with much ado obtained the Earl's leave to answer the desires of the aged and pious Countess of Warwick, that he would accept the stewardship of her noble family, which as the former he discharged with an exemplary discretion and fidelity. Here he married the daughter of Mr. Dudley, by whose perswasion he came in company with him to New-England, where he spent all the rest of his days, honourably serving his generation. It was counted a singular favour of Heaven unto Richard Chamond, Esq., one of England's worthies, that he was a Justice of Peace near threescore years; but of Simon Bradstreet, Esq., one of New-England's worthies, there can more than this be said; for he was chosen a magistrate of New-England before New-England it self came into New-England; even in their first great voyage thither, *Anno* 1630, and so he continued annually chosen; sometimes also their secretary, and at last their governour, until the colony had a share in the general shipwreck of charters, which the reign of King Charles II. brought upon the whole English nation. Mr. Joseph Dudley was placed, *Anno* 1685, as president over the territory for a few months, when the judgment that was entred against the charter gave unto the late King James II. an opportunity to make what alterations he pleased upon the order of things, under which the country had so long been flourishing. But when the short presidentship of that New-English and well accomplished gentleman, the son of Mr. Thomas Dudley above mentioned, was expired, I am not in a disposition here to relate what was the condition of the colony, until the *revolution* whereto their condition compelled them. Only I have sometimes, not without amazement, thought of the representation which a celebrated *magician* made unto Catherine de Medicis, the French Queen, whose impious curiosity led her to desire of him a *magical exhibition* of all the Kings that had hitherto reigned in France, and yet were to reign. The shapes of all the Kings, even unto the husband of that Queen, successively showed themselves, in the *enchanted circle*, in which that conjurer had made his invocations, and they took as many *turns* as there had been years in their government. The Kings that were to come, did then in like manner successively come upon the stage, namely, Francis II., Charles IX., Henry III., Henry IV., which being done, then two cardinals, Richlieu and Mazarine, in red hats, became visible in the spectacle: but after those cardinals, there entred wolves, bears, tygers and lions, to consummate the entertainment. If the people of New-England had not imagined that a number of as *rapacious animals* were at last come into their government, I suppose they would not have made such a *revolution* as they did, on April 18, 1689, in conformity to the pattern which the English nation was then setting before them. Nevertheless, I have nothing in this paragraph of our History

to report of it, but that Mr. Bradstreet was at this time alive; whose paternal compassions for a country thus remarkably his own, would not permit him to decline his return unto his former seat in the government, upon the unanimous invitation of the people thereunto. It was a remark then generally made upon him, "That though he were then well towards ninety years of age, his intellectual force was hardly abated, but he retained a vigour and wisdom that would have recommended a younger man to the government of a greater colony." And the wonderful difficulties through which the colony under his discreet conduct waded, until the arrival of his Excellency Sir William Phips, with a commission for the government, and a new charter in the year 1692, gave a remarkable demonstration of it. Yea, this honourable Nestor of New-England, in the year 1696, was yet alive; and as Georgius Leontinus, who lived until he was an hundred and eight years of age, being asked by what means he attained unto such an age, answered, "By my not living voluptuously;" thus this excellent person attained his good old age, in part, by living very temperately. And the New-Englanders would have counted it their satisfaction, if, like Arganthonius, who had been fourscore years the governour of the Tartessians, he might have lived unto the age of an hundred and twenty; or, even unto the age of Johannes de Temporibus, who was knighted by the Emperour Charlemaign, and yet was living till the Emperour Conrade, and saw, they say, no fewer years than *three hundred threescore and one.* Though, "to be dissolved and be with Christ," was the satisfaction which this our Macrobius himself was with a weary soul now waiting and longing for; and Christ at length granted it unto him, on March 27, 1697. *Then* it was, that one of the oldest servants that God and the King had upon earth, drew his *last*, in the very place where he drew his *first*, American breath. He died at Salem, in a troublesome time, and entred into everlasting peace. And in imitation of what the Roman orator said upon the death of Crassus, I will venture to say, *Fuit hoc, luctuosum suis, Acerbum Patriæ, Grave Bonis Omnibus: sed ii tamen Rempublicam casus Secuti sunt, ut mihi non Erepta* Bradstreeto *Vita, sed donata mors esse videatur.**

The epitaph on that famous lawyer, Simon Pistorius, we will now imploy for this eminently prudent and upright administrator of our laws:

EPITAPH.

SIMON BRADSTREET.
Quod Mortale fuit, Tellus tenet; Inclyta Fama
Nominis haud ullo stat violanda Die.†

AND ADD,
Extinctum luget quem tota Nov-Anglia Patrem,
O quantum Claudit parvula Terra Virum!‡

* His death was mournful to his household, a bitter loss to his country, a heavy blow to all good men: and yet such calamities have since then befallen our Republic, that it does not seem as if [Bradstreet] was bereft of life, but as if death were conferred upon him as a boon.—CICERO, *Oration for Crassus.*

† Earth holds his mortal part: his honoured name
Shall put Time's impious hand to open shame.

‡ Here lies New-England's father. Woe the day!
How mingles mightiest dust with meanest clay!

CHAPTER VI.

בעלי נחש, *Id est*, VIRI ANIMATI;* OR ASSISTENTS.

THE freemen of New-England had a great variety of worthy men, among whom they might pick and chuse a number of MAGISTRATES to be the assistants of their GOVERNOURS, both in directing the general affairs of the land, and in dispensing of justice unto the people. But they wisely made few alterations in their annual elections; and they thereby shewed their satisfaction in the wise and good conduct of those whom they had elected. If they called some few of their magistrates from the *plough* to the *bench*, so the old Romans did some of their dictators; yea, the greatest kings in the world once carried *plough-shares* on the top of their *scepters*. However, the inhabitants of New-England never were so unhappy as the inhabitants of Norcia, a town scarce ten leagues from Rome; where they do at this day chuse their own magistrates, but use an exact care, "That no man who is able to write, or to read, shall be capable of any share in the government." The magistrates of New-England have been of a better education. Indeed, several deserving persons, who were joined as associates and commissioners unto these, for the more effectual execution of the laws in *emergencies*, cannot be brought into our catalogue; but the *names* of all our magistrates, with the *times* when I find their first advancement unto that character are these:

MAGISTRATES OF THE MASSACHUSET-COLONY.

John Winthrop, *Governor*,		John Winthrop, *Jun.*,	1632.	John Pinchon,	1665.
Thomas Dudley, *Deputy-gov.*		John Haines,	1634.	Edward Tyng,	1668.
Matthew Cradock,	1629.	Richard Billingham,	1635.	William Stoughton,	1671.
Thomas Goff,	1629.	Atterton Hough,	1635.	Thomas Clark,	1673.
Sir Richard Saltonstal,	1629.	Richard Dummer,	1635.	Joseph Dudley,	1676.
Isaac Johnson,	1629.	Henry Vane,	1636.	Peter Bulkley,	1677.
Samuel Aldersley,	1629.	Roger Hartackenden,	1636.	Nathanael Saltonstal,	1679.
John Venn,	1629.	Israel Stoughton,	1637.	Humphrey Davy,	1679.
John Humfrey,	1629.	Richard Saltonstal,	1637.	James Russel,	1680.
Simon Whercomb,	1629.	Thomas Flint,	1643.	Samuel Nowel,	1680.
Increase Nowel,	1629.	Samuel Symons,	1643.	Peter Tilton,	1680.
Richard Perry,	1629.	William Hibbons,	1643.	John Richards,	1680.
Nathanael Wright,	1629.	William Tynge,	1643.	John Hull,	1680.
Samuel Vassal,	1629.	Herbert Pelham,	1645.	Bartholomew Gidney,	1680.
Theophilus Eaton,	1629.	Robert Bridges,	1647.	Thomas Savage,	1680.
Thomas Adams,	1629.	Francis Willoughby,	1650.	William Brown,	1680.
Thomas Hutchins,	1629.	Thomas Wiggan,	1650.	Samuel Appleton,	1681.
George Foxcroft,	1629.	Edward Gibbons,	1650.	Robert Pike,	1682.
William Vassal,	1629.	John Glover,	1652.	Daniel Fisher,	1683.
William Pinchon,	1629.	Daniel Gookin,	1652.	John Woodbridge,	1683.
John Pocock,	1629.	Daniel Denison,	1654.	Elisha Cook,	1684.
Christopher Cowlson,	1629.	Simon Willard,	1654.	William Johnson,	1684.
William Coddington,	1629.	Humphrey Atherton,	1654.	John Hawthorn,	1684.
Simon Bradstreet,	1629.	Richard Russel,	1659.	Elisha Hutchinson,	1684.
Thomas Sharp,	1629.	Thomas Danforth,	1659.	Samuel Sewal,	1684.
Roger Ludlow,	1630.	William Hawthorn,	1662.	Isaac Addington,	1686.
Edward Rossiter,	1630.	Eleazer Lusher,	1662.	John Smith,	1686.
John Endicot,	1630.	John Leveret,	1665.		

* Living men.

MAJOR-GENERALS OF THE MILITARY FORCES IN THE COLONY, SUCCESSFULLY CHOSEN.

Thomas Dudley.	Edward Gibbons.	Humfry Atherton.	John Leveret.
John Endicot.	Robert Sedgwick.	Daniel Denison.	Daniel Gookin.

SECRETARIES OF THE COLONY, SUCCESSFULLY CHOSEN.

William Burgis.	Simon Bradstreet.	Increase Nowel.	Edward Rawson.

That these *names* are proper and worthy to be found in our Church-History, will be acknowledged, when it is considered, not only that they were the members of Congregational churches, and by the members of the churches chosen to be the rulers of the Commonwealth; and that their exemplary behaviour in their magistracy was generally such as to "adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour," and, according to the old Jewish wishes, *prohibitum est Homini, instar principis Dominari super populum et cum elatione Spiritus, sed,* בענוה ויראה *cum mansuetudine ac Timore;** but also that their love to, and zeal for, and care of these churches, was not the least part of their character.

The instances of their concern for the welfare of the churches were innumerable. I will single out but one from the rest, because of some singular subserviency to the designs of our Church-History, therein to be proposed. I'll do it only by transcribing an instrument, published *Anno* 1668, in such terms as these:

To the Elders and Ministers of every Town within the Jurisdiction of the Massachusets in New-England, the Governour and Council sendeth Greeting.

"Reverend and Beloved in the Lord: We find in the examples of holy Scripture, that magistrates have not only excited and commanded all the people under their government, 'to seek the Lord God of their fathers, and do the law and commandment,' (2 Chron. xiv. 2, 3, 4; Ezra vii. 25, 26, 27,) but also stirred up and sent forth the Levites, accompanied with other principal men, to 'teach the good knowledge of the Lord throughout all the cities,' (2 Chron. xvii. 6, 7, 8, 9,) which endeavours have been crowned with the blessing of God.

"Also we find that our brethren of the Congregational perswasion in England, have made a good profession in their book, entituled, 'A declaration of their faith and order,' (page 59, sect. 14,) where they say, 'That although pastors and teachers stand especially related unto their particular churches, yet they ought not to neglect others living within their parochial bounds; but besides their constant public preaching to them, they ought to enquire after their profiting by the word, instructing them in, and pressing upon them, (whether young or old) the great doctrines of the gospel, even personally and particularly, so far as their strength and time will permit.'

"We hope that sundry of you need not a *spur* in these things, but are conscientiously careful to do your duty. Yet, forasmuch as we have cause to fear that there is too much neglect in many places, notwithstanding the *laws* long since provided therein, we do therefore think it our duty to emit this declaration unto you, earnestly desiring, and, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus, requiring you to be very diligent and careful to catechise and instruct all people (especially the youth) under your charge, in the sound principles of Christian religion; and that not only in publick, but privately 'from house to house,' as blessed Paul did; (Acts xx. 20,) or at least three, four, or more families meeting together, as time and strength may permit; taking to your assistance such godly and grave persons as to you may seem most expedient: and also that you labour to inform your selves (as much as may

* It is forbidden to man to rule like a prince over a people, and with a proud spirit: he should exercise authority in meekness and fear.

be meet) how your hearers do profit by the word of God, and how their conversations do agree therewith; and whether the youth are taught to read the English tongue: taking all occasions to apply suitable exhortations particularly unto them, for the rebuke of those that do evil, and the encouragement of them that do well.

"The effectual and constant prosecution hereof, we hope will have a tendency to promote the salvation of souls; to suppress the growth of sin and profaneness; to beget more love and unity among the people, and more reverence and esteem of the ministry: and it will assuredly be to the enlargement of your crown, and recompence in eternal glory.

"Given at Boston, the 10th of March, 1668, by the governour and council, and by them ordered to be printed, and sent accordingly.

"EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*"

CHAPTER VII.

PUBLICOLA CHRISTIANUS.

THE LIFE OF EDWARD HOPKINS, ESQ., GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT COLONY.

Superiores sint, qui superiores esse sciunt.†

§ 1. WHEN the great God of heaven had carried his "peculiar people" into a wilderness, the *theocracy*, wherein he became (as he was for *that reason* stiled) "the Lord of Hosts," unto them and the four squadrons of their army, was most eminently displayed in *his* enacting of their *laws*, *his* directing of their *wars*, and *his* electing and inspiring of their *judges*. In some resemblance hereunto, when four colonies of Christians had marched like so many *hosts* under the conduct of the good spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ into an American wilderness, there were several instances wherein that army of confessors was under a theocracy; for their *laws* were still enacted, and their *wars* were still directed by the voice of God, as far as they understood it, speaking from the *oracle* of the *Scriptures:* and though their judges were still elected by themselves, and not inspired with such extraordinary influences as carried them of old, yet these also being singularly furnished and offered by the special providence of God unto the government of his New-English people, were so eminently acted, by *his graces*, and *his precepts*, in the discharge of their government, that the blessed people were still sensibly *governed by the Lord of all.* Now, among the first judges of New-England, was EDWARD HOPKINS, Esq., in whose time the colony of Connecticut was favoured with "judges as at first:" and put under the power of those with whom it was a maxim, *Gratius est pietatis Nomen, quam potestatis.*‡

§ 2. The descent and breeding of Mr. EDWARD HOPKINS, (who was born I think near Shrowsbury, about the year 1600,) first fitted him for the

* The Christian Patriot. † They should be superior, who feel that they are superior.
‡ The reputation of piety is dearer than the fame of power.

condition of a Turkey-merchant, in London: where he lived several years in good fashion and esteem, until a powerful party in the Church of England, then resolving not only to *separate* from the communion of all the faithful that were averse to certain confessedly unscriptural and uninstituted rites in the worship of God, but also to *persecute* with destroying severities those that were non-conformists thereunto, compelled a considerable number of good men to seek a shelter among the salvages of America. Among these, and with his excellent father-in-law, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, he came to New-England; where, then removing from the Massachusetbay unto Hartford upon Connecticut River, he became a ruler and pillar of that colony, during the time of his abode in the country.

§ 3. In his government he acquitted himself as the Solomon of his colony, to whom "God gave wisdom and knowledge, that he might go out and come in before the people;" and as he was the *head*, so he was the *heart* of the people, for the resolution *to do well*, which he maintained among them. An unjust judge is, as one says, "a cold fire, a dark sun, a dry sea, an ungood God, a *contradictio in adjecto*."* Far from such was our Hopkins; no, he was, δικαιον ἐμψυχον,† a meer piece of *living justice*. And as he had no *separate interests* of his own, so he pursued their interests with such an unspotted and successful fidelity, that they might call him, as the tribe of Benjamin did their leader in the wilderness, Abidan; that is to say, "our father is judge." New-England saw little *dawnings*, and *emblems*, and *earnests* of the day, "that the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given unto the people of the saints of the Most High," when such a saint as our HOPKINS was one of its governours. And the felicity which a great man has prognosticated for Europe, "that God will stir up some happy governour in some country in Christendom, indued with wisdom and consideration, who shall discern the true nature of Godliness and Christianity, and the necessity and excellency of serious religion, and shall place his honour and felicity in pleasing God and doing good, and attaining everlasting happiness, and shall subject all worldly respects unto these high and glorious ends:" this was now exemplified in America.

§ 4. Most exemplary was his piety and his charity; and while he governed others by the laws of God, he did himself yield a profound subjection unto those laws. He was exemplarily watchful over his own behaviour, and made a continual contemplation of, and preparation for death, to be the character of his life. It was his manner to rise early, even before day, to enjoy the devotions of his closet; after which he spent a considerable time in reading, and opening, and applying the word of God unto his family, and then praying with them: and he had one particular way to cause attention in the people of his family, which was to ask any person that seemed careless in the midst of his discourse, "What was it that I read or spoke last?" whereby he habituated them unto such an attention, that

* A paradox. † Justice incarnate.

they were still usually able to give a ready account. But as for his *prayers*, they were not only *frequent*, but so *fervent* also, that he frequently fell a *bleeding* at the nose through the agony of spirit with which he laboured in them. And especially when imploring such spiritual blessings as, "that God would grant in the end of our lives, the end of our hopes, even the salvation of our souls," he would be so transported, that the observing and judicious hearers would say sometimes upon it, "Surely this man cannot be long out of heaven." Moreover, in his neighbourhood he not only set himself to encourage and countenance real Godliness, but also would himself kindly visit the Meetings that the religious neighbours privately kept for the exercises of it; and where the least occasion for *contention* was offered, he would, with a prudent and speedy endeavour, extinguish it. But the *poor* he so considered, that besides the daily reliefs which with his own hands he dispensed unto them, he would put considerable sums of money into the hands of his friends, to be by them employed as they saw "opportunity to do good unto all, especially the household of faith." In this thing he was like that noble and worthy English General, of whom 'tis noted, "he never thought he had any thing but what he gave away;" and yet, after all, with much humility he would profess, as one of the most liberal men that ever was in the world often would, "I have often turned over my books of accounts, but I could never find the great God charged a debtor there."

§ 5. But *suffering* as well as *doing* belongs to the compleat character of a Christian; and there were several trials wherein our Lord called this eminently patient servant of his to suffer the will of God. He conflicted with bodily infirmities, but especially with a wasting and a bloody cough, which held him for thirty years together. He had been by persecutions driven to cross an ocean, to which he had in his nature an antipathy; and then a wilderness full of such crosses as attend the beginning of a plantation, exercised him. Nevertheless, there was one affliction which continually dropt upon him above all the rest, and that was this, he married a daughter which the second wife of Mr. Eaton had by a former husband; one that from a child had been observable for desirable qualities. But some time after she was married, she fell into a distempered *melancholy*, which at last issued in an incurable *distraction*, with such ill-shaped *ideas* in her brain, as use to be formed when the *animal spirits* are *fired* by irregular particles, fixed with acid, bilious, venemous ferments in the blood. Very grievous was this affliction unto this her worthy consort, who was by temper a very affectionate person; and who now left no part of a tender husband undone, to *ease*, and, if it were possible, to *cure* the lamentable desolation thus come upon "the desire of his eyes;" but when the physician gave him to understand that no means would be likely to *restore* her *sense* but such as would be also likely to *hazard* her *life*, he replied, with tears, "I had rather bear my cross unto the end that the Lord shall give!"

but upon this occasion he said unto her sister, who, with all the rest related unto her, were as dear unto him as his own, "I have often thought, what would be the meaning of the Lord, in chastising of me with so sharp a rod, and with so long a stroke," whereto, when she replied, "Sir, nothing singular has, in this case, befallen you; God hath afflicted others in the like way; and we must be content with our portion;" he answered, "Sister, this is among the Lord's rarities. For my part, I cannot tell what sore to lay my hand upon: however, in general, my sovereign Lord is just, and I will justifie him for ever: but in particular, I have thought the matter might lye here: I promised my self too much content in this relation and enjoyment; and the Lord will make me to know that this world shall not afford it me." So he wisely, meekly, fruitfully bore this heavy affliction unto his dying day; having been taught by the affliction to *die daily* as long as he *lived*.

§ 6. About Governour Eaton, his father-in-law, he saw cause to say unto a sister-in-law, whom he much valued, "I have often wondred at my father and your father; I have heard him say, That he never had a repenting, or a repining thought, about his coming to New-England: surely, in this matter he hath a grace far out-shining mine. But he is our father! I cannot say, as he can, I have had hard work with my own heart about it." But upon the death of his elder brother, who was warden of the fleet, it was necessary for him to return into England, that he might look after the estate which then fell unto him; and accordingly, after a tempestuous and a terrible voyage, wherein they were eminently endangered by *fire*, accidentally enkindled on the ship, as well as by *water*, which tore it so to pieces, that it was towed in by another ship, he at length,

*Per Varios Casus; per tot Discrimina Rerum,**

arrived there. There a great notice was quickly taken of him: he was made warden of the fleet, commissioner of the admiralty, and the navy office, a parliament-man; and he was placed in some other considerable stations: in all which he more than answered the expectations of those who took him to be a person eminently qualified for public service. By these employments, his design of returning to New-England, with which he left it, was diverted so far, that he sent for his family; and about the time that he looked for them, he being advantaged by his great places to employ certain frigots for their safety on the coast, by that means had them safely brought unto him. When they were with him in London, one of them told him how much his friends in New-England wished and prayed for his return: and how that passage had been used in our publick supplications for that mercy, "Lord, if we may win him in heaven, we shall yet have him on earth:" but he replyed, "I have had many thoughts about my return, and my affections have been bent very strongly that

* Through peril, toil, and rough adventure passed.

way; and though I have now, blessed be God, received my family here, yet that shall be no hindrance to my return. I will tell you, though I am little worth, yet I have that love which will dispose me to serve the Lord and that people of his. But as to that matter, I incline to think they will not win it in heaven; and I know not whether the terrors of my dreadful voyage hither might not be ordered by the Divine Providence to stake me in this land, being in my spirit sufficiently loth to run the hazard of such another. I must also say to you, I mourn exceedingly, and *I fear, I fear*, the sins of New-England will ere long be read in its punishments. The Lord has planted that land with a *noble vine;* and *blessed hast thou been, O land, in thy rulers!* But, alas! for the generality they have not considered how they were to honour the *rules* of God, in honouring of those whom God made *rulers* over them; and I fear they will come to smart by having them set over them, that it will be an *hard work to honour*, and that will hardly be capable to manage their affairs."

§ 7. Accordingly he continued in England the rest of his days, in several places of great honour and burden faithfully serving the nation; but in the midst of his publick employments most exactly maintaining the zeal and watch of his own private walk with God. His mind kept continually mellowing and ripening for heaven; and one expression of his heavenly mind, among many others, a little before his end, was, "How often have I pleased my self with thoughts of a joyful meeting with my father Eaton! I remember with what pleasure he would come down the street, that he might meet me when I came from Hartford unto New-Haven: but with how much greater pleasure shall we shortly meet one another in heaven!" But as an *heavenly mind* is oftentimes a *presaging mind*, so he would sometimes utter this presage unto some that were near and dear unto him: "God will shortly take the *Protector* away, and soon after that you will see great changes overturning the present constitution, and sore troubles come upon those that now promise better things unto themselves." However, he did not live to see the fulfilment of this prediction.

§ 8. For the time now drew near that this Israelite was to die! He had been in his life troubled with many fears of death; and after he fell sick, even when he drew very near his death, he said, with tears, "Oh! pray for me, for I am in extream darkness!" But at length, on a Lord's day, about the very time when Mr. Caryl was publickly praying for him, his darkness all vanished, and he broke forth into these expressions: "Oh! Lord, thou hast kept the best wine until the last! Oh! friends, could you believe this? I shall be blessed for ever; I shall quickly be in eternal glory. Now let the whole world count me vile, and call me an hypocrite, or what they will, I matter it not; I shall be blessed; there is reserved for me a crown of glory. Oh! blessed be God for Jesus Christ! I have heretofore thought it an hard thing to die, but now I find that it is not

so. If I might have my choice, I would now chuse to die. Oh! my Lord, I pray thee send me not back again into this evil world, I have enough of it; no, Lord, now take me to glory, and the kingdom that is prepared for me!" Yea, the standers by thought it not possible for them to utter, exactly after him, the heavenly words which now proceeded from him; and when one of them said, "Sir, the Lord hath enlarged your faith;" he replied, "Friend, this is sense; the Lord hath even satisfied my sense; I am sensibly satisfied of everlasting glory!" Two or three days he now spent in prayers and praises, and in inexpressible joys; in which time, when some eminent persons of a very publick station and imployment came to visit him, unto them he said, "Sirs, take heed of your hearts while you are in your work for God, that there be no root of bitterness within you. It may be pretended your desires are to serve God, but if there are in you secret aims at advancing of your selves, and your own estates and interests, the Lord will not accept your services as pure before him."

But at length, in the month of March, 1657, at London he expired; when being opened, it was found that his *heart* had been unaccountably, as it were, boiled and wasted in water, until it was become a little brittle skin, which, being touched, presently dropped in pieces. He had often wished, upon some great accounts, that he might live till the beginning of this year; and now when he lay a dying, he said, "Lord! thou hast fulfilled my desires according to thy word, that thou wilt fulfil the desires of them that fear thee."

Now, from the tombstone of another eminent person, we will fetch what shall here be a proper

EPITAPH.

PART OF EDWARD HOPKINS, ESQ.

But *heaven*, not brooking that the *earth* should share
In the least *atom* of a piece so rare,
Intends to sue out, by a *new revise*,
His *habeas corpus* at the *grand assize*.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUCCESSORS.

§ 1. ALTERNATELY, for the most part every other year, Mr. Haines, whom we have already mentioned elsewhere, took a turn with Mr. Hopkins in the chief place of government. And besides these, (reader, the *oracle* that once predicted government unto a ⊙, would now and here predict it unto a *W*,) there were Mr. Willis, Mr. Wells, and Mr. Webster, all of whom also had opportunity to express their liberal and generous dispositions, and the *governing virtues* of wisdom, justice and courage, by the election of the freemen in the colony before its being united with New-Haven. Had the

surviving relations of these worthy men sent in unto me a tenth part of the *considerable* and *imitable* things which occurred in their *lives*, they might have made more of a figure in this our history; whereas I must now sum up all, with assuring my reader, that it is the want of *knowledge* in *me*, and not of *desert* in *them*, that has confined us unto this brevity.

§ 2. After the union of Connecticut with New-Haven, there were in chief government Mr. Leet, whom we have already paid our dues unto: and Mr. Treat, who is yet living, a pious and a valiant man, and (if even *Annosa Quercus** be an honourable thing!) worthy to be honoured for an hoary head found in the way of righteousness; besides, Mr. Winthrop, of whom anon, reader, expect a compleater history.

CHAPTER IX.

HUMILITAS HONORATA.†

THE LIFE OF THEOPHILUS EATON, ESQ., GOVERNOUR OF NEW-HAVEN COLONY.

Justitiæ Cultor, Rigidi Servator Honesti,
In Commune Bonum.‡

§ 1. It has been enquired why the Evangelist Luke, in the *first* sacred history which he addressed unto his fellow-citizen, gave him the title of "The most excellent Theophilus," but in the *next* he used no higher a stile than plain Theophilus! And though several other answers might be given to that enquiry, 'tis enough to say, that neither the *civility* of Luke, nor *nobility* of Theophilus, were by age abated; but Luke herein considered the disposition of Theophilus, as well as his own, with whom a reduced age had rendered all *titles of honour* more *disagreeable superfluities*. Indeed, nothing would have been more unacceptable to the governour of our New-Haven colony, all the time of his being so, than to have been advanced and applauded above the rest of mankind, yet it must be now published unto the knowledge of mankind, that New-England could not of his quality show a more excellent person, and this was Theophilus Eaton, Esq., the first governour of that colony. Humility is a virtue whereof Amyraldus observes, "There is not so much as a shadow of commendation in all the pagan writers." But the reader is now concerned with writings which will *commend* a person for *humility;* and therefore our Eaton, in whom the shine of every virtue was particularly set off with a more than ordinary degree of *humility*, must now be proposed as *commendable.*

§ 2. 'Tis *reported*, that the earth taken from the banks of Nilus, will

* An aged oak.
† Humility in honour.
‡ Exact in justice—honest, humble, plain—
His private virtues were the public's gain.

very strangely sympathize with the place from whence it was taken, and grow moist or dry according to the increase and the decrease of the river. And in spite of that *Popish lie* which pretends to observe the contrary, this thing has been signally moralized in the daily observation, that the *sons of ministers*, though betaking themselves to other employments, do ordinarily carry about with them an holy and happy savour of their *ministerial education*. 'Twas remarkably exemplified in our Theophilus Eaton, who was born at Stony-Stratford in Oxfordshire, the eldest son to the faithful and famous minister of the place. But the words of old used by Philostratus concerning the son of a great man, "As for his son, I have nothing else to say, but that he was his son;" they could not be used concerning our Theophilus, who, having received a good education from his pious parents, did live many years to answer that education in his own piety and usefulness.

§ 3. His father being removed unto Coventry, he there at school fell into the intimate acquaintance of that worthy John Davenport, with whom the providence of God many years after united in the great undertaking of settling a colony of Christian and reformed churches on the American strand. Here his ingenuity and proficiency rendered him notable; and so vast was his *memory*, that although he wrote not at the church, yet when he came home, he would, at his father's call, *repeat* unto those that met in his father's house, the *sermons* which had been publickly preached by others, as well as his own father, with such exactness, as astonished all the neighbourhood. But in their after improvements, the *hands* of Divine Providence were laid *across* upon the heads of Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport; for Davenport, whose father was the *mayor* of Coventry, became a *minister;* and Eaton, whose father was *minister* of Coventry, contrary to his intentions, became a *merchant*. His parents were very loth to have complied with his inclinations; but their compliance therewithal did at last appear to have been directed by a special favour of Heaven unto the family, when, after the death of his father, he by this means became the Joseph, by whom his mother was maintained until she died, and his orphan brethren and sisters had no small part of their subsistence.

§ 4. During the time of his hard apprenticeship he behaved himself wisely; and his *wisdom*, with God's *favour*, particularly appeared in his chaste escape from the *snares* of a young woman in the house where he lived, who would fain have taken him in the *pits* by the *wise man* cautioned against, and who was herself so taken *only* with his most comely person, that she dyed for the *love* of him, when she saw him gone too far to be obtained: whereas, by the like *snares*, the apprentice that next succeeded him was undone for ever. But being a person herewithal most signally diligent in his business, it was not long before the maxim of the wise man was most literally accomplished in his coming to "stand before princes;" for being made a freeman of London, he applied himself unto the East-

Country trade, and was publickly chosen the deputy-governour of the company, wherein he so acquitted himself as to become considerable. And afterwards going himself into the East-Country, he not only became so well acquainted with the affairs of the Baltick-sea, but also became so well improved in the accomplishments of a *man of business,* that the King of England imployed him as an *agent* unto the King of Denmark. The concerns of his *agency* he so discreetly managed, that as he much obliged and engaged the East-Land company, (who in token thereof presented his wife with a bason and ewer double gilt, and curiously wrought with gold, and weighing above sixty pound,) so he found much acceptance with the King of Denmark, and was afterwards used by that prince to do him no little services. Nevertheless, he kept his integrity amongst the temptations of that court, whereat he was now a resident; and not seldom had he most eminent cause to acknowledge the benignity and interposal of Heaven for his preservations: once particularly, when the King of Denmark was beginning the King of England's health, while Mr. Eaton, who disliked such *health-drinking,* was in his presence; the King fell down in a sort of a fit, with the cup in his hand, whereat all the nobles and courtiers wholly applied themselves to convey the King into his chamber, and there was no notice taken who was to pledge his health; whereby Mr. Eaton was the more easily delivered from any share in the debauch.

§ 5. Having arrived unto a fair estate, (which he was *first* willing to do,) he married a most virtuous gentlewoman, to whom he had first espoused himself after he had spent three years in an absence from her in the East-Country. But this dearest and greatest of his *temporal* enjoyments proved but a *temporal* one; for living no longer with him than to render him the father of two children, she almost *killed him* with her own *death;* and yet at her death she expressed herself wondrous willing "to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, from whom" (she said) "I would not be detained one hour for all the enjoyments upon earth." He afterwards married a prudent and pious widow, the daughter of the bishop of Chester; unto the three former children of which widow, he became a most exemplary, living and faithful father, as well as a most worthy husband unto herself, by whom he afterwards had five children, two sons and three daughters. But the second of his children by his latter wife dying some while before, it was not long before his two children by his former wife were smitten with the plague, whereof the elder died, and his house thereupon shut up with a "Lord, have mercy!" However, the Lord had this mercy on the family, to let the distemper spread no further; and so Mr. Eaton spent many years a merchant of great credit and fashion in the city of London.

§ 6. At length conformity to *ceremonies* humanely invented and imposed in the worship of God, was urged in the Church of England with so much rigour, that Mr. Davenport was thereby driven to seek a *refuge from the storm* in the cold and rude corners of America. Mr. Eaton had already

assisted the new Massachuset-colony, as being one of the patentees for it; but had no purpose of removing thither himself, until Mr. Davenport, under whose excellent ministry he lived, was compelled unto a share in this removal. However, being fully satisfied in his own conscience, that *unlawful things* were now violently demanded of him, he was willing to accompany his *persecuted pastor* in the retreat from violence now endeavoured, and many eminent Londoners chearfully engaged with him in this undertaking. Unto New-England this company of good men came in the year 1637, where, chusing to be a distinct colony by themselves, more accommodated unto the designs of merchandize than of husbandry, they sought and bought a large territory in the southern parts of the country for their habitations. In the prosecution hereof, the chief care was devolved upon Mr. Eaton, who, with an unexampled patience, took many tedious and hazardous journies through a desolate wilderness full of barbarous Indians, until upon mature deliberation he pitched upon a place now called New-Haven, where they soon formed a very regular town; and a number of other towns along the sea side were quickly added thereunto. But by the difficulties attending these journies, Mr. Eaton brought himself into an extream sickness; from which he recovered not without a fistula in his breast, whereby he underwent much affliction. When the *chirurgeon* came to inspect the sore, he told him, "Sir, I know not how to go about what is necessary for your cure;" but Mr. Eaton answered him, "God calls you to do, and me to suffer!" And God accordingly strengthened him to bear miserable cuttings and launcings of his flesh with a most invincible patience. The *chirurgeon* indeed *made* so many wounds, that he was not able to *cure* what he had made; another, and a better, hand was necessarily imployed for it; but in the mean while great were the *trials* with which the God of heaven exercised the faith of this his holy servant.

§ 7. Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport were the Moses and Aaron of the Christian colony now erected in the south-west parts of New-England; and Mr. Eaton being *yearly* and *ever* chosen their governour, it was the admiration of all spectators to behold the *discretion*, the *gravity*, the *equity* with which he still managed all their publick affairs. He carried in his very countenance a majesty which cannot be described; and in his dispensations of justice he was a mirrour for the most imitable impartiality, but ungainsayable authority of his proceedings, being awfully sensible of the obligations which the *oath* of a judge lays upon him. *Ils sont plus tenus de raison de garder Leur Serment, doubter mort, ou aucutie forfeiture:** and hence he, who would most patiently bear *hard things* offered unto his *person* in *private cases*, yet would never pass by any publick affronts or neglects offered, when he appeared under the character of a *magistrate*. But he still was the guide of the blind, the staff of the lame, the helper of the widow and the orphan, and all the distressed; none that had a *good*

* They are more bound in reason to keep their oaths, than to fear death, or any forfeiture whatsoever.

cause was afraid of coming before him: on the one side, in his days did the righteous flourish; on the other side, he was the terror of evil doers. As in his government of the commonwealth, so in the government of his family, he was prudent, serious, happy to a wonder: and albeit he sometimes had a large family, consisting of no less than *thirty persons*, yet he managed them with such an even temper, that observers have affirmed, "They never saw an house ordered with more wisdom!" He kept an honourable and hospitable table; but one thing that still made the entertainment thereof the better, was the continual presence of his aged mother; by feeding of whom with an exemplary piety till *she died*, he ensured his own prosperity as long as *he lived*. His children and servants he would mightily encourage unto the study of the Scriptures, and countenance their addresses unto himself with any of their enquiries; but when he discerned any of them sinfully negligent about the concerns either of their general or particular *callings*, he would admonish them with such a penetrating efficacy, that they could scarce forbear falling down at his feet with tears. A *word* of his was enough to steer them!

§ 8. So exemplary was he for a Christian, that one who had been a servant unto him, could many years after say, "Whatever difficulty in my daily walk I now meet withal, still something that I either saw or heard in my blessed master Eaton's conversation, helps me through it all; I have reason to bless God that ever I knew him!" It was his custom when he first rose in a *morning*, to repair unto his *study;* a study well perfumed with the *meditations* and *supplications* of an holy soul. After this, calling his family together, he would then read a portion of the *Scripture* among them, and after some devout and useful *reflections* upon it, he would make a prayer, not long, but extraordinarily pertinent and reverent; and in the *evening* some of the same exercises were again attended. On the Saturday morning he would still take notice of the approaching Sabbath in his prayer, and ask the grace to be remembring of it, and preparing for it; and when the evening arrived, he, besides this, not only repeated a sermon, but also *instructed* his people, with putting of *questions* referring to the points of religion, which would oblige them to study for an *answer;* and if their answer were at any time insufficient, he would wisely and gently enlighten their understandings; all which he concluded with singing of a psalm. When the Lord's day came, he called his family together at the time for the ringing of the first bell, and repeated a sermon, whereunto he added a fervent prayer, especially tending unto the sanctification of the day. At noon he sang a psalm, and at night he retired an hour into his closet; advising those in his house to improve the same time for the good of their own souls. He then called his family together again, and in an obliging manner conferred with them about the things with which they had been entertained in the house of God, shutting up all with a prayer for the blessing of God upon them all. For solemn days of humiliation,

or of thanksgiving, he took the same course, and endeavoured still to make those that belonged unto him understand the meaning of the services before them. He seldom used any *recreations*, but being a great reader, all the time he could spare from company and business, he commonly spent in his beloved *study;* so that he merited the name which was once given to a learned ruler of the English nation, the name of *Beauclerk:* in conversing with his friends, he was affable, courteous, and generally *pleasant*, but *grave* perpetually; and so cautelous and circumspect in his discourses, and so modest in his expressions, that it became a proverb for incontestable truth, "Governour Eaton said it."

But after all, his humility appeared in having always but *low expectations*, looking for little regard and reward from any men, after he had merited as highly as possible by his universal serviceableness.

§ 9. His eldest son he maintained at the Colledge until he proceeded master of arts; and he was indeed the son of his *vows*, and a son of great *hopes*. But a severe catarrh diverted this young gentleman from the work of the ministry whereto his father had once devoted him; and a malignant fever then raging in those parts of the country, carried off him with his wife within two or three days of one another. This was counted the sorest of all the trials that ever befel his father in the "days of the years of his pilgrimage;" but he bore it with a patience and composure of spirit which was truly admirable. His dying son looked earnestly on him, and said, "Sir, what shall we do?" Whereto, with a well-ordered countenance, he replied, "Look up to God!" And when he passed by his daughter, drowned in tears on this occasion, to her he said, "Remember the sixth commandment: hurt not your self with immoderate grief: remember Job, who said, 'The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord!' You may mark what a note the spirit of God put upon it; 'in all this Job sinned not, nor charged God foolishly:' God accounts it a charging of him foolishly, when we don't submit unto his will patiently." Accordingly he now governed him self as one that had attained unto the rule of "weeping as if we wept not;" for it being the Lord's day, he repaired unto the church in the *afternoon*, as he had been there in the *forenoon*, though he was never like to see his dearest son alive any more in this world. And though before the first prayer began, a messenger came to prevent Mr. Davenport's praying for the sick person, who was now *dead*, yet his affectionate father altered not his course, but *wrote* after the preacher as formerly; and when he came home he held on his former methods of divine worship in his family, not for the excuse of Aaron, omitting any thing in the service of God. In like sort, when the people had been at the solemn interment of this his worthy son, he did with a very unpassionate aspect and carriage then say, "Friends, I thank you all for your love and help, and for this testimony of respect unto me and mine: the Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken; blessed be the name of

the Lord!" Nevertheless, retiring hereupon into the chamber where his daughter then lay sick, some tears were observed falling from him while he uttered these words, "There is a difference between a sullen silence or a stupid senselessness under the hand of God, and a child-like submission thereunto."

§ 10. Thus continually he, for about a score of years, was the *glory* and *pillar* of New-Haven colony. He would often say, "Some count it a great matter to *die well*, but I am sure 'tis a great matter to *live well*. All our care should be while we have our *life* to use it well, and so when death puts an end unto *that*, it will put an end unto all our cares." But having excellently managed his care to *live well*, God would have him to *die well*, without any room or time then given to take any *care* at all; for he enjoyed a death *sudden* to every one but himself! Having worshipped God with his family after his usual manner, and upon some occasion with much solemnity charged all the family to carry it well unto their mistress who was now confined by sickness, he supped, and then took a turn or two abroad for his meditations. After that he came in to bid his wife good-night, before he left her with her watchers; which when he did, she said, "Methinks you look sad!" Whereto he replyed, "The differences risen in the church of Hartford make me so;" she then added, "Let us even go back to our native country again;" to which he answered, "You may, (and so she did) but I shall die here." This was the last word that ever she heard him speak; for, now retiring unto his lodging in another chamber, he was overheard about midnight fetching a *groan;* and unto one sent in presently to enquire how he did, he answered the enquiry with only saying, "Very ill!" and without saying any more, he fell "asleep in Jesus," in the year 1657, loosing anchor from New-Haven for the better;

———————*Sedes, ubi Fata, Quietas*
*Ostendunt.**

Now let his gravestone wear at least the following

EPITAPH.

New-England's glory, *full of* warmth and light,
Stole away (*and* said nothing) *in the night.*

CHAPTER X.

SUCCESSORS.

§ 1. When the day arrived in the anniversary course for the freemen of the colony to elect another governour in the place of the deceased

* Where Destiny points out eternal rest.

Eaton, Mr. Davenport preached on that passage of the divine oracle, in Josh. i. 1, 2: "Now after the death of Moses, the servant of the Lord, it came to pass that the Lord spake unto Joshua, the son of Nun, Moses' minister, saying, Now arise thou and all this people." The colony was abundantly sensible that their EATON had been a man of a *Mosaic* spirit; and that while they chose him, as they did every year of his life, among them to be their governour, they could not chuse a better. But they now considered that Mr. Francis Newman, who had been for many years the secretary of the colony, was there a minister to their Moses, as he had been otherwise his intimate friend, neighbour, companion and counsellor. For this cause the unanimous choice of the freemen fell upon this gentleman to succeed in the government. And I shall here give a sufficient history of his government; which through death was not suffered to continue above three or four years, by only saying, "That he walked exactly in the steps of his predecessor."

§ 2. Upon the setting of Mr. Francis Newman, there arose Mr. William Leet, of whom let not the reader be displeased at this brief account. This gentleman was by his education a lawyer, and by his imployment a register in the Bishop's Court. In that station, at Cambridge, he observed that there were summoned before the court certain persons to answer for the *crime* of going to *hear sermons abroad*, when there were *none* to be heard in their own parish churches at home; and that, when any were brought before them for *fornication* or *adultery*, the court only made themselves merry with their Peccadillos; and that these latter transgressions were as favourably dealt withal, as ever the *wolf* was when he came with an *auricular confession* of his murders to his brother *fox* for *absolution:* but the former found as hard measure as ever the poor *ass*, that had only taken a *straw* by mistake out of a pilgrim's pad, and yet upon *confession*, was by Chancellour *Fox* pronounced *unpardonable*. This observation extreamly scandalized Mr. Leet, who always thought that hearing a good sermon had been a lesser fault than lying with one's neighbour's wife: and had the same resentments that Austin sometimes had of the iniquity which made "the transgression of a ceremony more severely reprehended than a transgression of the law of God;" but it made an everlasting impression upon his heart, when the judge of the court furiously demanded of one then to be censured, "How he durst be so bold as to break the laws of the church, in going from his own parish to hear sermons abroad?" And the honest man answered, "Sir, how should I get faith else? For the apostle saith, Faith comes by hearing the word preached; which faith is necessary to salvation; and hearing the word is the means appointed by God for the obtaining and encreasing of it: and these means I must use, whatever I suffer for it in this world." These words of that honest man were blessed by God with such an effect upon the mind of Mr. Leet, that he presently left his *office* in the Bishop's Court, and forsaking that "untoward

generation of men," he associated himself with such as would go "hear the word, that they might get faith;" and in hearing, he did happily get the like precious faith. On this, and for this, he was exposed unto the *persecution*, which caused him to retire into New-England with many worthy ministers and other Christians, in the year 1639. In that country he settled himself under the ministry of the excellent Mr. Whitfield at Guilford, where, being also chosen a magistrate, and then governour of the colony; and being so at the juncture of time when the Royal Charter did join Connecticut and New-Haven, he became next unto Governour Winthrop, the deputy-governour of the whole; and after the death of Mr. Winthrop, even until his own death, the annual election for about a *decade* of years together, still made him governour. But in his whole government he gave continual demonstrations of an *excellent spirit*, especially in that part of it where the *reconciliation* and the *coalition* of the spirits of the people under it was to be accomplished. Mr. Robert Treat is the follower of his example, as well as the successor in his government.

CHAPTER XI.

HERMES CHRISTIANUS.*

THE LIFE OF JOHN WINTHROP, ESQ., GOVERNOUR OF CONNECTICUT AND NEW-HAVEN UNITED.

—Et Nos aliquod Nomenque Decusque
Gessimus.—†

§ 1. If the historian could give that character of the best Roman Emperor, that he was *Bonus a Bono*, *Pius a Pio*,‡ the son of a father like himself, our history may affirm concerning a very good New-English governour also, that he was the father of a son like himself, The proverb of the Jews which doth observe, "That vinegar is the son of wine;" and the proverb of the Greeks, which doth observe, "That the sons of heroes are trespassers," has been more than once contradicted in the happy experience of the New-Englanders: but none of the least remarkable contradictions given to it has been in the honourable family of our Winthrops.

§ 2. The eldest son of John Winthrop, Esq., the governour of one colony, was John Winthrop, Esq., the governour of another, in therefore happy New-England, born February 12, 1605, at Groton in England. His *glad father* bestowed on him a liberal education at the university, first of Cambridge in England, and then of Dublin in Ireland; and because *travel* has been esteemed no little accomplisher of a young gentleman, he then

* The Christian Mercury (or Physician).

† Some fame and honour we have won.

‡ The good and pious son of a good and pious father.

accomplished himself by travelling into France, Holland, Flanders, Italy, Germany, and as far as Turkey it self; in which places he so improved his opportunity of conversing with all sorts of learned men, that he returned home equally a subject of much experience and of great expectation.

§ 3. The son of Scipio Africanus proving a degenerate person, the *people* forced him to pluck off a signet-ring which he wore with his father's face engraven on it. But the son of our celebrated Governour Winthrop, was on the other side so like unto his excellent father for early wisdom and virtue, that arriving at New-England with his father's family, November 4, 1631, he was, though not above twenty-three years of age, by the unanimous choice of the people, chosen a magistrate of the colony, whereof his father was the governour. For this colony he afterwards did many services, yea, and he did them *abroad* as well as *at home;* very particularly in the year 1634, when returning for England, he was by bad weather forced into Ireland, where being invited unto the house of Sir John Clotworthy, he met with many considerable persons, by conferring with whom, the affairs of New-England were not a little promoted; but it was another colony for which the providence of Heaven intended him to be such another *father*, as his own honourable *father* had been to this.

§ 4. In the year 1635, Mr. Winthrop returned unto New-England, with powers from the Lord Say and the Lord Brook to settle a plantation upon the Long River of Connecticut, and a commission to be himself the governour of that plantation. But inasmuch as many good people of the Massachuset-colony had just before this taken possession of land for a new-colony thereabouts, this courteous and peaceable gentleman gave them no molestation; but having wisely accommodated the matter with them, he sent a convenient number of *men*, with all necessaries, to erect a fortification at the mouth of the river, where a *town*, with a *fort*, is now distinguished by the name of Say-Brook; by which happy action, the planters further up the river had no small kindness done unto them; and the Indians, which might else have been more troublesome, were kept in awe.

§ 5. The self-denying gentleman, who had imployed his commission of governour so little to the disadvantage of the infant-colony at Connecticut, was himself, ere long, by election made governour of that colony. And upon the restoration of King Charles II. he willingly undertook another voyage to England, on the behalf of the people under his government, whose affairs he managed with such a successful prudence, that he obtained a royal charter for them, which incorporated the colony of New-Haven with them, and invested both colonies, now happily united, with a firm grant of *priviledges*, beyond those of the plantations which had been settled before them. I have been informed, that while he was engaged in this negotiation, being admitted unto a private conference with the King, he presented his majesty with a ring, which King Charles I. had upon some occasion given to his grandfather; and the King not only accepted his

present, but also declared, that he accounted it one of his *richest jewels;* which indeed was the opinion that New-England had of the hand that carried it. But having thus laid his colony under everlasting obligations of gratitude, they did, after his return to New-England, express of their gratitude, by saying to him as the Israelites did unto Gideon, "Rule thou over us, for thou hast delivered us," chusing him for their governour twice seven years together.

§ 6. When the governour of Athens was a *philosopher*—namely, Demetrius—the commonwealth so flourished, that no less than three hundred brazen statues were afterward by the thankful people erected unto his memory. And a *blessed land* was New-England, when there was over part of it a governour who was not only a *Christian* and a *gentleman,* but also an eminent *philosopher:* for indeed the government of the *state* is then most successfully managed, when the measures of it are, by a *wise observer*, taken from the government of the *world;* and very unreasonable is the Jewish proverb, *Ne Habites in urbe ubi caput urbis est Medicus:** but highly reasonable the sentence of Aristotle, *Ubi præses fuerit Philosophus, ibi Civitas erit Fœlix;*† and this the rather for what is truly noted by Thucydides, *Magistratus est Civitatis Medicus.*‡ Such an one was our Winthrop, whose genius and faculty for *experimental philosophy* was advanced in his travels abroad, by his acquaintance with many learned *virtuosi.* One effect of this disposition in him, was his being furnished with *noble medicines*, which he most charitably and generously gave away upon all occasions; insomuch that where-ever he came, still the diseased flocked about him, as if the healing angel of Bethesda had appeared in the place; and so many were the *cures* which he wrought, and the *lives* that he saved, that if Scanderbeg might boast of his having slain in his time two thousand men with his own hands, this worthy person might have made a far more desirable *boast* of his having in his time *healed* more than so many thousands; in which beneficence to mankind, there are of his worthy children, who to this day do follow his direction and example. But it was not unto New-England alone that the respects of this accomplished *philosopher* were confined. For whereas, in pursuance of the methods begun by that immortally famous advancer of learning, the most illustrious Lord Chancellour Bacon, a select company of eminent persons, usuing to meet in the lodgings of Dr. Wilkins of Wadham Colledge in Oxford, had laid the foundation of a celebrated society, which by the year 1663, being incorporated with a Royal Charter, hath since been among the glories of England, yea, and of *mankind;* and their design was to make faithful records of all the works of *nature* or of *art,* which might come under their observation, and correct what had been *false,* restore what should be *true,* preserve what should be

* Never dwell in a city where the chief magistrate is a Physician.

† Where the king is a philosopher, the state will be prosperous.

‡ The magistrate is the physician of the state.

rare, and render the knowledge of the world, as well more *perfect* as more *useful;* and by multiplied experiments both of *light* and *fruit*, advance the *empire* of man over the whole visible creation; it was the honour of Mr. Winthrop to be a member of this Royal Society. And accordingly among the *philosophical transactions* published by Mr. Oldenburgh, there are some notable communications from this inquisitive and intelligent person, whose insight into many parts of the creation, but especially of the mineral kingdom, was beyond what had been attained by the most in many parts of America.

§ 7. If one would therefore desire an exact picture of this worthy man, the description which the most sober and solid writers of the great *philosophick work* do give of those persons, who alone are qualified for the smiles of Heaven upon their enterprizes, would have exactly fitted him. He was a *studious*, *humble*, *patient*, *reserved* and *mortified* person, and one in whom the love of *God* was fervent, the love of *man* sincere: and he had herewithal a certain *extension of soul*, which disposed him to a *generous behaviour* towards those who, by learning, breeding and virtue, deserve respects, though of a perswasion and profession in religion very different from *his own;* which was that of a reformed Protestant, and a New-English Puritan. In sum, he was not more an *adoptist* in those noble and secret *medicines*, which would reach the *roots* of the distempers that annoy humane bodies, and procure an *universal rest* unto the *archæus* on all occasions of disturbance, than he was in those Christian qualities, which appear upon the cure of the distempers in the minds of men, by the effectual *grace* of our Lord Jesus Christ.

§ 8. In the year 1643, after divers essays made in some former years, the several colonies of New-England became in *fact*, as well as *name*, UNITED COLONIES. And an instrument was formed, wherein having declared, "That we all came into these parts of America with the same end and aim—namely, to advance the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and enjoy the liberties of the gospel with purity and peace,"—it was firmly agreed between the several jurisdictions, that there should yearly be chosen two commissioners out of each, who should meet at fit places appointed for that purpose, with full powers from the General Courts in each, to concert and conclude matters of general concernment for *peace* or *war* of the several colonies thus *confederated*. In pursuance of this laudable *confederacy*, this most meritorious governour of Connecticut colony accepted the trouble of appearing as a commissioner for that colony, with the rest met at Boston, in the year 1676, when the calamities of the Indian-war were distressing the whole country: but *here* falling sick of a fever, he dyed on April 5, of that year, and was honourably interred in the same tomb with his honourable father.

§ 9. His father, as long ago as the year 1643, had seen cause to write unto him an excellent letter, wherein there were these among other passages:

You are the chief of two families; I had by your mother three sons and three daughters, and I had with her a large portion of outward estate. These now are all gone; mother gone; brethren and sisters gone; you only are left to see the vanity of these *temporal things*, and learn wisdom thereby, which may be of more use to you, through the Lord's blessing, than all that *inheritance* which might have befallen you, and for which this may stay and quiet your heart, 'That God is able to give you more than this;' and that it being spent in the furtherance of *his work*, which hath here prospered so well, through his power hitherto, you and yours may certainly expect a liberal portion in the prosperity and blessing thereof hereafter; and the rather, because it was not forced from you by a father's power, but freely resigned by your self, out of a living and filial respect unto me, and your own readiness unto the work it self. From whence as I do often take occasion to bless the Lord for you, so do I also commend you and yours to his fatherly blessing, for a plentiful reward to be rendered unto you. And doubt not, my dear son, but let your *faith* be built upon his premise and faithfulness, that as he hath carried you hitherto through many perils, and provided liberally for you, so he will do for the time to come, and will never fail you, nor forsake you.——My son, the Lord knows how dear thou art to me, and that my care has been more for thee than for my self. But *I know* thy prosperity depends not on my care, nor on thine own, but upon the blessing of our Heavenly Father; neither doth it on the things of this world, but on the light of God's countenance, through the merit and mediation of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is *that* only which can give us peace of conscience with contentation; which can as well make our lives happy and comfortable in a mean estate, as in a great abundance. But if you weigh things aright, and sum up all the turnings of Divine Providence together, you shall find great advantage.—The Lord hath brought us to a good land; a land where we enjoy outward peace and liberty, and, above all, the blessings of the gospel, without the burden of impositions in matters of religion. Many thousands there are who would give great estates to enjoy our condition. Labour therefore, my good son, to increase our thankfulness to God for all his mercies to thee, especially for that he hath revealed his everlasting good-will to thee in Jesus Christ, and joined thee to the visible body of his church, in the fellowship of his people, and hath saved thee in all thy travails abroad from being infected with the vices of these countries where thou hast been, (a mercy vouchsafed but unto few young gentlemen travellers.) Let *him* have the honour of it who kept thee. *He* it was who gave thee favour in the eyes of all with whom thou hadst to do, both by sea and land; *he* it was who saved thee in all perils; and *he* it is who hath given thee a gift in understanding and art; and *he* it is who hath provided thee a blessing in marriage, a comfortable help, and many sweet children; and hath hitherto provided liberally for you all: and therefore I would have you to love him again, and serve him, and trust him for the time to come. Love and prize that word of truth, which only makes known to you the precious and eternal thoughts and councils of the light inaccessible. Deny your own wisdom, that you may find his; and esteem it the greatest honour to lye under the simplicity of the gospel of Christ crucified, without which you can never enter into the secrets of his tabernacle, nor enjoy those sweet things which 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor can the heart of man conceive;' but God hath granted unto some few to know them even in this life. Study well, my son, the saying of the apostle, 'Knowledge puffeth up.' It is a good gift of God, but when it lifts up the mind above the cross of Christ, it is the pride of life, and the high way to apostacy, wherein many men of great learning and hopes have perished.—In all the exercise of your gifts, and improvement of your talents, have an eye to your Master's end, more than your own; and to the day of your account, that you may then have your *Quietus est*, even 'Well done, good and faithful servant!' But my last and chief request to you is, that you be careful to have your *children* brought up in the knowledge and fear of God, and in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. *This* will give you the best comfort of them, and keep them sure from any want or miscarriage: and when you part from them, it will be no small joy to your soul, that you shall meet them again in heaven!"

Doubtless, the reader considers the *historical* passages in this extract of the letter thus recited. Now, but by making this reflection upon the rest, that as the *prophetical* part of it was notably fulfilled in the estate whereto the good providence of God recovered this worthy gentleman and his family, so the *monitory* part of it was most exemplarily attended in his holy and useful conversation. I shall therein briefly sum up the life of a person whom we shall call a second unto none of our worthies, but as we call him our second Winthrop.

EPITAPHIUM.

Abi Viator;
Et Luge plures magistratus in Uno periisse.
Redi Viator.
Non Periit, *sed ad Cœlestem Societatem*
Regia Magis Regiam,
Vere Adeptus,
Abiit:
WINTHROPUS, *Non minor magnis Majoribus.**

CHAPTER XII.

ASSISTENTS.

MAGISTRATES OF CONNECTICUT COLONY,

BEFORE NEW-HAVEN COLONY WAS ACTUALLY ANNEXED UNTO IT, WERE, BESIDES THE TWO ALTERNATELY FOR THE MOST PART ELECTED GOVERNOURS, HOPKINS AND HAINES,

Roger Ludlow,	1636.	William Ludlow,	1640.	Matthew Allyn,	1658.
John Steel,	1636.	William Hopkins,	1642.	Richard Treat,	1658.
William Phelps,	1636.	Henry Woolcot,	1643.	Thomas Baker,	1658.
William Westwood,	1636.	George Fenwick,	1644.	——— Mulford,	1658.
Andrew Ward,	1636.	——— Cosmore,	1647.	Alexander Knowles,	1658.
Thomas Wells,	1637.	John Howel,	1647.	John Wells,	1658.
William Swayn,	1637.	John Cullick,	1648.	Robert Band,	1659.
Matthew Mitchel,	1637.	Henry Clark,	1650.	——— Rayner,	1661.
George Hull,	1637.	John Winthrop,	1651.	John Allyn,	1662.
William Whiting,	1637.	Thomas Topping,	1651.	Daniel Clark,	1662.
John Mason,	1637.	John Talcot,	1654.	Samuel Sherman,	1662.
George Willis,	1639.	John Ogden,	1656.	John Young,	1664.
John Webster,	1639.	Nathan Gold,	1657.		

MAGISTRATES OF NEW-HAVEN COLONY, BEFORE CONNECTICUT COLONY COULD ACCOMPLISH ITS COALITION THEREWITH, WERE, BESIDES THE GOVERNOURS ELSEWHERE MENTIONED,

Stephen Goodyear,	1637.	——— Tapp,	1637.	Benjamin Fen,	1654.
Thomas Grigson,	1637.	William Fowler,	1637.	Matthew Gilbert,	1658.
Richard Malbon,	1637.	Francis Newman,	1653.	Jasper Crane,	1658.
William Leet,	1637.	——— Astwood,	1653.	Robert Treat,	1659.
John Desborough,	1637.	Samuel Eaton,	1654.	William Jones,	1662.

* EPITAPH.

Go, Traveller;
And mourn the loss of many magistrates in the person of one.
Return, Traveller;
He is not dead, but has gone to join a society in Heaven, more *royal* than the Royal Society:
WINTHROP, not inferior to his own noble ancestors.

MAGISTRATES AFTER THE TWO COLONIES WERE CONTENT, ACCORDING TO THEIR CHARTER, TO BECOME ONE, WERE,

John Winthrop, *Gov.*	1665.	William Jones,	1665.	Thomas Topping,	1674.
John Mason,	1665.	Benjamin Fen,	1665.	Matthew Gilbert,	1677.
Matthew Allyn,	1665.	Jasper Crane,	1665.	Andrew Leet,	1678.
Samuel Willys,	1665.	Daniel Clark,	1666.	John Wadsworth,	1679.
Nathan Gold,	1665.	Alexander Bryans,	1668.	Robert Chapman,	1681.
John Talcot,	1665.	James Bishop,	1668.	James Fitch,	1681.
Henry Woolcot,	1665.	Anthony Howkins,	1668.	Samuel Mason,	1683.
John Allyn,	1665.	Thomas Wells,	1668.	Benjamin Newbury,	1685.
Samuel Sherman,	1665.	John Nash,	1672.	Samuel Talcot,	1685.
James Richards,	1665.	Robert Treat,	1673.	Giles Hamlin	1685.
William Leet,	1665.				

While the colonies were clusters of *rich grapes*, which had a blessing in them, such *leaves* as these (which is, in the proverbs of the Jewish nation, a name for magistrates) happily defended them from the *storms* that molest the world.

Those of the least character among them, yet came up to what the Roman commonwealth required in their magistrates:

Populus Romanus delegit Magistratus, quasi Reipublicæ Villicos, in quibus, si qua præterea est Ars, facile patitur; sin minus, virtute eorum et Innocentia Contentus est.—Cic. Orat. Pro Plan.*

* The Roman people selected their magistrates as if they were to be stewards of the Republic. Proficiency, in other departments, if it existed, they gladly tolerated; but if such additional accomplishments were lacking, they were content with the virtue and honesty of their public servants.

PIETAS IN PATRIAM.*

THE LIFE OF HIS EXCELLENCY SIR WILLIAM PHIPS, KNT.,

LATE CAPT'N-GENERAL AND GOVERNOUR IN CHIEF OF THE PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSET BAY.

CONTAINING THE MEMORABLE CHANGES UNDERGONE, AND ACTIONS PERFORMED BY HIM.

WRITTEN BY ONE INTIMATELY ACQUAINTED WITH HIM.

Discite Virtutem ex Hoc, verumque Laborem.†

THE author of the following narrative, is a person of such well-known integrity, prudence and veracity, that there is not any cause to question the truth of what he here relates. And moreover, this writing of his is adorned with a very grateful variety of learning, and doth contain such surprizing workings of Providence, as do well deserve due notice and observation. On all which accounts, it is with just confidence recommended to the publick by

NATH. MATHER,
JOHN HOWE,
MATTH. MEAD.

April 27, 1697.

To his Excellency the Earl of Bellomont, Baron of Coloony in Ireland, General Governour of the Province of Massachusets in New England, and the Provinces annexed.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY: The station in which the hand of the God of heaven hath disposed his Majesty's heart to place your honour, doth so manifestly entitle your Lordship to this ensuing narrative, that its being thus presented to your Excellency's hand, is thereby both apologized for and justified. I believe had the writer of it, when he penned it, had any knowledge of your Excellency, he would himself have done it, and withal would have amply and publickly congratulated the people of New-England on account of their having such a governour, and your Excellency on account of your being made governour over them. For though as to some other things it may possibly be a place to some persons not so desirable, yet I believe this character may be justly given of them, that they are the best people under heaven; there being among them not only less of open profaneness, and less of lewdness, but also more of the serious profession, practice, and power of Christianity, in proportion to their number, than is among any other people upon the face of the whole earth. Not but I doubt there are many bad persons among them, and too many distempered humours, perhaps even among those who are truly good. It would be a wonder if it should be otherwise; for it hath of late years, on various accounts, and some very singular and unusual ones, been a day of sore temptation with that whole people. Nevertheless, as I look upon it as a favour from God to those plantations, that he hath set your Excellency over them, so I do account it a favour from God to your Excellency, that he hath committed and trusted in your hand so great a part of his peculiar treasure and precious jewels, as are among that people. Besides, that on other accounts the Lord Jesus hath more of a visible interest in New-England, than in any of the outgoings of the English nation in America. They have at their own charge not only set up schools of lower learning up and down the country; but have also erected an University, which hath been the happy nursery of many useful, learned, and excellently accomplished persons. And moreover, from them hath the blessed gospel been preached to the poor, barbarous, savage heathen there; and it hath taken such root among them, that there were lately four-and-

* Devoted love of country.

† From him learn virtue and life's truest work.

twenty assemblies in which the name of the Lord Jesus was constantly called on, and celebrated in their own language. In these things New-England outshineth all the colonies of the English in those goings down of the sun. I know your Excellency will favour and countenance their University, and also the propagating of the gospel among the natives; for the interest of Christ in that part of the earth is much concerned in them. That the God of the spirits of all flesh would abundantly replenish your Excellency with a suitable spirit for the service to which he hath called your Lordship, that he would give your honour a prosperous voyage thither, and when there, make your Excellency a rich blessing to that people, and them a rejoicing to your Excellency, is the prayer of,

My Lord, Your Excellency's most humble servant,

April 27, 1697. NATH. MATHER.

THE LIFE OF HIS EXCELLENCY SIR WILLIAM PHIPS, KNT.

§ 1. IF such a renowned chymist as Quercetanus, with a whole tribe of "labourers in the fire," since that learned man, find it no easie thing to make the common part of mankind believe that they can take a *plant* in its more vigorous consistence, and after a due *maceration*, *fermentation* and *separation*, extract the *salt* of that plant, which, as it were, in a *chaos*, invisibly reserves the *form* of the whole, with its vital principle; and, that keeping the *salt* in a *glass* hermetically sealed, they can, by applying a *soft fire* to the glass, make the *vegetable* rise by little and little out of its *ashes*, to surprize the spectators with a notable illustration of that *resurrection*, in the faith whereof the Jews, returning from the graves of their friends, pluck up the *grass* from the earth, using those words of the Scripture thereupon, "Your bones shall flourish like an herb:" 'tis likely, that all the observations of such writers as the incomparable Borellus, will find it hard enough to produce our belief that the *essential salts* of *animals* may be so prepared and preserved, that an ingenious man may have the whole *ark* of Noah in his own study, and raise the fine *shape* of an animal out of its ashes at his pleasure: and that, by the like method from the *essential salts of humane dust*, a philosopher may, without any criminal *necromancy*, call up the *shape* of any *dead* ancestor from the dust whereinto his body has been incinerated. The resurrection of the dead will be as just, as great an article of our *creed*, although the *relations* of these learned men should pass for incredible romances: but yet there is an anticipation of that blessed resurrection, carrying in it some resemblance of these curiosities, which is performed, when we do in a *book*, as in a *glass*, reserve the history of our departed friends; and by bringing our *warm affections* unto such an history, we revive, as it were, out of their *ashes*, the true *shape* of those friends, and bring to a fresh view what was memorable and imitable in them. Now, in as much as *mortality* has done its part upon a considerable person, with whom I had the honour to be well acquainted, and a person as memorable for the wonderful changes which befel him, as imitable for his virtues and actions under those changes; I shall endeavour, with the

chymistry of an impartial historian, to *raise* my friend so far out of his ashes, as to shew him again unto the world; and if the character of heroick virtue be for a man to deserve well of mankind, and be great in the purpose and success of essays to do so, I may venture to promise my reader such example of heroick virtue, in the story whereto I invite him, that he shall say, it would have been little short of a vice in *me* to have withheld it from him. Nor is it any *partiality* for the memory of my deceased friend, or any other sinister design whatsoever, that has invited me to this undertaking; but I have undertaken this matter from a sincere desire that the ever-glorious Lord JESUS CHRIST may have the glory of his *power* and *goodness*, and of his *providence*, in what he did for such a person, and in what he disposed and assisted that person to do for him. Now, may he assist my writing, even he that prepared the subject whereof I am to write!

§ 2. So *obscure* was the *original* of that memorable person, whose actions I am going to relate, that I must, in a way of writing like that of Plutarch, prepare my reader for the intended relation, by first searching the archives of antiquity for a parallel. Now, because we will not parallel him with Eumenes, who, though he were the son of a poor carrier, became a governour of mighty provinces; nor with Marius, whose mean parentage did not hinder his becoming a glorious defender of his country, and seven times the chief magistrate of the chiefest city in the universe; nor with Iphicrates, who became a successful and renowned general of a great people, though his father were a cobler; nor with Dioclesian, the son of a poor scrivener; nor with Bonosus, the son of a poor school-master, who yet came to sway the scepter of the Roman empire; nor, lastly, will I compare him to the more late example of the celebrated Mazarini, who, though no gentleman by his extraction, and one so sorrily educated that he might have wrote *man* before he could write at all; yet ascended unto that grandeur, in the memory of many yet living, as to umpire the most important affairs of Christendom: we will decline looking any further in that hemisphere of the world, and make the "hue and cry" througout the regions of America, the New World, which he that is becoming the subject of our history, by his nativity, belonged unto. And in America, the first that meets me is Francisco Pizarro, who, though a *spurious offspring*, exposed when a babe in a church-porch, at a sorry village of Navarre, and afterwards employed while he was a boy in keeping of cattel, yet, at length, stealing into America, he so thrived upon his adventures there, that upon some discoveries, which with an handful of men he had in a desperate expedition made of Peru, he obtained the King of Spain's commission for the conquest of it, and at last so incredibly enriched himself by the conquest, that he was made the first Vice-roy of Peru, and created Marquess of Anatilla.

To the latter and highest part of that story, if any thing hindred his

Excellency Sir WILLIAM PHIPS from affording of a *parallel*, it was not the want either of design, or of courage, or of conduct in himself, but it was the fate of a *premature mortality*. For my reader now being satisfied that a person's being obscure in his original is not always a just prejudice to an expectation of considerable matters from him, I shall now inform him that this our Phips was born February 2, A. D. 1650, at a despicable plantation on the river of Kennebeck, and almost the furthest village of the eastern settlement of New-England. And as the father of that man which was as great a blessing as England had in the age of that man was a smith, so a gun-smith—namely, James Phips, once of Bristol—had the honour of being the father to him whom we shall presently see made by the God of Heaven as great a blessing to New-England as that country could have had, if they themselves had pleased. His fruitful mother, yet living, had no less than twenty-six children, whereof twenty-one were sons; but equivalent to them all was WILLIAM, one of the youngest, whom his father, dying, left young with his mother, and with her he lived, "keeping of sheep in the wilderness," until he was eighteen years old; at which time he began to feel some further dispositions of mind from that providence of God which "took him from the sheepfolds, from following the ewes great with young, and brought him to feed his people." Reader, enquire no further who was his father? Thou shalt anon see that he was, as the Italians express it, "a son to his own labours!"

§ 3. His friends earnestly solicited him to settle among them in a plantation of the east; but he had an unaccountable *impulse* upon his mind, perswading him, as he would privately hint unto some of them, "that he was born to greater matters." To come at those "greater matters," his first contrivance was to bind himself an apprentice unto a ship carpenter for four years; in which time he became a master of the trade that once, in a vessel of more than *forty thousand tuns*, repaired the ruins of the earth; Noah's, I mean; he then betook himself an hundred and fifty miles further a field, even to Boston, the chief town of New-England; which being a place of the most business and resort in those parts of the world, he expected there more commodiously to pursue the *Spes Majorum et Meliorum**—hopes which had inspired him. At Boston, where it was that he now learned first of all to *read* and *write*, he followed his trade for about a year; and, by a laudable deportment, so recommended himself, that he married a young gentlewoman of good repute, who was the widow of one Mr. John Hull, a well-bred merchant, but the daughter of one Captain Roger Spencer, a person of good fashion, who, having suffered much damage in his estate, by some unkind and unjust actions, which he bore with such patience, that for fear of thereby injuring the publick, he would not seek satisfaction, posterity might afterward see the reward of his *patience*, in what Providence hath now done for one of his own *posterity*.

* Hopes of greater and better things.

Within a little while after his marriage, he indented with several persons in Boston to build them a ship at Sheeps-coat River, two or three leagues eastward of Kennebeck; where having launched the ship, he also provided a lading of lumber to bring with him, which would have been to the advantage of all concerned. But just as the ship was hardly finished, the barbarous Indians on that river broke forth into an open and cruel war upon the English; and the miserable people, surprized by so sudden a storm of blood, had no refuge from the infidels but the *ship* now finishing in the harbour. Whereupon he left his intended *lading* behind him, and, instead thereof, carried with him his old neighbours and their families, free of all charges to Boston; so the first *action* that he did, after he was his own man, was to save his father's house, with the rest of the neighbourhood, from ruin; but the disappointment which befel him from the loss of his other *lading*, plunged his affairs into greater embarrassments with such as had employed him.

§ 4. But he was hitherto no more than beginning to make *scaffolds* for further and higher *actions!* He would frequently tell the gentlewoman his wife that he should yet be *captain of a King's ship;* that he should come to have the *command of better men* than he was now accounted himself; and that he should be owner of a *fair brick-house* in the Green-lane of North-Boston; and that, it may be, this would not be all that the providence of God would bring him to. She entertained these passages with a sufficient incredulity; but he had so *serious* and *positive* an expectation of them, that it is not easie to say what was the *original* thereof. He was of an enterprizing genius, and naturally disdained *littleness:* but his disposition for *business* was of the Dutch mould, where, with a little shew of *wit*, there is as much *wisdom* demonstrated, as can be shewn by any nation. His talent lay not in the *airs* that serve chiefly for the pleasant and sudden turns of conversation; but he might say, as Themistocles, "Though he could not play upon a fiddle, yet he knew how to make a little city become a great one." He would prudently contrive a weighty undertaking, and then patiently pursue it unto the end. He was of an inclination cutting rather like a *hatchet* than like a *razor;* he would propose very considerable matters to himself, and then so *cut through* them, that no difficulties could put by the *edge* of his resolutions. Being thus of the true temper for doing of great things, he betakes himself to the *sea*, the right *scene* for such things; and upon advice of a Spanish wreck about the Bahamas, he took a voyage thither; but with little more success than what just served him a little to furnish him for a voyage to England; whither he went in a vessel, not much unlike that which the Dutchmen stamped on their first coin, with these words about it: *Incertum quo Fata ferant.** Having first informed himself that there was another Spanish wreck, wherein was lost a mighty treasure, hitherto undiscovered, he had a strong impression upon

* None can tell where Fate will bear me.

his mind that *he* must be the discoverer; and he made such representations of his design at White-Hall, that by the year 1683 he became the *captain of a King's ship*, and arrived at New-England commander of the Algier-Rose, a frigot of eighteen guns and ninety-five men.

§ 5. To relate all the dangers through which he passed, both by sea and land, and all the tiresome trials of his *patience*, as well as of his *courage*, while year after year the most vexing accidents imaginable delayed the success of his design, it would even tire the patience of the reader: for very great was the experiment that Captain Phips made of the Italian observation, "He that cannot suffer both good and evil, will never come to any great preferment." Wherefore I shall supersede all *journal* of his voyages to and fro, with reciting one instance of his conduct, that showed him to be a person of no contemptible capacity. While he was captain of the Algier-Rose, his men growing weary of their unsuccessful enterprize, made a mutiny, wherein they approached him on the quarter-deck, with drawn swords in their hands, and required him to join with them in running away with the ship, to drive a trade of piracy on the South Seas. Captain Phips, though he had not so much of a weapon as an ox-goad, or a jaw-bone in his hands, yet, like another Shamgar or Samson, with a most undaunted fortitude, he rushed in upon them, and with the blows of his bare hands, *felled* many of them, and *quelled* all the rest. But this is not the instance which I intended: that which I intend is, that (as it has been related unto me) one day while his frigot lay *careening*, at a desolate Spanish island, by the side of a rock, from whence they had laid a bridge to the shoar, the men, whereof he had about an hundred, went all but about eight or ten to divert themselves, as they pretended, in the *woods;* where they all entred into an *agreement*, which they signed in a ring, That about seven o'clock that evening they would seize the captain, and those eight or ten which they knew to be true unto him, and leave them to perish on this island, and so be gone away unto the South Sea to *seek their fortune*. Will the reader now imagine that Captain Phips, having advice of this plot but about an hour and half before it was to be put in execution, yet within *two hours* brought all these rogues down upon their knees to beg for their lives? But so it was! for these knaves considering that they should want a *carpenter* with them in their villanous expedition, sent a messenger to fetch unto them the carpenter, who was then at work upon the vessel; and unto him they shewed their *articles;* telling him what he must look for if he did not subscribe among them. The carpenter being an honest fellow, did with much importunity prevail for one half hour's time to consider of the matter; and returning to work upon the vessel, with a *spy* by them set upon him, he feigned himself taken with a fit of the cholick, for the relief whereof he suddenly run unto the captain in the great cabbin for a *dram;* where, when he came, his business was only, in brief, to tell the captain of the horrible distress which he was

fallen into; but the captain bid him as briefly return to the rogues in the woods, and sign their articles, and leave *him* to provide for the rest. The carpenter was no sooner gone but Captain Phips, calling together the few friends (it may be seven or eight) that were left him aboard, whereof the gunner was one, demanded of them, whether they would stand by him in the extremity which he informed them was now come upon him: whereto they replied, "They would stand by him, if he could save them:" and he answered, "By the help of God he did not fear it." All their provisions had been carried ashoar to a tent, made for that purpose there; about which they had placed several great guns to defend it, in case of any assault from Spaniards, that might happen to come that way. Wherefore Captain Phips immediately ordered those guns to be silently drawned and turned; and so pulling up the bridge, he charged his great guns aboard, and brought them to bear on every side of the tent. By this time the *army of rebels* comes out of the woods; but as they drew near to the tent of provisions, they saw such a change of circumstances, that they cried out, "We are betrayed!" And they were soon confirmed in it, when they heard the captain with a stern fury call to them, "Stand off, ye wretches, at your peril!" He quickly saw them cast into a more than ordinary confusion, when they saw *him* ready to fire his great guns upon them, if they offered one step further than he permitted them: and when he had signified unto them his resolve to abandon them urto all the desolation which they had purposed for him, he caused the *bridge* to be again laid, and his men begun to take the provisions aboard. When the wretches beheld what was coming upon them, they fell to very humble entreaties; and at last fell down upon their knees, protesting, "That they never had any thing against him, except only his unwillingness to go away with the King's ship upon the South-Sea design: but upon all other accounts, they would chuse rather to live and die with him than with any man in the world: however, since they saw how much he was dissatisfied at it, they would insist upon it no more, and humbly begged his pardon." And when he judged that he had kept them on their *knees* long enough, he having first secured their *arms*, received them aboard; but he immediately weighed anchor, and arriving at Jamaica, he turned them off. Now, with a small company of other men he sailed from thence to Hispaniola, where, by the policy of his address, he fished out of a very old Spaniard (or Portuguese) a little advice about the true spot where lay the wreck which he had been hitherto seeking, as unprosperously as the chymists have their *aurisick stone:* that it was upon a *reef of shoas*, a few leagues to the northward of Port de la Plata, upon Hispaniola, a port so called, it seems, from the landing of some of the *shipwrecked* company, with a boat full of plate, saved out of their sinking frigot: nevertheless, when he had searched very narrowly the spot, whereof the old Spaniard had advised him, he had not hitherto exactly lit upon it. Such thorns did vex his affairs while he

was in the Rose-frigot; but none of all these things could retund the edge of his expectations to find the *wreck;* with such expectations he returned then into England, that he might there better furnish himself to prosecute a *new discovery;* for though he judged he might, by proceeding a little further, have come at the right *spot;* yet he found his present company too ill a crew to be confided in.

§ 6. So *proper* was his behaviour, that the best noblemen in the kingdom now admitted him into their conversation; but yet he was opposed by powerful enemies, that clogged his affairs with such demurrages, and such *disappointments*, as would have wholly discouraged his designs, if his patience had not been *invincible.* "He who can wait, hath what he desireth." Thus his indefatigable *patience*, with a proportionable *diligence*, at length overcame the difficulties that had been thrown in his way; and prevailing with the Duke of Albemarle, and some other persons of quality, to fit him out, he set sail for the *fishing-ground*, which had been so well *baited* half an hundred years before: and as he had already discovered his *capacity for business* in many considerable actions, he now added unto those discoveries, by not only *providing* all, but also by *inventing* many of the instruments necessary to the prosecution of his intended *fishery.* Captain Phips arriving with a ship and a tender at Port de la Plata, made a stout canoo of a stately cotton-tree, so large as to carry eight or ten oars, for the making of which *periaga* (as they call it) he did, with the same industry that he did every thing else, imploy his own *hand* and *adse*, and endure no little hardship, lying abroad in the woods many nights together. This periaga, with the tender, being anchored at a place convenient, the periaga kept busking to and again, but could only discover a *reef of rising shoals* thereabouts, called "The Boilers,"—which, rising to be within two or three foot of the surface of the sea, were yet so steep, that a ship striking on them, would immediately sink down, who could say how many fathom, into the ocean? Here they could get no other pay for their long *peeping* among the *boilers*, but only such as caused them to think upon returning to their captain with the bad news of their total disappointment. Nevertheless, as they were upon the return, one of the men looking over the side of the periaga, into the calm water, he spied a *sea feather*, growing, as he judged, out of a rock; whereupon they bad one of their Indians to dive, and fetch this feather, that they might, however, carry home *something* with them, and make, at least, as fair a triumph as Caligula's. The diver bringing up the feather, brought therewithal a surprizing story, that he perceived a number of great guns in the *watery world* where he had found his feather; the *report* of which *great guns* exceedingly astonished the whole company; and at once turned their despondencies for their ill success into *assurances* that they had now lit upon the *true spot* of ground which they had been looking for; and they were further confirmed in these assurances, when, upon further diving, the

Indian fetcht up a *sow*, as they stiled it, or a lump of silver worth perhaps two or three hundred pounds. Upon this they prudently *buoyed* the place, that they might readily find it again; and they went back unto their captain, whom for some while they distressed with nothing but such *bad news* as they formerly thought they must have carried him: nevertheless, they so slipt in the sow of silver on one side under the table, where they were now sitting with the captain, and hearing him express his resolutions to wait still patiently upon the providence of God under these disappointments, that when he should look on one side, he might see that *odd thing* before him. At last he *saw* it; seeing it, he cried out with some agony, "Why! what is this? whence comes this?" And then, with changed countenances, they told him *how* and where they got it. "Then," said he, "thanks be to God! we are made;" and so away they went, all hands to work; wherein they had this one further piece of remarkable prosperity, that whereas if they had first fallen upon that part of the Spanish wreck where the pieces of eight had been stowed in bags among the ballast, they had seen a more laborious, and less enriching time of it: now, most happily, they first fell upon that room in the wreck where the bullion had been stored up; and they so prospered in this *new fishery*, that in a little while they had, without the loss of any man's life, brought up *thirty-two tuns* of silver; for it was now come to measuring of silver by *tuns*. Besides which, one Adderly, of Providence, who had formerly been very helpful to Captain Phips in the search of this wreck, did, upon former agreement, meet him now with a little vessel here; and *he*, with his few hands, took up about *six tuns* of silver; whereof, nevertheless, he made so little use, that in a year or two he died at Bermudas, and, as I have heard, he ran *distracted* some while before he died. Thus did there once again come into the light of the sun a treasure which had been half an hundred years *groaning under the waters:* and in this time there was grown upon the plate a crust like limestone, to the thickness of several inches; which crust being broken open by iron contrived for that purpose, they knocked out whole bushels of rusty pieces of eight which were grown thereinto. Besides that incredible treasure of plate in various forms, thus fetched up, from seven or eight fathom under water, there were vast riches of *gold*, and *pearls* and *jewels*, which they also lit upon; and, indeed, for a more comprehensive *invoice*, I must but summarily say, "All that a Spanish frigot uses to be enriched withal." Thus did they continue *fishing* till their provisions failing them, 'twas time to be gone; but before they went, Captain Phips caused Adderly and his folk to swear, that they would none of them discover the place of the wreck, or come to the place any more till the next year, when he expected again to be there himself. And it was also remarkable, that though the sows came up still so fast, that on the very last day of their being there they took up twenty, yet it was afterwards found, that they had in a manner wholly cleared that room of the ship where those *massy things* were stowed.

But there was one extraordinary distress which Captain Phips now found himself plunged into: for his men were come out with him upon seamen's wages, at so much *per* month; and when they saw such vast litters of silver *sows* and *pigs*, as they called them, come on board them at the captain's call, they knew not how to bear it, that they should not *share* all among themselves, and be gone to lead "a short life and a merry," in a climate where the arrest of those that had hired them should not reach them. In this terrible distress he made his vows unto Almighty God, that if the Lord would carry him safe home to England with what *he* had now given him, "to suck of the abundance of the seas, and of the treasures hid in the sands," he would for ever devote himself unto the interests of the Lord Jesus Christ and of his people, especially in the country which he did himself originally belong unto. And he then used all the obliging arts imaginable to make his men true unto him, especially by assuring them that, besides their wages, they should have ample *requitals* made unto them; which if the rest of his employers would not agree unto, he would himself distribute his *own share* among them. Relying upon the word of one whom they had ever found worthy of their *love*, and of their *trust*, they declared themselves *content;* but still keeping a most careful eye upon them, he hastened back for England with as much *money* as he thought he could then safely *trust* his vessel withal; not counting it safe to supply himself with necessary provisions at any nearer port, and so return unto the wreck, by which delays he wisely feared lest all might be lost, more ways than one. Though he also left so much behind him, that many from divers parts made very considerable voyages of *gleanings* after his *harvest;* which came to pass by certain Bermudians compelling of Adderly's boy, whom they *spirited* away with them, to tell them the exact place where the wreck was to be found. Captain Phips now coming up to London in the year 1687, with near *three hundred thousand pounds sterling* aboard him, did acquit himself with such an exemplary honesty, that partly by his fulfilling his assurances to the seamen, and partly by his exact and punctual care to have his employers defrauded of nothing that might conscientiously belong unto them, he had less than *sixteen thousand pounds* left unto himself; as an acknowledgment of which *honesty* in him, the Duke of Albemarle made unto his wife, whom he never saw, a present of a golden cup, near a thousand pound in value. The character of an *honest man* he had so merited in the whole course of his life, and especially in this last act of it, that this, in conjunction with his other serviceable qualities, procured him the favours of the greatest persons in the nation; and "he that had been so diligent in his business, must now stand before Kings, and not stand before mean men." There were indeed certain mean men—if base, little, dirty tricks, will entitle men to meanness—who urged the King to seize his whole cargo, instead of the tenths, upon his first arrival; on this pretence, that he had not been rightly informed of the *true state of the case* when he granted

the patent, under the protection whereof these particular men had made themselves masters of all this mighty treasure; but the King replied, that he had been rightly informed by Captain Phips of the whole matter, as it now proved; and that it was the slanders of one then present which had, unto his damage, hindred him from hearkning to the information; wherefore he would give them, he said, no disturbance; they might keep what they had had got; but Captain Phips, he saw, was a person of that honesty, fidelity and ability, that he should not want his countenance. Accordingly the King, in consideration of the service done by him, in bringing such a treasure into the nation, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood; and if we now reckon him *a knight of the golden fleece*, the stile might pretend unto some circumstances that would justifie it. Or call him, if you please, "the knight of honesty;" for it was *honesty* with *industry* that raised him; and he became a mighty river, without the running in of muddy water to make him so. Reader, now make a pause, and behold *one raised by God!*

§ 7. I am willing to employ the testimonies of others, as much as may be, to support the credit of my history: and therefore, as I have hitherto related no more than what there are others enough to avouch; thus I shall chuse the words of an ingenious person, printed at London some years ago, to express the sum of what remains, whose words are these:

"It has always been Sir William Phips' disposition to seek the *wealth* of his people with as great zeal and unweariedness, as our publicans use to seek their *loss* and *ruin*. At first it seems they were in hopes to gain this gentleman to their party, as thinking him good-natured, and easie to be flattered out of his understanding; and the more, because they had the advantage of some no very good treatment, that Sir William had formerly met with from the people and government of New-England. But Sir William soon shewed them that what they expected would be his temptation to lead them into their little tricks, he embraced as a glorious opportunity to shew his *generosity* and *greatness of mind;* for in imitation of the greatest worthies that have ever been, he rather chose to join in the defence of his country, with some persons who formerly were none of his friends, than become the head of a *faction*, to its ruin and desolation. It seems this noble disposition of Sir William, joined with that capaclty and good success wherewith he hath been attended, in raising himself by such an occasion as it may be, all things considered, has *never happened to any before him*, makes these men apprehensive;—and it must needs heighten their trouble to see that he neither hath, nor doth spare himself, nor any thing that is near and dear unto him, in promoting the good of his native country."

When Sir William Phips was, *per ardua et aspera*,* thus raised into an *higher orb*, it might easily be thought that he could not be without charming temptations to take the way on the left hand. But as the grace of God kept him, in the midst of none of the strictest company, unto which his affairs daily led him, from abandoning himself to the lewd vices of gaming, drinking, swearing, and whoring, which the men "that made England to sin" debauched so many of the gentry into, and he deserved the salutations of the Roman poet:

* Along steep and rugged paths.

Cum Tu, inter scabiem tantam et Contagia Lucri,
*Nil parvum sapias, et adhuc Sublimia cures.**

Thus he was worthy to pass among the instances of heroick vertue for that humility that still adorned him: he was *raised*, and though he prudently accommodated himself to the *quality* whereto he was now raised, yet none could perceive him to be *lifted up*. Or, if this were not *heroick*, yet I will relate one thing more of him that must certainly be accounted so. He had, in his own country of New-England, met with *provocations* that were enough to have alienated any man living, that had no more than flesh and blood in him, from the service of it; and some that were enemies to that country now lay hard at him to join with them in their endeavours to ravish away their ancient liberties. But this gentleman had studied another way to *revenge* himself upon his country, and that was to serve it, in all *its* interests, with all of *his*, even with his *estate*, his *time*, his *care*, his *friends*, and his very *life!* The old heathen vertue of PIETAS IN PATRIAM, or, Love to one's country, he turned into Christian; and so notably exemplified it, in all the rest of his life, that it will be an essential thread which is to be now interwoven into all that remains of his *history* and his *character*. Accordingly, though he had the offers of a very gainful place among the commissioners of the navy, with many other invitations to settle himself in England, nothing but a return to New-England would content him. And whereas the charters of New-England being taken away, there was a governour imposed upon the territories with as *arbitrary* and as *treasonable* a commission, perhaps, as ever was heard of—a commission, by which the governour, with three or four more, none of whom were chosen by the people, had power to make what laws they would, and levy taxes, according to their own humours, upon the people—and he himself had power to send the best men in the land more than ten thousand miles out of it, as he pleased; and in the execution of his power, the country was every day suffering intollerable *invasions* upon their *proprieties*, yea, and the lives of the best men in the territory began to be practised upon: Sir William Phips applied himself to consider what was the most significant thing that could be done by him for that poor people in their present circumstances. Indeed, when King James offered, as he did, unto Sir William Phips an opportunity to ask what he pleased of him, Sir William generously prayed for nothing but *this*, "That New-England might have its lost priviledges restored." The King then replied, "Any thing but that!" Whereupon he set himself to consider what was the *next thing* that he might ask for the service, not of himself, but of his country. The result of his consideration was, that by petition to the King, he obtained, with expence of some hundreds of guineas, a Patent, which constituted him *the high-sheriff of that country;*

* That spreading leprosy, the Lust of Gain,
Thy nobler spirit dares not to pollute;
But wiser wishes in thy heart remain,
And dignify thy life's sublime pursuit.—HOR.

hoping, by his deputies in that office, to supply the country still with consciencious juries, which was the only method that the New-Englanders had left them to secure any thing that was dear unto them. Furnished with this patent, after he had, in company with Sir John Narborough, made a second visit unto the *wreck*, (not so advantageous as the former, for a reason already mentioned,) in his way he returned unto New-England in the summer of the year 1688, able, after five years' absence, to entertain his lady with some accomplishment of his predictions; and then built himself a "fair brick house" in the very *place* which we foretold, the reader can tell how many sections ago. But the infamous government then rampant there, found a way wholly to put by the execution of his *patent;* yea, he was like to have had his *person* assassinated in the face of the sun, before his own door, which, with some further designs then in his mind, caused him within a few weeks to take another voyage for England.

§ 8. It would require a long summer's day to relate the miseries which were come, and coming in upon poor New-England, by reason of the arbitrary government then imposed on them; a government wherein, as old Wendover says of the time, when strangers were domineering over subjects in England, *Judicia committebantur Injustis, Leges Exlegibus, Pax Discordantibus, Justitia Injuriosis;** and *foxes* were made the administrators of justice to the *poultrey;* yet some *abridgment* of them is necessary for the better understanding of the matters yet before us. Now, to make this abridgment impartial, I shall only have recourse unto a little book, printed at London, under the title of "*The Revolution of New-England Justified;*" wherein we have a "narrative of the grievances" under the maleadministrations of that government, written and signed by the chief gentlemen of the governour's council; together with the sworn testimonies of many good men, to prove the several articles of the *declaration*, which the New-Englanders published against their oppressors. It is in that book demonstrated:

"That the governour, neglecting the greater number of his council, did adhere principally to the advice of a few strangers, who were persons without any interest in the country, but of declared prejudice against it, and had plainly laid their designs to make an unreasonable *profit* of the poor people: and four or five persons had the absolute rule over a territory, the most considerable of any belonging to the crown.

That when laws were proposed in the council, though the major part at any time dissented from them, yet, if the governour were positive, there was no fair counting the number of counsellors consenting, or dissenting, but the laws were immediately engrossed, published and executed.

That this Junto made a law, which prohibited the inhabitants of any town to meet about their town affairs above *once* in a year; for fear, you must note, of their having any opportunity to complain of grievances.

That they made another law, requiring all masters of vessels, even shallops and wood-boats, to give *security* that no man should be transported in them, except his name had been

* Rights were entrusted to invaders of right—laws to the lawless—peace to peace-breakers—and justice to the unjust.

so many days posted up: whereby the pockets of a few *leeches* had been filled with *fees*, but the whole trade of the country destroyed; and all attempts to obtain a redress of these things obstructed; and when this act had been strenuously opposed in council at Boston, they carried it as far as New-York, where a crew of them enacted it.

That without any assembly, they levied on the people a penny in the pound of all their estates, and twenty-pence per head as poll-money, with a penny in the pound for goods imported, besides a vast excise on wine, rum, and other liquors.

That when among the inhabitants of Ipswich, some of the principal persons modestly gave reasons why they could not chuse a commissioner to tax the town, until the King should first be petitioned for the liberty of an assembly, they were committed unto gaol for it, as an "high misdemeanor," and were denied an *habeas corpus*, and were dragged many miles out of their own county to answer it at a court in Boston; where jurors were pickt for the turn, that were not freeholders—nay, that were meer sojourners; and when the prisoners pleaded the priviledges of Englishmen, "That they should not be taxed without their own consent;" they were told, "That those things would not follow them to the ends of the earth;" as it had been before told them in open council, no one in the council contradicting it, "You have no more priviledges left you but this, that you are not bought and sold for slaves:" and, in fine, they were all fined severely, and laid under great bonds for their good behaviour; besides all which, the hungry officers extorted fees from them that amounted unto an hundred and threescore pounds; whereas in England, upon the like prosecution, the fees would not have been ten pounds in all. After which fashion the townsmen of many other places were also served.

That these men, giving out that the charters being lost, all the title that the people had unto their lands was lost with them; they began to *compel* the people every where to take *patents* for their lands: and accordingly *writs of intrusion* were issued out against the chief gentlemen in the territory, by the terror whereof, many were actually driven to petition for patents, that they might quietly enjoy the lands that had been fifty or sixty years in their possession; but for these patents there were such exorbitant prices demanded, that fifty pounds could not purchase for its owner an estate worth two hundred, nor could all the money and moveables in the territory have defrayed the charges of patenting the lands at the hands of these crocodiles; besides the considerable quit-rents for the King. Yea, the governour caused the lands of particular persons to be measured out, and given to his creatures: and some of his council petitioned for the commons belonging to several towns; and the agents of the towns going to get a *voluntary subscription* of the inhabitants to maintain their title at law, they have been dragged forty or fifty miles to answer as criminals at the next assizes; the officers in the mean time extorting three pounds *per* man for fetching them.

That if these harpies, at any time, were a little out of money, they found ways to imprison the best men in the country; and there appeared not the least information of any crime exhibited against them, yet they were put unto intolerable expences by these greedy oppressors, and the benefit of an *habeas corpus* not allowed unto them.

That packt and pickt juries were commonly made use of when, under a pretended *form of law*, the trouble of some honest and worthy men was aimed at; and these also were hurried out of their own counties to be tried, when juries for the turn were not like to be found there. The greatest rigour being used still towards the soberest sort of people, whilst in the mean time the most horrid enormities in the world, committed by others, were overlooked.

That the publick ministry of the gospel, and all *schools of learning* were discountenanced unto the utmost."

And several more such abominable things, too notorious to be denied, even by a Randolphian impudence it self, are in that book proved against that unhappy government. Nor did that most ancient set of the Phœni-

cian shepherds, who scrued the government of Egypt into their hands, as old Manethon tells us, by their *villanies*, during the reigns of those tyrants, make a shepherd more of an abomination to the Egyptians in all after ages, than these *wolves* under the name of *shepherds* have made the remembrance of their French government an abomination to all posterity among the New-Englanders: a government, for which, now, reader, as fast as thou wilt, get ready this epitaph:

*Nulla quæsita Scelere Potentia diuturna.**

It was under the resentments of these things that Sir William Phips returned into England in the year 1688, in which *twice wonderful-year* such a *revolution* was wonderfully accomplished upon the whole government of the English nation, that New-England, which had been a *specimen* of what the whole nation was to look for, might justly hope for a share in the general deliverance. Upon this occasion Sir William offered his best assistances unto that eminent person who a little before this revolution betook himself unto White-Hall, that he might there lay hold on all opportunities to procure some relief unto the oppressions of that afflicted country. But seeing the New-English affairs in so able an hand, he thought the best stage of *action* for him would now be New-England it self; and so with certain instructions from none of the least considerable persons at White-Hall, what service to do for his country, in the spring of the year 1689 he hastened back unto it. Before he left London, a messenger from the abdicated king tendered him the government of New-England, if he would accept it; but as that excellent attorney general, Sir William Jones, when it was proposed that the plantations might be governed without *assemblies*, told the King "that he could no more grant a commission to levy money on his subjects there, without their consent by an assembly, than they could discharge themselves from their allegiance to the English crown;" so Sir William Phips thought it his duty to refuse a *government without an assembly*, as a thing that was treason in the very essence of it; and instead of petitioning the succeeding princes, that his patent for high sheriff might be rendered effectual, he joined in petitions, that New-England might have its own old patent so restored, as to render ineffectual *that*, and all other grants that might cut short any of its ancient priviledges. But when Sir William arrived at New-England, he found a new face of things; for about an hundred Indians in the *eastern parts* of the country, had unaccountably begun a war upon the English in July, 1688, and though the governour then in the *western parts* had immediate advice of it, yet he not only delayed and neglected all that was necessary for the publick defence, but also when he at last returned, he manifested a most furious displeasure against those of the council, and all others that had forwarded any one thing for the security of the inhabit-

* Power achieved by wicked successes, can never be lasting.

ants; while at the same time he dispatched some of his creatures upon secret errands unto Canada, and set at liberty some of the most murderous Indians which the English had seized upon.

This conduct of the governour, which is in a *printed* remonstrance of some of the best gentlemen in the Council complained of, did extreamly dissatisfie the *suspicious* people; who were doubtless more extream in some of their suspicions, than there was any *real occasion* for: but the governour at length raised an army of a thousand English to conquer this hundred Indians; and this army, whereof some of the chief commanders were Papists, underwent the fatigues of a long and a cold winter, in the most Caucasæan regions of the territory, till, without the killing of one Indian, there were more of the poor people killed than they had enemies there alive! This added not a little to the dissatisfaction of the people, and it would much more have done so, if they had seen what the world had not *yet* seen of the *suggestions* made by the Irish Catholicks unto the late King, published in the year 1691, in the "Account of the state of the Protestants in Ireland, licensed by the Earl of Nottingham," whereof one article runs in these express terms, "That if any of the *Irish* cannot have their lands in specie, but money in lieu, some of them may transport themselves into America, possibly near New-England, to check the growing *Independants* that country:" or if they had seen what was afterwards seen in a letter from K. James to his *Holiness* (as they stile his *foolishness*) the Pope of Rome; that it was his full purpose to have set up Roman-Catholick religion in the English plantations of America: though, after all, there is cause to think that there was more made of the *suspicions* then flying like wild-fire about the country, than a strong *charity* would have countenanced. When the people were under these *frights*, they had got by the edges a little intimation of the then Prince of Orange's glorious undertaking to deliver England from the *feared* evils, which were already *felt* by New-England; but when the person who brought over a copy of the Prince's *declaration* was imprisoned for bringing into the country a *treasonable paper*, and the governour, by his proclamation, required all persons to use their *utmost endeavours* to hinder the *landing* of any whom the Prince might send thither, *this* put them almost out of patience. And one thing that plunged the more considerate persons in the territory into uneasie thoughts, was the *faulty action* of some soldiers, who upon the common suspicions, deserted their stations in the army, and caused their friends to gather together here and there in little bodies, to protect from the demands of the governour their poor children and brethren, whom they thought bound for a *bloody sacrifice;* and there were also belonging to the Rose-frigot some that buzzed surprising stories about Boston, of many mischiefs to be thence expected. Wherefore, some of the principal gentlemen in Boston, consulting what was to be done in this extraordinary juncture, they all agreed they would, if it were possible, extinguish all essays in the people towards an *insurrec-*

tion, in daily hopes of orders from England for their safety: but that if the country people, by any violent motions, pushed the matter on so far as to make a *revolution* unavoidable, then, to prevent the shedding of blood by an ungoverned *mobile*, some of the gentlemen present should appear at the head of the *action* with a *declaration* accordingly prepared. By the eighteenth of April, 1689, things were pushed on so far by the people, that certain persons first seized the captain of the frigot, and the rumor thereof running like lightning through Boston, the whole town was immediately in arms, with the most *unanimous resolution* perhaps that ever was known to have inspired any people. They then seized those wretched men, who by their innumerable *extortions* and *abuses* had made themselves the objects of universal hatred; not giving over till the governour himself was become their prisoner; the whole action being managed without the least bloodshed or plunder, and with as much *order* as ever attended any *tumult*, it may be, in the world. Thus did the New-Englanders assert their title to the common rights of Englishmen; and except the plantations are willing to degenerate from the temper of true Englishmen, or except the revolution of the whole English nation be condemned, their *action* must so far be justified. On their late oppressors, now under just confinement, they took no other satisfaction, but sent them over unto White-Hall for the justice of the King and Parliament. And when the day for the anniversary election, by their vacated charter, drew near, they had many debates into what form they should cast the government, which was till then administred by a "committee for the conservation of the peace," composed of gentlemen whose *hap* it was to appear in the head of the late *action;* but their debates issued in this conclusion: that the governour and magistrates, which were in power before the late *usurpation*, should resume their places, and apply themselves unto the "conservation of the peace," and put forth what "acts of government" the emergencies might make needful for them, and thus to wait for further directions from the authority of England. So was there accomplished a *revolution* which delivered New-England from grievous oppressions, and which was most graciously accepted by the King and Queen, when it was reported unto their Majesties. But there were new matters for Sir William Phips, in a little while, now to think upon.

§ 9. Behold the great things which were done by the sovereign God, for a person once as little in his *own eyes* as in *other men's*. All the returns which he had hitherto made unto the God of his mercies, were but preliminaries to what remain to be related. It has been the custom, in the churches of New-England, still to expect from such persons as they admitted unto constant communion with them, that they do not only publickly and solemnly *declare* their *consent* unto the "Covenant of grace," and particularly to those duties of it, wherein a *particular church-state* is more immediately concerned, but also first relate unto the pastors, and by them unto the brethren, the special impressions which the grace of God has made

upon their souls in bringing them to this consent. By this *custom* and *caution*, though they cannot keep *hypocrites* from their sacred fellowship, yet they go as far as they can to render and preserve themselves "churches of saints," and they do further very much edifie one another. When Sir William Phips was now returned unto his *own house*, he began to bethink himself, like David, concerning the *house* of the *God* who had surrounded him with so many favours in *his own;* and accordingly he applied himself unto the North Church in Boston, that with his open profession of his hearty subjection to the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, he might have the ordinances and priviledges of the gospel added unto his other enjoyments. One thing that quickned his resolution to do what might be in this matter expected from him, was a passage which he heard from a minister preaching on the title of the fifty-first Psalm:

"To make a publick and an open profession of repentance, is a thing not misbecoming the greatest man alive. It is an honour to be found among the repenting people of God, though they be in circumstances never so full of suffering. A famous Knight going with other Christians to be crowned with martyrdom, observed that his fellow-sufferers were in chains, from which the sacrificers had, because of his quality, excused him; whereupon he demanded, that he might wear chains as well as they. 'For,' said he, 'I would be a Knight of that order to.' There is among ourselves a repenting people of God, who by their confessions at their admissions to his table, do signalize their being so; and thanks be to God that we have so little of suffering in our circumstances. But if any man count himself grown too big to be a Knight of that order, the Lord Jesus Christ himself will one day be ashamed of that man!"

Upon this excitation, Sir William Phips made his address unto a Congregational-church, and he had therein one thing to propound unto himself, which few persons of his age, so well satisfied in infant-baptism as he was, have then to ask for. Indeed, in the primitive times, although the *lawfulness* of infant-baptism, or the precept and pattern of Scripture for it, was never so much as once made a question, yet we find baptism was frequently delayed by persons upon several superstitious and unreasonable accounts, against which we have such fathers as Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, Basyl, Chrysostom, Ambrose, and others, employing a variety of argument. But Sir William Phips had hitherto delayed his baptism, because the years of his childhood were spent where there was no settled minister, and therefore he was now not only willing to attain a good satisfaction of his own internal and practical *Christianity*, before his receiving that *mark* thereof, but he was also willing to receive it among those Christians that seemed most sensible of the *bonds* which it laid them under. Offering himself therefore, first unto the *baptism*, and then unto the *supper* of the Lord, he presented unto the pastor of the church, with his own hand-writing, the following instrument; which, because of the exemplary devotion therein expressed, and the remarkable history which it gives of several occurrences in his life, I will here faithfully transcribe it, without adding so much as one word unto it

"The first of God's making me sensible of my sins, was in the year 1674, by hearing your father preach concerning, 'The day of trouble near.' It pleased Almighty God to smite me with a deep sence of my miserable condition, who had lived until then in the world, and had done nothing for God. I did then begin to think 'what I should do to be saved?' and did bewail my youthful days, which I had spent in *vain:* I did think that I would begin to mind the things of God. Being then sometime under your father's ministry, much troubled with my burden, but thinking on that scripture, 'Come unto me, you that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest;' I had some thoughts of drawing as near to the communion of the Lord Jesus as I could; but the ruins which the Indian wars brought on my affairs, and the entanglements which my following the sea laid upon me, hindred my pursuing the welfare of my own soul as I ought to have done. At length God was pleased to smile upon my outward concerns. The various *providences*, both merciful and afflictive, which attended me in my travels, were sanctified unto me, to make me acknowledge God in all my ways. I have divers times been in danger of my life, and I have been brought to see that I owe my life to him that has given a life so often to me: I thank God he hath brought me to see my self altogether unhappy without an interest in the Lord Jesus Christ, and to close heartily with him, desiring him to execute all his offices on my behalf. I have now, for some time, been under serious resolutions that I would avoid whatever I should know to be displeasing unto God, and that I would 'serve him all the days of my life.' I believe no man will repent the service of such a master. I find my self unable to keep such resolutions, but my serious prayers are to the Most High, that *he* would enable me. God hath done so much for me, that I am sensible I owe my self to him; 'to him would I give my self, and all that he has given to me.' I can't express his mercies to me. But as soon as ever God had smiled upon me with a turn of my affairs, I had laid my self under the vows of the Lord, 'That I would set my self to serve his people and churches here unto the utmost of my capacity.' I have had great offers made me in England; but the churches of New-England were those which my heart was most set upon. I knew that if God had a people any where, it was here: and I resolved to rise and fall with them; neglecting very great advantages for my worldly interest, that I might come and enjoy the ordinances of the Lord Jesus here. It has been my trouble that, since I came home, I have made no more haste to get into the house of God, where I desire to be: especially having heard so much about the *evil* of that omission. I can do little for God, but I desire to wait upon him in his ordinances, and to live to his honour and glory. My being born in a part of the country where I had not in my infancy enjoyed the first sacrament of the New-Testament, has been something of a stumbling-block unto me. But though I have had profers of baptism elsewhere made unto me, I resolved rather to defer it, until I might enjoy it in the communion of these churches; and I have had awful impressions from those words of the Lord Jesus in Matth. viii. 38, 'Whosoever shall be ashamed of me, and of my words, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed.' When God had blessed me with something of the world, I had no trouble so great as this, 'lest it should not be in mercy;' and I trembled at nothing more than being 'put off with a portion here.' That I may make sure of better things, I now offer my self unto the communion of this church of the Lord JESUS."

Accordingly on March 23, 1690, after he had in the congregation of North-Boston given himself up, "first unto the Lord, and then unto his people," he was baptized, and so received into the communion of the faithful there.

§ 10. Several times, about, before and after this time, did I hear him express himself unto this purpose:

"I have no need at all to look after any further advantages for my self in this world; I may sit still at home, if I will, and enjoy my ease for the rest of my life; but I believe that

I should offend God in my doing so: for I am now in the prime of my age and strength, and, I thank God, I can undergo hardship: he only knows how long I have to live; but I think 'tis my duty to venture my life in doing of good, before an useless old age comes upon me: wherefore I will now expose my self, while I am able, and as far as I am able, for the service of my country: I was born for others, as well as my self."

I say, many a time have I heard him so express himself; and agreeable to this generous disposition and resolution was all the rest of his life. About this time New-England was miserably *briared* in the perplexities of an Indian war; and the salvages, in the *east* part of the country, issuing out from their inaccessible swamps, had for many months made their cruel depredations upon the poor English planters, and surprized many of the plantations on the frontiers into ruin. The New-Englanders found that while they continued only on the *defensive* part, their people were thinned, and their treasures wasted, without any hopes of seeing a period put unto the Indian tragedies: nor could an army greater than Xerxes' have easily come at the seemingly contemptible handful of *tawnies* which made all this disturbance; or Tamerlain, the greatest conqueror that ever the world saw, have made it a business of no trouble to have conquered them: they found that they were like to make no weapons reach their enswamped adversaries, except Mr. Milton could have shown them how

> To have pluckt up the hills with all their load—
> Rocks, waters, woods—and by their shaggy tops,
> Up-lifting, bore them in their hands, therewith
> The rebel host to 've over-whelm'd.——

So it was thought that the English subjects, in these regions of America, might very properly take this occasion to make an attempt upon the French, and by reducing them under the English government, put an eternal period at once unto all their troubles from the Frenchified pagans. This was a motion urged by Sir William Phips unto the General Court of the Massachuset-colony; and he then made unto the court a brave *offer* of his own person and estate, for the service of the publick in their present extremity, as far as they should see cause to make use thereof. Whereupon they made a first essay against the French, by sending a naval force, with about seven hundred men, under the conduct of Sir William Phips, against L'Acady and Nova Scotia; of which action we shall give only this general and summary account: that Sir William Phips set sail from Nantascot, April 28, 1690, arriving at Port Royal, May 11, and had the fort quickly surrendered into his hands by the French enemy, who despaired of holding out against him. He then took possession of that province for the English Crown, and having demolished the fort, and sent away the garrison, administred unto the planters an oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, he left what order he thought convenient for the government of the place, until further order should be taken by the governour and council of the Massachuset-colony, unto whom he

returned May 30, with an acceptable account of his expedition, and accepted a place among the magistrates of that colony, to which the freemen had chosen him at their anniversary election two days before.

Thus the country, once given by King James the First unto Sir William Alexander, was now by another Sir William recovered out of the hands of the French, who had afterwards got the possession of it; and there was added unto the English empire a territory, whereof no man can read Monsieur Denys' "*Description Geographique et Historique des Costes de l' Amerique Septentrionale,*"* but he must reckon the conquest of a region so improvable, for lumber, for fishing, for mines, and for furrs, a very considerable service. But if a smaller service has, e'er now, ever merited a knighthood, Sir William was willing to repeat his merits by actions of the greatest service possible:

Nil Actum credens, si quid supereſſet agendum.†

§ 11. The addition of this French colony to the English dominion, was no more than a *little step* towards a *greater action*, which was first in the design of Sir William Phips, and which was, indeed, the greatest action that ever the New-Englanders attempted. There was a time when the Philistines had made some inroads and assaults from the northward upon the skirts of Goshen, where the Israelites had a residence, before their coming out of Egypt. The Israelites, and especially that active colony of the Ephraimites, were willing to revenge these injuries upon their wicked neighbours; they presumed themselves powerful and numerous enough to encounter the Canaanites, even in their own country; and they formed a brisk expedition, but came off unhappy losers in it; the Jewish Rabbins tell us, they lost no less than eight thousand men. The *time* was not yet come; there was more *haste* than good *speed* in the attempt; they were not enough concerned for the counsel and presence of God in the undertaking; they mainly propounded the *plunder* to be got among a people whose trade was that wherewith beasts enriched them; so the business miscarried. This history the Psalmist going to recite says, "I will utter dark sayings of old." Now, that what befel Sir William Phips, with his whole country of New-England, may not be almost forgotten among "the dark sayings of old," I will here give the true report of a very memorable matter.

It was Canada that was the chief source of New-England's miseries. *There* was the main strength of the French; *there* the Indians were mostly supplied with ammunition; *thence* issued parties of men, who, uniting with the salvages, barbarously murdered many innocent New-Englanders, without any provocation on the New-English part, except this, that New-England had proclaimed King William and Q. Mary, which they said

* "Geographical and Historical Description of the Sea-Coast of North America."
† Calling nothing done while any thing remained to be done.

were usurpers; and as Cato could make no speech in the senate without that conclusion, *Delenda est Carthago*,* so it was the general conclusion of all that argued sensibly about the safety of that country, "Canada must be reduced." It then became the concurring resolution of all New-England, with New-York, to make a vigorous attack upon Canada at once, both by sea and land.

And a fleet was accordingly fitted out from Boston, under the command of Sir William Phips, to fall upon Quebeque, the chief city of Canada. They waited until August for some stores of war from England, whither they had sent for that purpose early in the spring; but none at last arriving, and the season of the year being so far spent, Sir William could not, without many discouragements upon his mind, proceed in a voyage, for which he found himself so poorly provided. However, the ships being taken up, and the men on board, his usual courage would not permit him to desist from the enterprize; but he set sail from Hull near Boston, August 9, 1690, with a fleet of thirty-two ships and tenders; whereof one, called the Six Friends, carrying forty-four great guns, and two hundred men, was admiral. Sir William, dividing the fleet into several squadrons, whereof there was the Six Friends, Captain Gregory Sugars commander, with eleven more of the admiral's squadron, of which one was also a capital ship, namely, The John and Thomas, Captain Thomas Carter commander; of the vice-admirals, the Swan, Captain Thomas Gilbert commander, with nine more; of the rear-admirals, the America-Merchant, Captain Joseph Eldridge commander, with nine more, and above twenty hundred men on board the whole fleet; he so happily managed his charge, that they every one of them arrived safe at anchor before Quebeck, although they had as dangerous, and almost untrodden a *path*, to take *un-piloted*, for the whole voyage, as ever any voyage was undertaken with. Some small French prizes he took by the way, and set up English colours upon the coast, here and there, as he went along; and before the month of August was out, he had spent several days as far onward of his voyage as between the island of Antecosta and the Main. But when they entred the mighty river of Canada, such adverse winds encountred the fleet, that they were three weeks dispatching the way, which might otherwise have been gone in three days, and it was the fifth of October, when a fresh breeze coming up at east, carried them along by the north shore, up to the isle of Orleans; and then haling southerly they passed by the east end of that island, with the whole fleet approaching the city of Quebeck. This loss of time, which made it so late before the fleet could get into the country, where a cold and fierce winter was already very far advanced, gave no very *good* prospect of success to the expedition; but that which gave a much *worse*, was a most horrid *mismanagement*, which had, the mean while, happened in the west. For a thousand Eng-

* Carthage must be destroyed.

lish from New-York and Albany, and Connecticut, with fifteen hundred Indians, were to have gone over-land in the *west*, and fallen upon Mount-Royal, while the fleet was to visit Quebeck in the *east;* and no expedition could have been better laid than this, which was thus contrived. But those English companies in the west, marching as far as the great Lake that was to be passed, found their canoos not provided, according to expectation; and the Indians also were [*how?* God knows, and will one day judge!] dissuaded from joining with the English; and the army met with such discouragements, that they returned.

Had this *western army* done but so much as continued at the lake, the diversion thereby given to the French quartered at Mount-Royal, would have rendred the conquest of Quebeck easie and certain; but the governour of Canada being informed of the retreat made by the western-army, had opportunity, by the cross winds that kept back the fleet, unhappily to get the whole strength of all the country into the city before the fleet could come up unto it. However, none of these difficulties hindred Sir William Phips from sending on shoar the following summons, on Monday the sixth of October:

> *"Sir William Phips, Knight, General and Commander in Chief, in and over their Majesties' Forces of New-England, by Sea and Land, to Count Frontenac, Lieutenant-General and Governour for the French King at Canada; or, in his absence, to his Deputy, or him or them in chief command at Quebeck:*
>
> "The war between the crowns of England and France doth not only sufficiently *warrant*, but the destruction made by the French and Indians, under your command and encouragement, upon the persons and estates of their Majesties' subjects of New-England, without provocation on their part, hath put them under the *necessity* of this expedition, for their own security and satisfaction. And although the cruelties and barbarities used against them by the French and Indians might, upon the present opportunity, prompt unto a severe revenge, yet, being desirous to avoid all inhumane and unchristian-like actions, and to prevent shedding of blood as much as may be:
>
> "I, the aforesaid William Phips, Knight, do hereby, in the name and in the behalf of their most excellent Majesties Willaim and Mary, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, and by order of their said Majesties' government of the Massachuset-colony in New-England, demand a present surrender of your forts and castles, undemolished, and the King's and other stores, unimbezzled, with a seasonable delivery of all captives; together with a surrender of all your persons and estates to my dispose: upon the doing whereof you may expect mercy from me, as a Christian, according to what shall be found for their Majesties' service and the subjects' security. Which if you refuse forthwith to do, I am come provided, and am resolved, by the help of God, in whom I trust, by force of arms to revenge all wrongs and injuries offered, and bring you under subjection to the crown of England; and, when too late, make you wish you had accepted of the favour tendered.
>
> "Your answer positive in an hour, returned by your own trumpet, with the return of mine, is required, upon the peril that will ensue."

The summons being delivered unto Count Frontenac, his answer was:

> "That Sir William Phips and those with him were *hereticks* and *traitors* to their King, and had taken up with that *Usurper* the Prince of Orange, and had made a *revolution*, which, if it had not been made, New-England and the French had been *all one:* and that no other answer was to be expected from him but what should be from the mouth of his *cannon*."

General Phips now saw that it must cost him *dry blows*, and that he must roar his perswasions out of the mouths of *great guns*, to make himself master of a city which had certainly surrendered it self unto him, if he had arrived but a little sooner, and summoned it before the coming down of Count Frontenac with all his forces, to command the oppressed people there, who would have been, many of them, glader of coming under the English government. Wherefore on the seventh of October, the English, that were for the land service, went on board the lesser vessels, in order to land; among which there was a bark, wherein was Captain Ephraim Savage, with sixty men, that ran a-ground upon the north shoar, near two miles from Quebeck, and could not get off, but lay in the same distress that Scæva did, when the Britains poured in their numbers upon the bark wherein he, with a few more soldiers of Cæsar's army were, by the disadvantage of the tide, left ashoar: the French, with Indians, that saw them lye there, came near, and fired thick upon them, and were bravely answered; and when two or three hundred of the enemy at last planted a field-piece against the bark, while the wind blew so hard that no help could be sent unto his men, the general advanced so far as to level two or three great guns conveniently enough to make the assailants fly; and when the flood came, the bark happily got off, without the hurt of one man aboard. But so violent was the storm of wind all this day, that it was not possible for them to land until the eighth of October: when the English, counting every *hour* to be a *week* until they were come to battel, vigorously got ashoar, designing to enter the *east* end of the city. The small-pox had got into the fleet, by which distemper prevailing, the number of effective men which now went ashoar, under the command of Lieutenant General Walley, did not amount unto more than fourteen hundred; but four companies of these were drawn out as *forlorns*, whom, on every side, the enemy fired at; nevertheless,the English rushing with a shout at once upon them, caused them to run as fast as legs could carry them: so that the whole English army, expressing as much resolution as was in Cæsar's army, when they first landed on Britain, in spight of all opposition from the inhabitants, marched on until it was dark, having first killed many of the French, with the loss of but *four* men of their own; and frighted about seven or eight hundred more of the French from an ambuscado, where they lay ready to fall upon them. But some thought that by *staying in the valley*, they took the way *never to get over the hill:* and yet for them to stay where they were till the smaller vessels came up the river before them, so far as by their guns to secure the passage of the army in their *getting over*, was what the council of war had ordered. But the violence of the weather, with the general's being sooner plunged into the heat of action than was intended, hindred the smaller vessels from attending that order. And this evening a French deserter coming to them, assured them that nine hundred men were on their march from Quebeck to meet

them, already passed a little rivulet that lay at the end of the city, but seeing them land so suddenly, and so valiantly run down those that first encountered them, they had retreated: nevertheless, that Count Frontenac was come down to Quebeck with no fewer than *thirty hundred* men to defend the city, having left but *fifty* soldiers to defend Mount-Real, because they had understood, that the English army on that side were gone back to Albany. Notwithstanding this dis-spiriting information, the common soldiers did with much vehemency beg and pray that they might be led on; professing that they had rather lose their lives on the spot, than fail of taking the city; but the more wary commanders considered how rash a thing it would be for about fourteen hundred raw men, tired with a long voyage, to assault more than twice as many expert soldiers, who were *Galli in suo sterquilinio,* or "cocks growing on their own dunghil." They were, in truth, now gotten into the grievous case which Livy describes when he says, *Ibi grave est bellum gerere, ubi non consistendi aut procedendi locus, quocumque aspexeris Hostilia sunt omnia;** look on the one side or the other, all was full of *hostile difficulties.* And, indeed, whatever popular clamour has been made against any of the commanders, it is apparent that they acted considerately, in making a *pause* upon what was before them; and they did a greater kindness to their soldiers than they have since been thanked for. But in this time General Phips and his men of war, with their *canvas wings*, flew close up unto the west-end of the city, and there he behaved himself with the greatest bravery imaginable; nor did the other men of war forbear to follow his brave example; who never discovered himself more in his element than when, (as the poet expresseth it,)

> The slaughter-breathing brass grew hot, and spoke
> In flames of lightning, and in clouds of smoke.

He lay within pistol-shot of the enemies' cannon, and beat them from thence, and very much battered the town, having his own ship shot through in almost an hundred places with four-and-twenty pounders, and yet but one man was killed, and only two mortally wounded aboard him in this hot engagement, which continued the greatest part of that night and several hours of the day ensuing. But wondring that he saw no *signal* of any effective action ashore at the east-end of the city, he sent that he might know the condition of the army there; and received answer that several of the men were so frozen in their hands and feet as to be disabled from service, and others were apace falling sick of the small-pox. Whereupon he ordered them on board immediately to refresh themselves, and he intended then to have renewed his attack upon the city, in the method of landing his men in the face of it, under the shelter of his great guns; having to that purpose provided also a considerable number of well

* It becomes a grievous thing to prosecute a war, when there is no opportunity either to go forward or draw back; and when, wherever we look, we are confronted with signs of hostility.

shaped *wheel-barrows*, each of them carrying two *Petarraros* apiece, to march before the men, and make the enemy fly, with as much contempt as overwhelmed the Philistines, when undone by *foxes* with *torches* in their tails; (remembred in an anniversary diversion every April among the ancient Romans, taught by the Phenicians.)

While the measures to be further taken were debating, there was made an exchange of prisoners, the English having taken several of the French in divers actions, and the French having in their hands divers of the English, whom the Indians had brought captives unto them. The army now on board continued still resolute and courageous, and on fire for the conquest of Quebeck; or if they had missed of doing it by storm, they knew that they might, by possessing themselves of the isle of Orleans, in a little while have starved them out. Incredible damage they might indeed have done to the enemy before they embarked, but they were willing to preserve the more undefensible parts of the country in such a condition as might more sensibly encourage the submission of the inhabitants unto the Crown of England, whose protection was desired by so many of them. And still they were loth to play for any lesser game than the immediate surrender of Quebeck it self. But ere a full *council of war* could conclude the next steps to be taken, a violent *storm* arose that separated the fleet, and the snow and the cold became so extream, that they could not continue in those quarters any longer.

Thus, by an evident hand of Heaven, sending one unavoidable disaster after another, as well-formed an enterprize as perhaps was ever made by the New-Englanders, most happily miscarried; and General Phips underwent a very mortifying disappointment of a design which his mind was, as much as ever any, set upon. He arrived November 19, at Boston, where, although he found himself, as well as the publick, thrown into very *uneasie* circumstances, yet he had this to comfort him, that neither his courage nor his conduct could reasonably have been taxed; nor could it be said that any man could have done more than he did, under so many *embarassments of his business*, as he was to fight withal. He also relieved the uneasiness of his mind by considering that his voyage to Canada diverted from his country an *horrible tempest* from an army of *Boss-Lopers*, which had prepared themselves, as 'tis affirmed, that winter, to fall upon the New-English colonies, and, by falling on them, would probably have laid no little part of the country desolate. And he further considered that, in this matter, like Israel engaging against Benjamin, it may be, we saw yet but the *beginning* of the matter: and that the way to Canada now being learnt, the foundation of a victory over it might be laid in what had been already done. Unto this purpose likewise he was heard sometimes applying the remarkable story reported by Bradwardine:

"There was an hermit, who, being vexed with blasphemous injections about the justice and wisdom of Divine Providence, an angel in humane shape invited him to travel with

him, 'that he might see the hidden judgments of God.' Lodging all night at the house of a man who kindly entertained them, the angel took away a valuable cup from their host, at their going away in the morning, and bestowed this cup upon a very *wicked man*, with whom they lodged the night ensuing. The third night they were most lovingly treated at the house of a very godly man, from whom, when they went in the morning, the angel, meeting a servant of his, threw him over the bridge into the water, where he was drowned. And the fourth, being in like manner most courteously treated at the house of a very godly man, the angel before morning did unaccountably kill his only child. The companion of the journey being wonderfully offended at these things, would have left his guardian: but the angel then thus addressed him: 'Understand now the secret judgments of God! The first man that entertained us, did inordinately affect that *cup* which I took from him; 'twas for the advantage of his interiour that I took it away, and I gave it unto the impious man, as the present reward of his good works, which is all the reward he is like to have. As for our *third* host, the servant which I slew had formed a bloody design to have slain his master; but now, you see, I have saved the life of the master, and prevented something of growth unto the eternal punishment of the murderer. As for our *fourth* host, before his *child* was born unto him, he was a very liberal and bountiful person, and he did abundance of good with his estate; but when he saw he was like to leave such an heir, he grew covetous; wherefore the soul of the infant is translated into paradise, but the occasion of sin is, you see, mercifully taken away from the parent.'"

Thus General Phips, though he had been used unto *diving* in his time, would say, "That the things which had befallen him in this expedition, were too deep to be *dived* into!"

§ 12. From the time that General Pen made his attempt upon Hispaniola, with an army that, like the New-English forces against Canada, miscarried after an expectation of having little to do but to *possess* and *plunder;* even to this day, the general disaster which hath attended almost every attempt of the European colonies in America to make any considerable encroachments upon their neighbours, is a matter of some close reflection. But of the disaster which now befel poor New-England in particular, every one will easily conclude none of the least consequences to have been the *extream debts* which that country was now plunged into; there being *forty thousand* pounds, more or less, now to be paid, and not a penny in the treasury to pay it withal. In this extremity they presently found out an *expedient*, which may serve as an *example* for any people in other parts of the world, whose distresses may call for a sudden supply of money to carry them through any important expedition. The general assembly first passed an act for the levying of such a sum of money as was wanted, within such a term of time as was judged convenient; and this *act* was a *fund*, on which the *credit* of such a sum should be rendered *passable* among the people. Hereupon there was appointed an able and faithful committee of gentlemen, who printed, from copper-plates, a just number of *bills*, and flourished, indented, and contrived them in such a manner, as to make it impossible to counterfeit any of them, without a speedy discovery of the counterfeit: besides which, they were all signed by the hands of three belonging to that committee. These bills being of several sums, from two shillings to ten

pounds, did confess the Massachuset-colony to be endebted unto the person in whose hands they were, the sums therein expressed; and provision was made, that if any *particular bills* were irrecoverably lost, or torn, or worn by the owners, they might be recruited without any damage to the whole in general. The publick debts to the *sailors* and *soldiers*, now upon the point of *mutiny*, (for, *Arma Tenenti, Omnia dat, qui Justa negat!*)* were in these bills paid immediately: but that further *credit* might be given thereunto, it was ordered that they should be accepted by the treasurer, and all officers that were subordinate unto him, in all publick payments, at five per cent. more than the value expressed in them. The people knowing that the tax-act would, in the space of two years at least, fetch into the treasury as much as all the bills of credit thence emitted would amount unto, were willing to be furnished with bills, wherein it was their advantage to pay their taxes, rather than in any other specie; and so the sailors and soldiers put off their bills, instead of money, to those with whom they had any dealings, and they circulated through all the hands in the colony pretty comfortably. Had the government been so settled, that there had not been any doubt of any obstruction, or diversion to be given to the prosecution of the tax-act, by a total change of their affairs, then depending at White-Hall, 'tis very certain, that the bills of credit had been better than so much ready silver; yea, the invention had been of more use to the New-Englanders, than if all their copper mines had been opened, or the mountains of Peru had been removed into these parts of America. The Massachuset bills of credit had been like the bank bills of Venice, where, though there were not, perhaps, a ducat of money in the bank, yet the bills were esteemed more than twenty per cent. better than money, among the body of the people, in all their dealings. But many people being afraid that the government would in half a year be so overturned as to convert their bills of credit altogether into *waste paper*, the *credit* of them was thereby very much impaired; and they who first received them could make them yield little more than fourteen or sixteen shillings in the pound; from whence there arose those idle suspicions in the heads of many more ignorant and unthinking folks concerning the use thereof, which, to the incredible detriment of the province, are not wholly laid aside unto this day. However, this method of paying the publick debts did no less than save the publick from a perfect ruin: and ere many months were expired, the governour and council had the pleasure of seeing the treasurer burn before their eyes many a thousand pounds worth of the bills which had passed about until they were again returned unto the treasury; but before their being returned, had happily and honestly, without a farthing of silver coin, discharged the debts for which they were intended. But that which helped these bills unto much of their credit, was the generous offer of many worthy men in Boston to run the risque of selling their

* Those who refuse just indemnity when it is simply demanded, are ready to surrender every thing to armed force.

goods reasonably for them; and of these I think I may say that General Phips was in some sort the leader; who, at the very beginning, meerly to recommend the credit of the bills unto other persons, cheerfully laid down a considerable quantity of ready money for an equivalent parcel of them. And thus in a little time the country waded through the terrible debts which it was fallen into: in this, though unhappy enough, yet not so unhappy as in the *loss of men*, by which the country was at the same time consumed. 'Tis true, there was very little blood spilt in the attack made upon Quebeck, and there was a great hand of Heaven seen in it. The churches, upon the call of the government, not only observed a general *fast* through the Colony, for the welfare of the army sent unto Quebeck, but also kept the *wheel of prayer* in a continual motion, by repeated and successive agreements for days of prayer with fasting in their several vicinities. On these days the ferventest prayers were sent up to the *God of armies,* for the safety and success of the New-English army gone to Canada: and though I never understood that any of the faithful did in their prayers arise to any assurance that the expedition should *prosper in all respects*, yet they sometimes, in their devotions on these occasions, uttered their perswasion that Almighty God had heard them in *this* thing, "that the *English* army should not fall by the hands of the *French* enemy." Now they were marvellously delivered from doing *so;* though the enemy had such unexpected advantages over them; yea, and though the horrid *winter* was come on so far, that it is a wonder the English fleet, then riding in the river of Canada, fared any better than the army which a while since besieged Poland, wherein, of *seventy thousand* invaders, no less than *forty thousand* suddenly perished by the severity of the *cold*, albeit it were but the month of November with them. Nevertheless, a kind of *camp-fever*, as well as the small-pox, got into the fleet, whereby some hundreds came short of home. And besides this calamity, it was also to be lamented that although the most of the fleet arrived safe at New-England, whereof some vessels indeed were driven off by cross winds as far as the West-Indies before such arrival, yet there were three or four vessels which totally miscarried: *one* was never heard of, a *second* was wrecked, but most of the men were saved by another in company; a *third* was wrecked, so that all the men were either starved, or drowned, or slain by the Indians, except *one*, which a long while after was by means of the French restored; and a *fourth* met with accidents which, it may be, my reader will by and by pronounce not unworthy to have been related.

A brigantine, whereof Captain John Rainsford was commander, having about threescore men aboard, was in a very stormy night, October 28, 1690, stranded upon the desolate and hideous island of Antecosta, an island in the mouth of the mighty river of Canada; but through the singular mercy of God unto them, the vessel did not immediately stave to pieces, which, if it had happened, they must have one way or another

quickly perished. There they lay for divers days, under abundance of bitter weather, trying and hoping to get off their vessel; and they solemnly set apart one day for *prayer* with *fasting*, to obtain the smiles of Heaven upon them in the midst of their distresses; and this especially, that if they must go ashoar, they might not, by any stress of storm, lose the *provisions* which they were to carry with them. They were at last convinced that they must continue no longer on board, and therefore, by the seventh of November, they applied themselves, all hands, to get their provisions ashoar upon the dismal island, where they had nothing but a sad and cold winter before them; which being accomplished, their vessel *overset* so as to take away from them all expectation of getting off the island in it. Here they now built themselves nine small *chimneyless things* that they called *houses;* to this purpose employing such boards and planks as they could get from their shattered vessel, with the help of trees, whereof that squalid wilderness had enough to serve them; and they built a particular store-house, wherein they carefully lodged and locked the poor quantity of provisions, which, though scarce enough to serve a very abstemious company for *one month,* must now be so stinted as to hold out *six* or *seven;* and the allowance agreed among them could be no better than for one man, "two biskets, half a pound of pork, half a pound of flower, one pint and a quarter of pease, and two salt fishes per week." This little handful of men were now a sort of *commonwealth*, extraordinarily and miserably separated from all the rest of mankind; (but I believe they thought little enough of an Utopia:) wherefore they consulted, and concluded such laws among themselves as they judged necessary to their subsistence, in the doleful condition whereinto the providence of God had cast them; now

*—Penitus toto divisos Orbe,**

they set up *good orders*, as well as they could, among themselves; and besides their daily devotions, they observed the Lord's days with more solemn exercises of religion.

But it was not long before they began to feel the more mortal effects of the straits whereinto they had been reduced: their *short* commons, their drink of *snow-water*, their hard, and wet, and smoaky *lodgings*, and their grievous *despair of mind*, overwhelmed some of them at such a rate, and so *ham-stringed* them, that sooner than be at the pains to go abroad, and cut their own fuel, they would lye after a sottish manner in the cold; these things quickly brought *sicknesses* among them. The first of their number who died was their *doctor*, on the 20th of December; and then they dropt away, one after another, till between *thirty* and *forty* of the *sixty* were buried by their disconsolate friends, whereof every one looked still to be the next that should lay his bones in that forsaken region. These poor men did therefore, on Monday, the 27th of January, keep a

* Separated from the whole world.

sacred fast (as they did, in some sort, a *civil* one, every day, all this while) to beseech of Almighty God that his anger might be turned from them, that he would not go on to cut them off in his anger, that the extremity of the season might be mitigated, and that they might be prospered in some essay to get relief as the spring should advance upon them; and they took *notice* that God gave them a gracious answer to every one of these petitions.

But while the hand of God was killing so many of this little *nation* (and yet uncapable to become a *nation*, for it was *Res unius Ætatis, populus virorum!*)* they apprehended that they must have been under a most uncomfortable necessity to *kill* one of their company.

Whatever penalties they enacted for other crimes, there was one for which, like that of parricide among the antients, they would have promised themselves that there should not have been occasion for any *punishments;* and that was the crime of *stealing* from the common-stock of their provisions. Nevertheless they found their store-house divers times broken open, and their provisions therefrom stolen by divers unnatural *children* of the *Leviathan*, while it was not possible for them to preserve their feeble store-house from the *stone-wall-breaking* madness of these unreasonable creatures. This trade of stealing, if it had not been stopped by some *exemplary severity*, they must in a little while, by *lot* or *force*, have come to have *cannibally* devoured one another; for there was nothing to be done, either at fishing, or fowling, or hunting, upon that rueful island, in the depth of a frozen winter; and though they sent as far as they could upon discovery, they could not find on the island any *living thing* in the world besides themselves. Wherefore, though by an act they made stealing to be so criminal that several did run the gauntlet for it, yet they were not far from being driven, after all, to make one degree and instance of it *capital.* There was a wicked Irishman among them, who had such a *voracious devil* in him, that after divers burglaries upon the store-house, committed by him, at last he *stole*, and *eat* with such a *pamphagous fury*, as to cram himself with no less than *eighteen* biskets at one stolen meal, and he was fain to have his belly stroked and bathed before the fire, lest he should otherwise have burst. This amazing, and indeed murderous villany of the Irishman brought them all to their wit's ends how to defend themselves from the ruin therein threatened unto them; and whatever methods were proposed, it was feared that there could be no stop given to his *furacious* exorbitancies any way but *one;* he could not be past *stealing*, unless he were past *eating* too. Some think therefore they might have sentenced the wretch to die, and after they had been at pains, upon Christian and spiritual accounts, to prepare him for it, have executed the sentence by shooting him to death: concluding matters come to that pass, that if *they* had not shot him, he must have *starved* them unavoidably. Such an action, if it were done, will doubtless meet with no harder a censure, than that of the seven

* A commonwealth but a single century old—yet a nation of heroes.

Englishmen, who, being in a boat carried off to sea from St. Christophers, with but *one* day's provision aboard for seventeen, singled out some of their number by lot, and slew them, and ate them; for which, when they were afterwards accused of *murder*, the court, in consideration of the *inevitable necessity*, acquitted them. Truly the *inevitable necessity* of *starving*, without such an action, sufficiently grievous to them all, will very much plead for what was done (whatever it were!) by these poor *Antecostians*. And *starved* indeed they must have been for all this, if they had not contrived and performed a very desperate adventure, which now remains to be related. There was a very diminutive kind of boat belonging to their brigantine, which they recovered out of the wreck, and cutting this boat in two, they made a shift, with certain odd materials preserved among them, to lengthen it so far, that they could form a *little cuddy*, where two or three men might be stowed, and they set up a *little mast*, whereto they fastened a *little sail*, and accommodated it with some other *little circumstances*, according to their present poor capacity.

On the twenty-fifth of March, five of the company shipped themselves upon this doughty *fly-boat*, intending, if it were possible, to carry unto Boston the tidings of their woeful plight upon Antecosta, and by help from their friends there, to return with seasonable succours for the rest. They had not sailed long before they were hemmed in by prodigious cakes of ice, whereby their boat sometimes was horribly wounded, and it was a miracle that it was not crushed into a thousand pieces, if indeed a *thousand pieces* could have been splintered out of so minute a *cock-boat*. They kept labouring, and fearfully weather-beaten, among enormous rands of ice, which would ever now and then rub formidably upon them, and were enough to have broken the ribs of the strongest frigot that ever cut the seas; and yet the signal hand of Heaven so preserved this petty boat, that by the eleventh of April they had got a quarter of their way, and came to an anchor under Cape St. Lawrence, having seen land but *once* before, and that about seven leagues off, ever since their first setting out; and yet having seen the *open* and *ocean sea not so much as once* in all this while, for the ice that still encompassed them. For their support in this time, the little provisions they brought with them would not have kept them alive; only they killed *seale* upon the ice, and they melted the upper part of the ice for drink; but fierce, wild, ugly *sea-horses* would often so approach them upon the ice, that the fear of being devoured by them was not the least of their exercises. The day following, they weighed anchor betimes in the morning, but the norwest winds persecuted them, with the raised and raging waves of the sea, which almost continually poured into them; and monstrous islands of ice, that seemed almost as big as Antecosta it self, would ever now and then come athwart them. In such a sea they lived by the special assistance of God, until, by the thirteenth of April, they got into an island of land, where

they made a fire, and killed some fowl and some seale, and found some goose-eggs, and supplied themselves with what billets of wood were necessary and carriageable for them; and there they stayed until the seventeenth. Here their boat lying near a rock, a great sea hove it upon the rock, so that it was upon the very point of *oversetting*, which if it had, she had been utterly disabled for any further service, and they must have called that harbour by the name which, I think, one a little more northward bears, "the *Cape* without hope." There they must have ended their weary days! But here the good hand of God again interposed for them; they got her off; and though they lost their compass in this hurry, they sufficiently repaired another defective one they had aboard. Sailing from thence, by the twenty-fourth of April, they made Cape Brittoon; when a thick fog threw them into a new perplexity, until they were safely gotten into the Bay of Islands, where they again wooded, and watred, and killed a few fowl, and catched some fish, and began to reckon themselves as good as *half way home*. They reached Cape Sables by the third of May, but by the fifth all their provision was again spent, and they were out of sight of land; nor had they any prospect of catching any thing that lives in the Atlantick: which, while they were lamenting one unto another, a stout halibut comes up to the top of the water, by their side; whereupon they threw out the fishing-line, and the fish took the hook; but he proved so heavy, that it required the help of several hands to hale him in, and a thankful supper they made on it. By the seventh of May seeing no land, but having once more spent all their provision, they were again grown almost wholly hopeless of deliverance, but then a fishing shallop of Cape Ann came up with them, fifteen leagues to the eastward of that cape. And yet before they got in, they had so tempestuous a night, that they much feared perishing upon the rocks after all: but God carried them into Boston harbour the ninth of May, unto the great surprize of their friends that were in mourning for them: and there furnishing themselves with a vessel fit for their undertaking, they took a course in a few weeks more to fetch home their brethren that they left behind them at Antecosta.

But it is now time for us to return unto Sir William!

§ 13. All this while Canada was as much written upon Sir William's heart as CALLICE, they said once, was upon Queen Mary's. He needed not one to have been his daily monitor about Canada; it lay down with him, it rose up with him, it engrossed almost all his thoughts; he thought the subduing of Canada to be the greatest service that could be done for New-England, or for the crown of England, in America. In pursuance whereof, after he had been but a few weeks at home, he took another voyage for England, in the very depth of winter, when sailing was now dangerous; conflicting with all the difficulties of a tedious and terrible passage, in a very little vessel, which indeed was like enough to have perished, if it had not been for the help of his generous hand aboard, and *his fortunes in the bottom*.

Arriving—*per tot Discrimina**—at Bristol, he hastned up to London; and made his applications to their Majesties and the principal Ministers of State for assistance to renew an expedition against Canada, concluding his representation to the King with such words as these:

"If your Majesty shall graciously please to commission and assist me, I am ready to venture my life again in your service. And I doubt not, by the blessing of God, Canada may be added unto the rest of your dominions, which will (all circumstances considered) be of more advantage to the crown of England, than all the territories in the West Indies are.

"*The Reasons here subjoined, are humbly offered unto your Majesty's consideration:*

"*First*, The success of this design will greatly add to the glory and interest of the English crown and nation; by the addition of the Bever-trade, and securing the Hudson's bay company, some of whose factories have lately fallen into the hands of the French; and increase of English shipping and seamen, by gaining the fishery of Newfoundland; and by consequence diminish the number of French seamen, and cut off a great revenue from the French crown.

"*Secondly*, The cause of the English in New-England, their failing in the late attempt upon Canada, was their waiting for a supply of ammunition from England until August; their long passage up that river; the cold season coming on, and the small-pox and fevers being in the army and fleet, so that they could not stay fourteen days longer; in which time probably they might have taken Quebeck; yet, if a few frigots be speedily sent, they doubt not of an happy success; the strength of the French being small, and the planters desirous to be under the English government.

"*Thirdly*, The Jesuites endeavour to seduce the Maquas, and other Indians (as is by them affirmed), suggesting the greatness of King Lewis, and the inability of King William to do any thing against the French in those parts, thereby to engage them in their interests: in which, if they should succeed, not only New-England, but all our American plantations, would be endangered by the great increase of shipping, for the French (built in New-England at easie rates) to the infinite dishonour and prejudice of the English nation."

But now, for the success of these applications, I must entreat the patience of my reader to wait until we have gone thro' a little more of our history.

§ 14. The Reverend INCREASE MATHER beholding his country of New-England in a very deplorable condition, under a governour that acted by an illegal, arbitrary, treasonable commission, and invaded *liberty* and *property* after such a manner, as that no man could say anything was *his own*, he did, with the encouragement of the principal gentlemen in the country, but not without much trouble and hazard unto his own person, go over to Whitehall in the summer of the year 1688, and wait upon King James, with a full *representation* of their miseries. That King did give him liberty of *access* unto him, whenever he desired it, and with many *good words* promised him to relieve the oppressed people in many *instances* that were proposed: but when the *revolution* had brought the Prince and Princess of Orange to the throne, Mr. Mather having the honour divers times to wait upon the King, he still prayed for no less a favour to New-England, than the full restoration of their charter-priviledges: and Sir William Phips

* After so many varieties of fortune.

happening to be then in England, very generously joined with Mr. Mather in some of those addresses: whereto his Majesty's answers were always very expressive of his gracious inclinations. Mr. Mather, herein assisted also by the Right Worshipful Sir Henry Ashurst, a most hearty friend of all such good men as those that once filled New-England, solicited the leading men of both houses in the Convention-Parliament, until a bill for the restoring of the charters belonging to New-England, was fully passed by the Commons of England: but that Parliament being prorogued, and then dissolved, all that Sisyphæan labour came to nothing. The disappointments which afterwards most wonderfully blasted all the hopes of the petitioned restoration, obliged Mr. Mather, not without the concurrence of other agents, now also come from New-England, unto that method of petitioning the King for a *new* charter, that should contain more than all the priviledges of the *old;* and Sir William Phips, now being again returned into England, lent his utmost assistance hereunto.

The King taking a voyage for Holland before this petition was answered: Mr. Mather, in the meanwhile, not only waited upon the greatest part of the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, offering them a paper of "reasons for the confirmation of the charter-priviledges granted unto the Massachuset-colony;" but also having the honour to be introduced unto the Queen, he assured her Majesty that there were none in the world better affected unto their Majesties' government than the people of New-England, who had indeed been exposed unto great hardships for their being so; and entreated that, since the King had referred the New-English affair unto the two Lord Chief Justices, with the Attorney and Solicitor General, there might be granted unto us what they thought was reasonable. Whereto the Queen replied, that the request was reasonable: and that she had spoken divers times to the King on the behalf of New-England; and that for her own part, she desired that the people there might not meerly have justice, but *favour* done to them. When the King was returned, Mr. Mather, being by the Duke of Devonshire brought into the King's presence on April 28, 1691, humbly prayed his Majesty's favour to New-England; urging, that if their old charter-priviledges might be restored unto them, his *name* would be great in those parts of the world as long as the world should stand; adding,

"Sir: Your subjects there have been willing to venture their lives, that they may enlarge your dominions; the expedition to Canada was a great and noble undertaking.

"May it please your Majesty, in your great wisdom also to consider the circumstances of that people, as in your wisdom you have considered the circumstances of England and of Scotland. In New-England they differ from other plantations; they are called 'Congregational' and 'Presbyterian.' So that such a governor will not suit with the people of New-England as may be very proper for other English plantations."

Two days after this, the King, upon what was proposed by certain Lords, was very inquisitive, whether he might, without breach of law,

set a governour over New-England; whereto the Lord Chief Justice and some others of the council, answered, that whatever might be the merit of the cause, inasmuch as the charter of New-England stood vacated by a judgment against them, it was in the King's power to put them under what *form of government* he should think best for them.

The King then said, "That he believed it would be for the advantage of the people in that colony, to be under a governour appointed by himself: nevertheless, (because of what Mr. Mather had spoken to him,) he would have the agents of New-England nominate a person that should be agreeable unto the inclinations of the people there: and notwithstanding this he would have charter-priviledges restored and confirmed unto them."

The day following, the King began another voyage to Holland; and when the attorney general's draught of a charter, according to what he took to be his Majesty's mind, as expressed in council, was presented at the council-board, on the eighth of June, some objections then made, procured an order to prepare *minutes* for another draught, which deprived the New-Englanders of several *essential priviledges* in their other charter. Mr. Mather put in his objections, and vehemently protested, that he would sooner part with his *life* than consent unto those *minutes*, or anything else that should infringe any liberty or privilege of right belonging unto his country: but he was answered, that the agents of New-England were not *plenipotentiaries* from another sovereign state; and that if they would not submit unto the King's pleasure in the settlement of the country, they must "take what would follow."

The dissatisfactory *minutes* were, by Mr. Mather's industry, sent over unto the King in Flanders; and the ministers of state then with the King were earnestly applied unto, that every mistake about the good settlement of New-England might be prevented; and the Queen her self, with her own royal hand, wrote unto the king that the charter of New-England might either pass as it was drawn by the attorney general, or be deferred until his own return.

But after all, his Majesty's principal secretary of state received a signification of the King's pleasure that the charter of New-England should run in the main points of it as it was now granted: only there were several important articles which Mr. Mather by his unwearied solicitation obtained afterwards to be inserted.

There were some now of the opinion, that instead of submitting to this new settlement, they should, in hopes of getting a reversion of the judgment against the old charter, declare to the ministers of state that they had rather have no charter at all, than such an one as was now proposed unto acceptance. But Mr. Mather advising with many unprejudiced persons, and men of the greatest abilities in the kingdom, noblemen, gentlemen, divines and lawyers, they all agreed that it was not only a lawful, but, all circumstances then considered, a needful thing, and a part of duty

and wisdom to accept what was now offered, and that a peremptory refusal would not only bring an inconveniency, but a fatal and perhaps a final ruin upon the country; whereof mankind would lay the blame upon the agents.

It was argued, that such a submission was no surrender of any thing; that the judgment, not in the court of King's-bench, but in chancery against the old charter, standing on record, the patent was thereby annihilated; that all attempts to have the judgment against the old charter taken off, would be altogether in vain, as men and things were then disposed.

It was further argued, that the ancient charter of New-England was in the opinion of the lawyers very defective, as to several *powers*, which yet were absolutely necessary to the subsistence of the plantations; it gave the government there no more power than the corporations have in England; power in capital cases was not therein particularly expressed.

It mentioned not an *house of deputies*, or an *assembly of representatives;* the governour and company had thereby (they said) no power to impose taxes on the inhabitants that were not freemen, or to erect courts of admiralty. Without such powers the colony could not subsist; and yet the best friends that New-England had of persons most learned in the law, professed, that suppose the judgment against the Massachuset-charter might be reversed, yet, if they should again exert such powers as they did before the *Quo Warranto* against their charter, a new writ of *Scire Facias* would undoubtedly be issued out against them.

It was yet further argued, that if an act of parliament should have reversed the judgment against the Massachuset-charter, without a grant of some other advantages, the whole territory had been, on many accounts, very miserably incommoded: the Province of Main, with Hampshire, would have been taken from them; and Plymouth would have been annexed unto New-York; so that this colony would have been squeezed into an *atom*, and not only have been rendered insignificant in its trade, but by having its militia also, which was vested in the King, taken away, its insignificancies would have become out of measure humbling; whereas now, instead of seeing any relief by act of parliament, they would have been put under a governour, with a commission, whereby ill men, and the King's and country's enemies might probably have crept into opportunities to have done ten thousand ill things, and have treated the best men in the land after a very uncomfortable manner.

It was lastly argued, that by the new charter very great privileges were granted unto New-England; and in some respects greater than what they formerly enjoyed. The *colony* is now made a *province*, and their general court has, with the King's approbation, as much power in New-England, as the King and parliament have in England. They have all English liberties, and can be touched by no law, by no tax, but of their own making. All the liberties of their holy religion are for ever secured, and their titles to their lands, once for want of some forms of legal convey-

ance, contested, are now confirmed unto them. If an ill governour should happen to be imposed on them, what hurt could he do to them? None, except they themselves pleased; for he cannot make one counsellor, one judge, or one justice, or one sheriff to serve his turn: disadvantages enough, one would think, to discourage any ill governour from desiring to be stationed in those uneasie regions. The people have a negative upon all the executive part of the civil government, as well as the legislative, which is a vast priviledge, enjoyed by no other plantation in America, nor by Ireland—no, nor hitherto by England it self. Why should all of this good be refused or despised, because of somewhat not so good attending it? The despisers of so much good will certainly deserve a censure, not unlike that of Causabon, upon some who did not value what that learned man counted highly valuable: *Vix illis optari quidquam pejus potest, quam ut fatuitate sua fruantur*:*—Much good may do them with their madness! All this being well considered, Sir William Phips, who had made so many addresses for the restoration of the old charter, under which he had seen his country many years flourishing, will be excused by all the world from any thing of a fault, in a most unexpected passage of his life, which is now to be related.

Sir Henry Ashurst and Mr. Mather, well knowing the agreeable disposition to do good, and the King and his country service, which was in Sir William Phips, whom they now had with them, all this while prosecuting his design for Canada, they did unto the council-board nominate him for the GOVERNOUR of New-England. And Mr. Mather being by the Earl of Nottingham introduced unto his Majesty, said:

"SIR: I do, in the behalf of New-England, most humbly thank your Majesty, in that you have been pleased by a Charter to restore English Liberties unto them, to confirm them in their properties, and to grant them some peculiar priviledges. I doubt not, but that your subjects there will demean themselves with that dutiful affection and loyalty to your Majesty, as that you will see cause to enlarge your royal favours towards them. And I do most humbly thank your Majesty in that you have been pleased to give leave unto those that are concerned for New-England to nominate their Governour.

"Sir William Phips has been accordingly nominated by us at the Council-Board. He hath done a good service for the crown, by enlarging your dominions, and reducing of Nova Scotia to your obedience. I know that he will faithfully serve your Majesty to the utmost of his capacity; and if your Majesty shall think fit to confirm him in that place, it will be a further obligation on your subjects there."

The effects of all this was, that Sir William Phips was now invested with a commission under the King's broad-seal to be captain-general and governour in chief over the province of the Massachuset-bay in New-England: nor do I know a person in the world that could have been proposed more acceptable to the body of the people throughout New-England, and on that score more likely and able to serve the King's interests among the

* One could hardly wish them any worse fortune than to enjoy the fruits of their own folly.

people there, under the changes in some things unacceptable, now brought upon them. He had been a Gideon, who had more than once ventured his life to save his country from their enemies: and they now, with universal satisfaction said, "Thou shalt rule over us." Accordingly, having with Mr. Mather kissed the King's hand on January 3d, 1691, he hastned away to his government; and arriving at New-England the 14th of May following, attended with the Non-such frigot, both of them were welcomed with the loud acclamations of the long *shaken* and *shattered* country, whereto they were now returned with a settlement so full of happy priviledges.

§ 15. When Titus Flaminius had freed the poor Grecians from the bondage which had long oppressed them, and the herald proclaimed among them the articles of their freedom, they cried out, "A saviour! a saviour!" with such loud acclamations, that the very *birds* fell down from heaven astonished at the cry. Truly, when Mr. Mather brought with him unto the poor New-Englanders, not only a charter, which though in divers points wanting what both *he* and *they* had wished for, yet for ever delivers them from oppressions on their Christian and English liberties, or their ancient possessions, wherein ruining *writs of intrusion* had begun to invade them all, but also a GOVERNOUR who might call New-England his own country, and who was above most men in it, full of affection to the interests of *his country;* the sensible part of the people then caused the sence of the *salvations* thus brought them to reach as far as *heaven* it self. The various little humours then working among the people, did not hinder the great and general court of the province to appoint a day of solemn THANKSGIVING to Almighty God, for "granting" (as the printed order expressed it) "a safe arrival to his Excellency our Governour, and the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, who have industriously endeavoured the service of this people, and have brought over with them a settlement of government, in which their Majesties have graciously given us distinguishing marks of their royal favour and goodness."

And as the obliged people thus gave *thanks* unto the God of heaven, so they sent an address of *thanks* unto their Majesties, with other letters of *thanks* unto some chief ministers of state, for the favourable aspect herein cast upon the province.

Nor were the people mistaken, when they promised themselves all the kindness imaginable from this governour, and expected, "under his shadow we shall live easie among the heathen:" why might they not look for *halcyon*-days, when they had such a *King's-fisher* for their governour?

Governour Phips had, as every raised and useful person must have, his *envious enemies;* but the palest envy of them who turned their worst enmity upon him, could not hinder them from confessing, "That, according to the best of his apprehension, he ever sought the good of his country:" his country quickly felt this on innumerable occasions; and they had it eminently demonstrated, as well in his promoting and approving the council's

choice of good judges, justices and sheriffs, which, being once established, no *successor* could remove them, as in his urging the general assembly to make themselves happy by preparing a body of good laws as fast as they could, which being passed by him in his time, could not be nulled by any other after him.

He would often speak to the members of the General Assembly in such terms as these: "Gentlemen, you may make your selves as easie as you will for ever; consider what may have any tendency to your welfare; and you may be sure, that whatever bills you offer to me, consistent with the honour and interest of the Crown, I'll pass them readily; I do but seek opportunities to serve you: had it not been for the sake of this thing, I had never accepted the government of this province; and whenever you have settled such a body of good laws, that no person coming after me may make you uneasie, I shall desire not one day longer to continue in the government."—Accordingly he ever passed every act for the welfare of the province proposed unto him; and instead of ever putting them upon buying his assent unto any good act, he was much forwarder to give it, than they were to ask it; nor indeed had the *hunger of a salary* any such impression upon him as to make him decline doing all possible service for the publick, while he was not sure of having any proportionable or honourable acknowledgments.

But yet he minded the preservation of the King's rights with as careful and faithful a zeal as became a good steward for the crown; and, indeed, he studied nothing more than to observe such a temper in all things as to extinguish what others have gone to distinguish—even the pernicious notion of a separate interest. There was a time when the Roman empire was infested with a vast number of governours, who were infamous for infinite avarice and villany; and, referring to this time, the apostle John had a vision of "people killed with the beasts of the earth."

But Sir William Phips was none of those governours; wonderfully contrary to this wretchedness was the happiness of New-England, when they had Governour Phips, using the tenderness of a father towards the people; and being of the opinion, *Ditare magis esse Regium quam Ditescere*,* that it was a braver thing to enrich the people, than to grow rich himself. A *father*, I said; and what if I had said an *angel* too? If I should from Clemens Alexandrinus, from Theodoret, and from Jerom, and others among the ancients, as well as from Calvin, and Bucan, and Peter Martyr, and Chemnitius, and Bullinger, and a thousand more among the moderns, bring authorities for the assertion, "That each country and province is under the special care of some angel, by a singular deputation of heaven assigned thereunto;" I could back them with a far greater authority than any of them all. The Scripture it self does plainly assert it: and hence the most learned Grotius, writing of commonwealths, has a passage to this

* It is more truly princely to enrich than to be enriched.

purpose: *His singulis, suos Attributos, esse Angelos, ex Daniele, magno consensu, et Judæi et Christiani veteres colligebant.**

But New-England had now, besides the *guardian-angel* who more invisibly intended its welfare, a *governour* that became wonderfully agreeable thereunto, by his whole imitation of such a guardian-angel. He employed his whole strength to guard his people from all disasters which threatned them either by sea or land; and it was remarked that nothing remarkably disastrous did befal that people from the time of his arrival to the government, until there arrived an order for his leaving it: (except one thing which was begun before he entred upon the government:) but instead thereof, the Indians were notably defeated in the assaults which they now made upon the English, and several French ships did also very advantageously fall into his hands; yea, there was by his means a peace restored unto the province, that had been divers years languishing under the hectic feaver of a lingring war.

And there was this one thing more that rendred his government the more desirable: that whereas 'tis impossible for a meer man to govern without some *error*, whenever this governour was advised of any error in any of his administrations, he would immediately retract it, and revoke it with all possible ingenuity; so that if any occasion of just complaint arose, it was usually his endeavour that it should not long be complained of.

—O, fælices nimium, sua si Bona, norint, Nov-Angli.†—

But having, in a *parenthesis*, newly intimated that his Excellency, when he entered on his government, found one thing that was *remarkably disastrous* begun upon it; of that one thing we will now give some account.

Reader, prepare to be entertained with as prodigious matters as can be put into any history! And let him that writes the next *Thaumatographia Pneumatica*,‡ allow to these prodigies the chief place among the wonders.

§ 16. About the time of our blessed Lord's coming to reside on earth, we read of so many "possessed with devils," that it is commonly thought the *number* of such miserable *energumens* was then encreased above what has been usual in other ages; and the *reason* of that increase has been made a matter of some enquiry. Now, though the *devils* might herein design by *preternatural operations* to blast the *miracles* of our Lord Jesus Christ, which point they gained among the blasphemous Pharisees; and the devils might herein also design a villanous *imitation* of what was coming to pass in the *incarnation* of our Lord Jesus Christ, wherein *God* came to *dwell in flesh;* yet I am not without suspicion, that there may be something further in the conjecture of the learned Bartholinus hereupon, who says, It was *Quod judæi præter modum, Artibus Magicis dediti Dæmonem*

* That to each of these its own guardian-angel is assigned, is plainly to be inferred from the book of Daniel, according to the unanimous judgment of both the Jews and the Christians of the early ages.

† O thrice-blessed New-Englanders, if they but understood their own good fortune!

‡ The Wondrous Works of the Spirit.

Advocaverint—the Jews, by the frequent use of *magical tricks*, called in the devils among them.

It is very certain, there were hardly any people in the world grown more fond of *sorceries* than that unhappy people: the *Talmuds* tell us of the little *parchments* with words upon them, which were their common *amulets*, and of the *charms* which they muttered over *wounds*, and of the various *enchantments* which they used against all sorts of disasters whatsoever. It is affirmed in the Talmuds, that no less than twenty-four scholars in one school were killed by *witchcraft;* and that no less than fourscore persons were hanged for *witchcraft* by one judge in one day. The *gloss* adds upon it, "That the women of Israel had generally fallen to the practice of witchcrafts;" and therefore it was required, that there should be still chosen into the council one skilful in the *arts of sorcerers*, and able thereby to discover who might be guilty of those *black arts* among such as were accused before them.

Now, the arrival of Sir William Phips to the government of New-England, was at a time when a governour would have had occasion for all the skill in *sorcery* that was ever necessary to a Jewish Counsellor; a time when scores of poor people had newly fallen under a prodigious *possession of devils*, which it was then generally thought had been by witchcrafts introduced. It is to be confessed and bewailed, that many inhabitants of New-England, and young people especially, had been led away with little *sorceries*, wherein they "did secretly those things that were not right against the Lord their God;" they would often cure hurts with *spells*, and practice detestable conjurations with *sieves*, and *keys*, and *pease*, and *nails*, and *horse-shoes*, and other implements, to learn the things for which they had a forbidden and impious curiosity. Wretched books had stoln into the land, wherein fools were instructed how to become able fortune-tellers: among which, I wonder that a blacker brand is not set upon that fortune-telling wheel, which that sham-scribler that goes under the letters of *R. B.* has promised in his "*Delights for the Ingenious*," as an *honest and pleasant recreation:* and by these books, the minds of many had been so poisoned, that they studied this *finer witchcraft;* until 'tis well if some of them were not betrayed into what is grosser, and more sensible and capital. Although these *diabolical divinations* are more ordinarily committed perhaps all over the *whole world*, than they are in the country of New-England, yet, that being a country devoted unto the worship and service of the Lord JESUS CHRIST above the *rest of the world*, HE signalized his vengeance against these wickednesses, with such extraordinary dispensations as have not been often seen in other places.

The *devils* which had been so played withal, and, it may be, by some few criminals more explicitly engaged and imployed, now broke in upon the country, after as astonishing a manner as was ever heard of. Some scores of people, first about Salem, the centre and first-born of all the

towns in the colony, and afterwards in several other places, were arrested with many *preternatural vexations* upon their bodies, and a variety of cruel torments, which were evidently inflicted from the *dæmons* of the *invisible world*. The people that were infected and infested with such dæmons, in a few days' time arrived unto such a *refining alteration* upon their eyes, that they could see their tormentors: they saw a *devil* of a little *stature*, and of a tawny *colour*, attended still with *spectres* that appeared in more humane circumstances.

These *tormentors* tendred unto the afflicted a *book*, requiring them to *sign* it, or to *touch* it at least, in token of their consenting to be listed in the service of the devil; which they refusing to do, the spectres under the command of that *blackman*, as they called him, would apply themselves to torture them with prodigious molestations.

The afflicted wretches were horribly *distorted* and *convulsed;* they were *pinched* black and blue: *pins* would be run every where in their flesh; they would be *scalded* until they had *blisters* raised on them; and a thousand other things before hundreds of witnesses were done unto them, evidently *preternatural:* for if it were *preternatural* to keep a rigid *fast* for *nine*, yea, for *fifteen* days together; or if it were *preternatural* to have one's hands *tyed* close together with a *rope* to be plainly seen, and then by *unseen hands* presently pulled up a great way from the earth before a croud of people; such *preternatural* things were endured by them.

But of all the preternatural things which befel these people, there were none more *unaccountable* than those wherein the prestigious dæmons would ever now and then cover the most *corporeal* things in the world with a *fascinating mist* of *invisibility*. As now; a person was cruelly assaulted by a *spectre*, that, she said, run at her with a *spindle*, though no body else in the room could see either the spectre or the spindle: at last, in her agonies, giving a snatch at the spectre, she pulled the *spindle* away; and it was no sooner got into her hand, but the other folks then present beheld that it was indeed a real, proper, iron spindle; which, when they locked up very safe, it was nevertheless by the *dæmons* taken away to do farther mischief.

Again, a person was haunted by a most abusive spectre, which came to her, she said, with a *sheet* about her, though seen to none but her self. After she had undergone a deal of teaze from the annoyance of the spectre, she gave a violent *snatch* at the sheet that was upon it; where-from she tore a corner, which in her hand immediately was beheld by all that were present, a palpable corner of a sheet: and her father, which was now holding of her, *catched*, that he might *keep* what his daughter had so strangely seized; but the spectre had like to have wrung his hand off, by endeavouring to wrest it from him; however, he still held it, and several times this odd accident was renewed in the family. There wanted not the *oaths* of good credible people to these particulars.

Also, it is well known, that these wicked spectres did proceed so far as to steal several quantities of money from divers people, part of which individual money was dropt sometimes out of the air, before sufficient *spectators*, into the hands of the afflicted, while the spectres were urging them to subscribe their *covenant with death.* Moreover, *poisons* to the standers-by, wholly *invisibly*, were sometimes forced upon the afflicted; which when they have with much reluctancy swallowed, they have *swoln* presently, so that the common medicines for poisons have been found necessary to relieve them: yea, sometimes the spectres, in the *struggles*, have so dropt the poisons, that the standers-by have smelt them, and viewed them, and beheld the pillows of the miserable stained with them.

Yet more: the miserable have complained bitterly of *burning rags* run into their forceably distended *mouths;* and though nobody could see any such *clothes*, or indeed any *fires* in the chambers, yet presently the *scalds* were seen plainly by every body on the mouths of the complainers, and not only the *smell*, but the *smoke* of the burning sensibly filled the chambers.

Once more: the miserable exclaimed extreamly of *branding irons* heating at the fire on the hearth to mark them. Now, though the standers-by could see no irons, yet they could see distinctly the print of them in the ashes, and *smell* them too as they were carried by the *not-seen furies* unto the poor creatures for whom they were intended; and those poor creatures were thereupon so *stigmatized* with them, that they will bear the *marks* of them to their dying day. Nor are these the *tenth part* of the *prodigies* that fell out among the inhabitants of New-England.

Flashy people may burlesque these things, but when hundreds of the most sober people in a country where they have as much *mother-wit* certainly as the rest of mankind, know them to be *true*, nothing but the absurd and froward spirit of Sadducism can question them. I have not yet mentioned so much as one thing that will not be justified, if it be required by the *oaths* of more considerate persons than any that can ridicule these odd *phænomena.*

But the worst part of this astonishing tragedy is yet behind; wherein Sir William Phips, at last being dropt, as it were from the *machin of heaven*, was an instrument of easing the distresses of the land, now "so darkened by the wrath of the Lord of Hosts." There were very worthy men upon the spot where the *assault from hell* was first made, who apprehended themselves called from the God of heaven to sift the business unto the bottom of it; and, indeed, the continual *impressions,* which the outcries and the havocks of the *afflicted people* that lived nigh unto them caused on their minds, gave no little edge to this apprehension.

The persons were men eminent for wisdom and virtue, and they went about their enquiry into the matter, as *driven* unto it by a conscience of duty to God and the world. They did in the first place take it for granted that there are *witches*, or wicked children of men, who upon *covenanting*

with, and *commissioning* of *evil spirits*, are attended by their ministry to accomplish the things desired of them: to satisfie them in which perswasion, they had not only the *assertions* of the holy Scriptures—assertions which the witch-advocates cannot evade without shifts, too foolish for the *prudent*, or too profane for any *honest* man to use—and they had not only the well-attested *relations* of the gravest authors, from Bodin to Bovet, and from Binsfield to Brombal and Baxter—to deny all which, would be as reasonable as to turn the chronicles of all nations into romances of "*Don Quixote*" and the "*Seven Champions;*" but they had also an *ocular demonstration* in one who, a little before, had been executed for *witchcraft*, when Joseph Dudley, Esq. was the chief-judge. There was one whose *magical images* were found, and who, *confessing her deeds*, (when a jury of doctors returned her *compos mentis*) actually shewed the whole court by what *ceremonies* used unto them she directed her *familiar spirits* how and where to cruciate the objects of her malice; and the experiment being made over and over again before the whole court, the *effect* followed exactly in the hurts done to the people at a distance from her. The existence of such witches was now taken for granted by those good men, wherein so far the generality of reasonable men have thought *they ran well;* and they soon received the *confessions* of some *accused* persons to confirm them in it: but then they took one thing more for granted, wherein 'tis now as generally thought they *went out of the way*. The afflicted people vehemently accused several persons in several places that the spectres which afflicted them, did exactly resemble them; until the importunity of the accusations did provoke the magistrates to examine them. When many of the *accused* came upon their examination, it was found that the *dæmons* then a thousand ways abusing of the poor afflicted people, had with a marvellous exactness *represented* them; yea, it was found, that many of the *accused*, but casting their eye on the *afflicted*, the *afflicted*, though their faces were never so much another way, would fall down and lye in a sort of a swoon, wherein they would continue, whatever hands were laid upon them, until the hands of the *accused* came to touch them, and *then* they would revive immediately; and it was found, that various kinds of *natural actions*, done by many of the *accused* in or to their own bodies, as leaning, bending, turning awry, or squeezing their hands, or the like, were presently attended with the like things *preternaturally* done upon the bodies of the *afflicted*, though they were so far asunder, that the afflicted could not at all observe the accused.

It was also found, that the flesh of the afflicted was often *bitten* at such a rate, that not only the *print of teeth* would be left on their flesh, but the very *slaver* of spittle too; and there would appear just such a *set of teeth* as was in the accused, even such as might be clearly distinguished from other peoples. And usually the afflicted went through a terrible deal of seeming difficulties from the tormenting spectres, and must be long waited on

before they could get a breathing space from their *torments* to give in their testimonies.

Now, many good men took up an opinion, that the *providence* of God would not permit an innocent person to come under such a spectral representation; and that a concurrence of so many circumstances would prove an accused person to be in a *confederacy* with the dæmons thus afflicting of the neighbours; they judged that, except these things might amount unto a conviction, it would scarce be possible ever to *convict a witch:* and they had some *philosophical schemes* of *witchcraft*, and of the method and manner wherein *magical poisons* operate, which further supported them in their opinion.

Sundry of the accused persons were brought unto their trial, while this opinion was yet prevailing in the minds of the judges and the juries, and perhaps the most of the people in the country, then mostly suffering; and though against some of them that were tried there came in so much *other evidence* of their diabolical compacts, that some of the most *judicious*, and yet *vehement* opposers of the notions then in vogue, publickly declared, "Had they themselves been on the bench, they could not have acquitted them;" nevertheless, divers were condemned, against whom the *chief evidence* was founded in the *spectral exhibitions.*

And it happening that some of the accused coming to confess themselves *guilty*, their *shapes* were no more seen by any of the afflicted, though the confession had been kept never so secret, but instead thereof the accused themselves became in all vexations just like the afflicted; this yet more confirmed many in the opinion that had been taken up.

And another thing that quickened them yet more to act upon it, was, that the afflicted were frequently entertained with *apparitions* of *ghosts* at the same time that the *spectres* of the supposed *witches* troubled them; which *ghosts* always cast the beholders into far more consternation than any of the *spectres;* and when they exhibited themselves, they cried out of being *murdered* by the *witchcrafts*, or other violences of the persons represented in the *spectres.* Once or twice these apparitions were seen by others at the very same time that they shewed themselves to the afflicted; and seldom were they seen at all but when something unusual and suspicious had attended the death of the party thus appearing.

The *afflicted* people many times had never heard any thing before of the persons appearing in *ghost*, or the persons *accused* by the *apparitions;* and yet the accused upon examination have confessed the murders of those very persons, though these accused also knew nothing of the apparitions that had come in against them; and the afflicted persons likewise, without any private agreement or collusion, when successively brought into a room, have all asserted the same *apparitions* to be there before them: these *murders* did seem to call for an enquiry.

On the other part, there were many persons of great judgment, piety

and experience, who from the beginning were very much dissatisfied at these proceedings; they feared lest the *devil* would get so far into the *faith* of the people, that for the sake of many *truths* which they might find him telling of them, they would come at length to believe all his *lies;* whereupon what a desolation of names—yea, and of lives also—would ensue, a man might, without much witchcraft, be able to prognosticate; and they feared, lest in such an extraordinary descent of wicked spirits from their high places upon us, there might such *principles* be taken up, as, when put into *practice*, would unavoidably cause the *righteous to perish with the wicked*, and procure the blood-shed of persons like the Gibeonites, whom some learned men suppose to be under a false pretence of witchcraft, by Saul exterminated.

However uncommon it might be for *guiltless persons* to come under such unaccountable circumstances, as were on so many of the accused, they held "some things there are, which, if suffered to be common, would subvert government, and disband and ruin humane society, yet God sometimes may suffer such things to evene, that we may know thereby how much we are beholden to him for that restraint which he lays upon the infernal spirits, who would else reduce a world into a chaos." They had already known of one at the town of Groton hideously agitated by *devils*, who in her fits cried out much against a very godly woman in the town, and when that woman approached unto her, though the eyes of the creature were never so shut, she yet manifested a violent sense of her approach: but when the gracious woman thus impeached, had prayed earnestly with and for this creature, then, instead of crying out against her any more, she owned, that she had in all been deluded by the *devil*. They now saw, that the more the *afflicted* were hearkened unto, the more the number of the *accused* encreased; until at last many scores were *cried out* upon, and among them, some who, by the unblameableness—yea, and serviceableness—of their whole conversation, had obtained the just reputation of *good people* among all that were acquainted with them. The character of the afflicted likewise added unto the common distaste; for though some of *them* too were *good people*, yet others of them, and such of them as were most flippent at *accusing*, had a far other character.

In fine, the country was in a dreadful *ferment*, and wise men foresaw a long train of dismal and bloody consequences. Hereupon they first advised that the afflicted might be kept asunder in the closest privacy; and one particular person, (whom I have cause to know,) in pursuance of this advice, offered himself singly to provide accommodations for any *six* of them, that so the success of more than ordinary *prayer* with *fasting* might, with *patience*, be *experienced*, before any other courses were taken.

And Sir William Phips arriving to his government, after this *ensnaring horrible storm* was begun, did consult the neighbouring ministers of the province, who made unto his Excellency and the council a return, (drawn

up at their desire by Mr. Mather the younger, as I have been informed) wherein they declared:

"We judge, that in the prosecution of these and all such *witchcrafts*, there is need of a very critical and exquisite caution: lest by too much credulity for things received only upon the *devil's authority*, there be a door opened for a long train of miserable consequences, and Satan get an advantage over us; for we should not be ignorant of his devices.

"As in complaints upon *witchcrafts*, there may be matters of *enquiry*, which do not amount unto matters of *presumption;* and there may be matters of *presumption*, which yet may not be reckoned matters of *conviction;* so 'tis necessary that all proceedings thereabout be managed with an *exceeding tenderness* towards those that may be complained of: especially if they have been persons formerly of an *unblemished reputation.*

"When the *first enquiry* is made into the circumstances of such as may lye under any just suspicion of *witchcrafts*, we could wish that there may be admitted as little as is possible of such *noise*, *company*, and *openness* as may too hastily expose them that are examined: and that there may nothing be used as a *test* for the trial of the suspected, the lawfulness whereof may be doubted among the people of God: but that the directions given by such judicious writers as Perkins and Bernard, be consulted in such a case.

"*Presumptions*, whereupon persons may be committed, and much more *convictions*, whereupon persons may be condemned as guilty of *witchcrafts*, ought certainly to be more considerable, than barely the *accused* person's being *represented* by a *spectre* to the afflicted: inasmuch as it is an undoubted and a notorious thing, that a *dæmon* may, by God's permission, appear even to ill purposes in the shape of an *innocent*, yea, and a *virtuous* man: nor can we esteem *alterations* made in the *sufferers*, by a *look* or *touch* of the accused, to be an infallible evidence of guilt: but frequently liable to be abused by the *devil's legerdemains.*

"We know not whether some *remarkable affronts* given to the *devils*, by our dis-believing of those testimonies whose whole force and strength is from *them* alone, may not put a period unto the progress of a direful calamity begun upon us, in the *accusation* of so many persons, whereof, we hope, some are yet *clear from the great transgression* laid unto their charge."

The ministers of the province also being jealous lest this counsel should not be duly followed, requested the President of Harvard-Colledge to compose and publish (which he did) some *cases of conscience* referring to these difficulties: in which treatise he did, with demonstrations of incomparable *reason* and *reading*, evince it, that Satan may appear in the shape of an innocent and a virtuous person, to afflict those that suffer by the *diabolical molestations:* and that the *ordeal* of the *sight*, and the *touch*, is not a conviction of a *covenant* with the devil, but liable to great exceptions against the *lawfulness*, as well as the *evidence* of it: and that either a free and fair *confession* of the criminals, or the oath of two credible persons proving such things against the person accused, as none but such as have a familiarity with the devil can know, or do, is necessary to the proof of the crime. Thus,

Cum misit Natura Feras, et Monstra per Orbem,
*Misit et Alciden qui fera Monstra domet.**

The Dutch and French ministers in the province of New-York, having likewise about the same time their judgment asked by the Chief Judge of

* 'Twas Nature sent these monsters: Nature, too,
Sent Hercules, the monsters to subdue.

that province, who was then a gentleman of New-England, tney gave it in under their hands, that if we believe no *venefick witchcraft*, we must renounce the Scripture of God, and the *consent* of almost all the world; but that yet the *apparition* of a person afflicting another, is a very insufficient proof of a *witch;* nor is it inconsistent with the holy and righteous government of God over men, to permit the affliction of the neighbours, by devils in the *shape* of *good men;* and that a *good name,* obtained by a *good life,* should not be lost by meer *spectral accusations.*

Now, upon a deliberate review of these things, his Excellency first *reprieved,* and then *pardoned* many of them that had been condemned; and there fell out several strange things that caused the spirit of the country to run as vehemently upon the *acquitting* of all the accused, as it by mistake ran at first upon the *condemning* of them. Some that had been zealously of the mind, that the devils could not in the shapes of good men afflict other men, were terribly confuted, by having their own shapes, and the shapes of their most intimate and valued friends, thus abused. And though more than twice twenty had made such voluntary, and harmonious, and uncontroulable confessions, that if they were all *sham,* there was therein the greatest violation made by the efficacy of the *invisible world,* upon the *rules of understanding humane affairs,* that was ever seen since "God made man upon the earth," yet they did so recede from their confessions, that it was very clear, some of them had been hitherto, in a sort of a *preternatural dream,* wherein they had said *of themselves,* they *knew not what themselves.*

In fine, the last courts that sate upon this *thorny business,* finding that it was impossible to penetrate into the whole meaning of the things that had happened, and that so many *unsearchable cheats* were interwoven into the *conclusion* of a mysterious business, which perhaps had not crept thereinto at the *beginning* of it, they *cleared* the accused as fast as they *tried* them; and within a little while the afflicted were most of them delivered out of their troubles also; and the land had peace restored unto it, by the "God of peace, treading Satan under foot." Erasmus, among other historians, does tell us, that at a town in Germany, a dæmon appeared on the top of a chimney, threatned that he would set the town on fire, and at length scattering some ashes abroad, the whole town was presently and horribly burnt unto the ground.

Sir William Phips now beheld such dæmons hideously scattering *fire* about the country, in the exasperations which the minds of men were on these things rising unto; and therefore when he had well canvased a *cause,* which perhaps might have puzzled the wisdom of the wisest men on earth to have managed, without any *error* in their administrations, he thought, if it would be any *error* at all, it would certainly be the *safest* for him to put a stop unto all future prosecutions, as far as it lay in him to do it.

He did so, and for it he had not only the printed acknowledgments of the New-Englanders, who publickly thanked him, "As one of the tribe of

Zebulun, raised up from among themselves, and *spirited* as well as *commissioned* to be the *steers-man* of a vessel befogged in the *mare mortuum* of *witchcraft*, who now so happily steered her course, that she escaped shipwrack, and was safely again moored under the Cape of *Good Hope;* and cut asunder the Circæan knot of enchantment, more difficult to be dissolved than the famous Gordian one of old."

But the QUEEN also did him the honour to write unto him those gracious letters, wherein her Majesty commended his conduct in these *inexplicable* matters. And I did right in calling these matters *inexplicable.* For if, after the kingdom of Sweden (in the year 1669, and 1670,) had some hundreds of their children by night often carried away by *spectres* to an *hellish rendezvous*, where the monsters that so *spirited* them, did every way *tempt* them to associate with them; and the Judges of the kingdom, after extraordinary supplications to Heaven, upon a strict enquiry, were so satisfied with the confessions of more than twenty of the accused, agreeing exactly unto the depositions of the afflicted, that they put several scores of *witches* to death, whereupon the confusions came unto a period; yet after all, the chiefest persons in the kingdom would question whether there were any *witchcrafts* at all in the whole affair; it must not be wondered at, if the people of New-England are to this hour full of *doubts*, about the *steps* which were taken, while a *war* from the *invisible world* was terrifying of them; and whether they did not kill some of their *own side* in the *smoke* and *noise* of this dreadful war. And it will be yet less wondred at, if we consider, that we have seen the whole English nation alarumed with a *plot*, and both Houses of Parliament, upon good grounds, voting their sense of it, and many persons most justly *hanged*, *drawn*, and *quartered*, for their share in it: when yet there are enough who to this day will pretend that they cannot comprehend how much of it is to be accounted *credible.* However, having related these wonderful passages, whereof, if the *veracity* of the relator in any one point be contested, there are whole *clouds of witnesses* to vindicate it, I will take my leave of the matter with an wholesome caution of Lactantius, which, it may be, some other parts of the world besides New-England may have occasion to think upon: *Efficiunt Dæmones, ut quæ non sunt, sic tamen, quasi sint, conspicienda Hominibus exhibeant.**

But the devils being thus vanquished, we shall *next* hear, that some of his most devoted and resembling children are so too.

§ 17. As one of the first actions *done* by Sir William, after he came to the age of *doing*, was to save the lives of many poor people from the rage of the diabolical Indians in the *eastern* parts of the country, so now he was come to the government, his mind was very vehemently set upon recovering of those parts from the miseries which a new and a long war of the Indians had brought upon them. His birth and youth in the east, had rendered him well known unto the Indians there; he had hunted

* It is one of the chief arts of evil spirits, to make things which have no reality seem real to those who witness them.

and fished many a weary day in his childhood with them; and when those rude salvages had got the story by the end, that "he had found a ship full of money, and was now become all one-a-king!" they were mightily astonished at it: but when they farther understood that he was become the governour of New-England, it added a further degree of consternation to their astonishment. He likewise was better acquainted with the scituation of those regions than most other men; and he considered what vast advantages might arise to no less than the whole English nation, from the lumber, and fishery, and naval-stores, which those regions might soon supply the whole nation withal, if once they were well settled with good inhabitants.

Wherefore Governour Phips took the first opportunity to raise an army, with which he travelled in person, under the East-Country, to find out and cut off the barbarous enemy, which had continued for near four years together making horrible havock on the plantations that lay all along the northern frontiers of New-England; and having pursued those worse than Scythian wolves till they could be no longer followed, he did with a very laudable skill, and unusual speed, and with less cost unto the crown than perhaps ever such a thing was done in the world, erect a strong fort at Pemmaquid.

This fort he contrived so much in the very heart of the country now possessed by the enemy, as very much to hinder the several nations of the tawnies from *clanning* together for the common disturbance; and his design was, that a sufficient garrison being here posted, they might from thence, upon advice, issue forth to surprize that ferocient enemy. At the same time he would fain have gone in person up the Bay of Funda, with a convenient force, to have spoiled the nest of rebellious Frenchmen, who, being rendezvouzed at St. Johns, had a yearly supply of ammunition from France, with which they still supplied the Indians, unto the extream detriment of the English; but his friends for a long time would not permit him to expose himself unto the inconveniences of that expedition.

However, he took such methods, that the Indian Kings of the East, within a little while had their stomachs brought down to sue and beg for a peace: and making their appearance at the new-fort in Pemmaquid, August 11, 1693, they did there sign an instrument, wherein, lamenting the miseries which their adherence to the French counsels had brought them into, they did for themselves, and with the consent of all the Indians from the river of Merrimack to the most easterly bounds of all the province, acknowledge their hearty subjection and obedience unto the Crown of England, and solemnly covenant, promise and agree, to and with Sir William Phips, Captain General and Governour in Chief over the province, and his successors in that place, "That they would for ever cease all acts of hostility towards the subjects of the Crown of England, and hold a constant friendship with all the English. That they would utterly aban-

don the French interests, and not succour or conceal any enemy Indians, from Canada or elsewhere, that should come to any of their plantations within the English territories: that all English captives, which they had among them, should be returned with all possible speed, and no ransom or payment be given for any of them: that their Majesties' subjects the English, now should quietly enter upon, and for ever improve and enjoy all and singular their rights of lands, and former possessions, within the eastern parts of the province, without any claims from any Indians or being ever disturbed therein: that all trade and commerce, which hereafter might be allowed between the English and the Indians, should be under a regulation stated by an act of the General Assembly, or as limited by the governour of the province, with the consent and advice of his Council. And that if any controversie hereafter happen between any of the English and the Indians, no private revenge was to be taken by the Indians, but proper applications to be made unto his Majesty's government, for the due remedy thereof: submitting themselves herewithal to be governed by his Majesty's laws."

And for the manifestation of their *sincerity* in the *submission* thus made, the *hypocritical wretches* delivered *hostages* for their fidelity: and then set their *marks* and *seals*, no less than thirteen Sagamores of them, (with *names* of more than a Persian length) unto this instrument.

The first rise of this Indian war had hitherto been almost as dark as that of the river Nilus: 'tis true, if any *wild English* did rashly begin to provoke and affront the Indians, yet the Indians had a fairer way to obtain justice than by bloodshed: however, upon the New-English *revolution*, the state of the *war* became wholly *new:* the government then employed all possible ways to procure a good understanding with the Indians; but all the English offers, kindnesses, courtesies were barbarously requited by them, with new acts of the most perfidious hostility. Notwithstanding all this, there were still some *nice people* that had their scruples about the "justice of the war;" but upon this new submission of the Indians, if ever those rattle-snakes (the only *rattle-snakes* which, they say, were ever seen to the northward of Merimack-river) should stir again, the most scrupulous persons in the world must own, *that it must be the most unexceptionable piece of justice in the world for to extinguish them.*

Thus did the God of heaven bless the unwearied applications of Sir William Phips, for the restoring of peace unto New-England, when the country was quite *out of breath* in its endeavours for its own preservation from the continual outrages of an inaccessible enemy, and by the *poverty coming in so like an armed man*, from the unsuccessfulness of their former armies, that it could not imagine how to take one step further in its wars. The most happy respite of peace beyond Merimack-river being thus procured, the governour immediately set himself to use all possible methods, that it might be "peace like a river," nothing short of *everlasting*.

He therefore prevailed with two or three gentlemen to join with him in sending a supply of *necessaries for life* unto the Indians; until the General Assembly could come together to settle the Indian-trade for the advantage of the publick, that the Indians might not by necessity be driven again to become a French propriety; although by this action, as the gentlemen themselves were great *losers* in their estates, thus *he* himself declared unto the members of the General Assembly, that he would upon oath give an account unto them of all his own gains, and count himself a gainer, if in lieu of all they would give him *one beaver-hat.* The same generosity also caused him to take many a tedious voyage, accompanied sometimes with his *Fidus Achates*,* and very dear friend, kinsman and neighbour, Colonel John Philips, between Boston and Pemmaquid; and this in the bitter weeks of the New-English, which is almost a Russian winter.

He was a sort of *confessor* under such torments of *cold*, as once made the martyrdom of Muria, and others, commemorated in orations of the ancients; and the snow and ice which Pliny calls, "The punishment of mountains," he cheerfully endured, without any other *profit* unto himself, but only the *pleasure* of thereby establishing and continuing unto the people the liberty to *sleep* quietly in their *warm nests* at home, while he was thus concerned for them abroad. *Non mihi sed populo*, the motto of the Emperor Hadrian, was engraved on the heart of Sir William: NOT FOR MYSELF, BUT FOR MY PEOPLE; or that of Maximin, *Quo major, hoc Laboriosior*—the more honourable, the more laborious.

Indeed, the *restlessness* of his travels to the *southern* as well as the *eastern* parts of the country, when the publick safety called for his presence, would have made one to think on the translation which the King of Portugal, on a very extraordinary occasion, gave the fourth verse in the hundred and twenty-first Psalm: "He will not slumber, nor will he suffer to sleep the keeper of Israel." Nor did he only try to *cicurate* the Indians of the *east*, by other prudent and proper treatments; but he also furnished himself with an Indian preacher of the gospel, whom he carried unto the eastward, with an intention to teach them the principles of the Protestant religion, and unteach them the mixt Paganry and Popery which hitherto *diabolized* them. To *unteach* them, I say; for they had been taught by *the French* priests *this* among other things, that the mother of our blessed Saviour was a French lady, and that they were Englishmen by whom our Saviour was murdered; and that it was therefore a *meritorious* thing to destroy the English nation. The name of the preacher whom the governour carried with him, was Nahauton, one of the natives; and because the passing of such expressions from the mouth of a poor Indian may upon some accounts be worthy of remembrance, let it be *remembered*, that when the governour propounded unto him such a mission to the eastern Indians, he replied, "I know that I shall probably endanger my life by going to

* Faithful adviser.

preach the gospel among the Frenchified Indians; but I know that it will be a service unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore I will venture to go."

God grant that his *behaviour* may be in all things, at all times, according to these his *expressions!* While these things were doing, having intelligence of a French man of war expected at St. Johns, he dispatched away the Non-such frigot thither to intercept him; nevertheless, by the gross *negligence*, and perhaps *cowardice* of the captain, who had lately come from England with orders to take the command of her, instead of one who had been by Sir William a while before put in, and one who had signalized himself by doing of notable service for the King and country in it, the Frenchman arrived, unladed, and went away untouched. The governour was extremely offended at this notorious *deficiency;* it cast him into a great impatience to see the *nation* so wretchedly served; and he would himself have gone to Saint Johns with a resolution to *spoil* that harbour of *spoilers*, if he had not been taken off, by being sent for home to Whitehall, in the very midst of his undertakings.

But the treacherous Indians being *poisoned* with the French *enchantments*, and furnished with brave *new coats*, and *new arms*, and all new incentives to *war*, by the *man of war* newly come in; they presently and perfidiously fell upon two English towns, and butchered and captived many of the inhabitants, and made a *new war*, which the New-Englanders know not whether it will end until either Canada become an English Province, or that state arrive, wherein they "shall beat swords into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks." And no doubt, the taking off Sir William Phips was no small encouragement unto the Indians in this relapse into the villanies and massacres of a new invasion upon the country.

§ 18. Reader, 'tis time for us to view a little more to the *life*, the *picture* of the person, the *actions* of whose *life* we have hitherto been looking upon. Know then, that for his *exterior*, he was one *tall*, beyond the common set of men, and *thick* as well as *tall*, and *strong* as well as *thick:* he was, in all respects, exceedingly *robust*, and able to conquer such difficulties of *diet* and of *travel*, as would have killed most men alive: nor did the *fat*, whereinto he grew very much in his later years, take away the vigour of his motions.

He was well set, and he was therewithal of a very *comely*, though a very *manly* countenance: a countenance where any true skill in *physiognomy* would have read the characters of a *generous mind.* Wherefore passing to his *interior*, the very first thing which there offered it self unto observation, was a most incomparable *generosity.*

And of this, besides the innumerable instances which he gave in his usual hatred of *dirty* or *little* tricks, there was one instance for which I must freely say, "I never saw three men in this world that equalled him:" this was his wonderfully *forgiving spirit.* In the vast variety of business, through which he *raced* in his time, he met with many and mighty *injuries:* but although I have heard all that the most venemous *malice* could

ver *hiss* at his memory, I never did hear unto this hour that he did ever once deliberately *revenge an injury.*

Upon certain *affronts* he has made sudden *returns* that have shewed *choler* enough, and he has by *blow*, as well as by *word*, chastised incivilities: he was, indeed, sufficiently impatient of being *put upon;* and when *base men*, surprizing him at some *disadvantages* (for else few men durst have done it) have sometimes drawn upon him, he has, without the *wicked madness* of a *formal duel*, made them feel that he knew how to *correct fools.* Nevertheless, he ever declined a deliberate revenge of a wrong done unto him; though few men upon earth have, in their vicissitudes, been furnished with such frequent opportunities of revenge as Heaven brought into the hands of this gentleman.

Under great provocations, he would commonly say, "'Tis no matter; let them alone; some time or other they'll see their weakness and rashness, and have occasion for me to do them a kindness; and they shall then see I have quite forgotten all their baseness." Accordingly, 'twas remarkable to see it, that few men ever did *him* a *mischief*, but those men afterwards had occasion for him to do *them* a *kindness:* and he did the kindness with as forgetful a bravery, as if the mischief had never been done at all. The Emperor Theodosius himself could not be readier to forgive; so worthily did he verifie that observation:

Quo quisque est major, magis est placabilis ira,
*Et faciles motus mens generosa capit.**

In those places of *power* whereto the providence of God by several *degrees* raised him, it still fell out so, that before his *rise* thereunto he underwent such things as he counted very hard *abuses*, from those very persons over whom the Divine Providence afterwards gave him the *ascendant.*

By such *trials*, the wisdom of Heaven still prepared him, as David before him, for successive advancements; and as he behaved himself with a marvellous *long-suffering*, when he was *tried* by such mortifications, thus when he came to be advanced, he convinced all mankind that he had perfectly buried all the old offences in an eternal amnesty. I was my self an *ear-witness* that one who was an *eye-witness* of his behaviour under such *probations* of his patience, did, long before his arrival to that honour, say unto him, "Sir, forgive those that give you these vexations, and know that the God of heaven intends, before he has done with you, to make you the governour of New-England!" And when he did indeed become the governour of New-England, he shewed that he still continued a *governour of himself*, in his treating all that had formerly been in ill terms with him, with as much *favour* and *freedom* as if there had never happened the least exasperations: though any governour that kens *Hobbianism*, can easily contrive ways enough to wreak a *spite*, where he owes it.

* The noblest soul is ne'er resentful long,
And with an easy instinct pardons wrong.

It was with some Christian remark that he read the Pagan story of the renowned Fabius Maximus, who, being preferred unto the highest office in the commonwealth, did, through a zeal for his country, overcome the greatest contempts that any person of quality could have received.—Minutius, the master of the horse, and the next person in dignity to himself, did first privately traduce him, as one that was *no soldier*, and less *politician;* and he afterwards did, both by speeches and letters, prejudice not only the army, but also the senate against him, so that Minutius was now by an unpresidented commission brought into an *equality* with Fabius.

All this while the great Fabius did not throw up his cares for the commonwealth, but with a wondrous *equality of mind* endured equally the malice of the judges and the fury of the commons; and when Minutius a while after was with all his forces upon the point of perishing by the victorious arms of Hannibal, this very Fabius, not listening to the dictates of revenge, came in and helped him, and saved him; and so, by a rare virtue, he made his worst adversaries the captives of his generosity.

One of the antients, upon such an history, cried out, "If heathens can do thus much for the glory of their name, what shall not Christians do for the glory of Heaven!" And Sir William Phips did so *much more* than *thus much*, that besides his meriting the glory of such a *name*, as PHIPPIUS MAXIMUS, he therein had upon him the symptoms of a title to the glory of heaven, in the *seal* of his own *pardon* from God. Nor was this generosity in his EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOUR of New-England, unaccompanied with many other *excellencies;* whereof the *piety* of his carriage towards God is worthy to be first mentioned.

It is true, he was very zealous for all men to enjoy such a liberty of conscience as he judged a native right of mankind: and he was extreamly troubled at the *over-boiling zeal* of some good men, who formerly took that wrong way of reclaiming hereticks by *persecution.* For this generosity, it may be, some would have compared him unto Gallio, the governour of Achaia, whom our preachers, perhaps with mistake enough, think to be condemned in the Scripture for his not appearing to be a judge in matters which indeed fell not under his cognizance.

And I shall be content that he be compared unto that gentleman; for that Gallio was the brother of Seneca, who gives this character of him: "That there was no man who did not love him too little, if he could love him any more;" and, "that there was no mortal so dear to any, as he was to all;" and, "that he hated all vices, but none more than flattery."

But while the generosity of Sir William caused him to desire a liberty of conscience, his piety would not allow a *liberty of prophaneness*, either to himself or others. He did not affect any mighty *show* of devotion; and when he saw any that were *evidently careful* to make a *show*, and especially if at the same time they were notoriously defective in the duties of

common justice or goodness, or the duties of the relations wherein God had stationed them, he had an extream aversion for them.

Nevertheless he did show a conscientious desire to observe the laws of the Lord Jesus Christ in his *conversation;* and he conscientiously attended upon the exercises of devotion in the seasons thereof, on lectures, as well as on Lord's days, and in the daily sacrifice, the morning and evening service of his own family; yea, and at the private meetings of the devout people kept every fortnight in the neighbourhood.

Besides all this, when he had *great works* before him, he would invite good men to come and *fast* and *pray* with him at his house for the success thereof; and when he had succeeded in what he had undertaken, he would prevail with them to come and keep a day of solemn *thanksgiving* with him. His *love* to Almighty God, was indeed manifested by nothing more than his *love* to those that had the image of God upon them; he heartily, and with real honour for them, loved all godly men; and in so doing, he did not confine godliness to this or that party, but wherever he saw the *fear of God*, in one of a Congregational, or Presbyterian, or Antipædobaptist, or Episcopalian perswasion, he did, without any difference, express towards them a reverent affection.

But he made no men more welcome than those *good men* whose office 'tis to promote and preserve *goodness* in all other men; even the *ministers* of the gospel: especially when they were such as faithfully discharged their office: and from these, at any time, the least admonition or intimation of any good thing to be done by him, he entertained with a most obliging alacrity. His *religion*, in truth, was one principle that added virtue unto that vast courage which was always in him to a degree heroical. Those terrible nations which made their descents from the northern on the southern parts of Europe, in those elder ages, when so to *swarm out* was more frequent with them, were inspired with a *valiant contempt of life*, by the opinion wherein their famous Odin instructed them: "That their death was but an entrance into another life, wherein they who died in warlike actions, were bravely feasted with the god of war for ever;" 'tis inexpressible how much the *courage* of those fierce mortals was fortified by that opinion.

But when Sir William Phips was asked by some that observed his "valiant contempt of death," what it was that made him so little afraid of dying, he gave a better grounded account of it than those Pagans could; his answer was, "I do humbly believe, that the Lord Jesus Christ shed his precious blood for me, by his death procuring my peace with God: and what should I now be afraid of dying for?"

But this leads me to mention the *humble* and *modest* carriage in him towards other men, which accompanied this his piety. There were certain pomps belonging to the several places of honour through which he passed; *pomps* that are very taking to men of *little souls:* but although he rose from

so *little*, yet he discovered a marvellous contempt of those airy things, and, as far as he handsomely could, he declined being ceremoniously, or any otherwise than with a Dutch modesty, waited upon. And it might more truly be said of him, than it was of Aristides, "He was never seen the prouder for any honour that was done him from his countrymen."

Hence, albeit I have read that complaint, made by a worthy man, "I have often observed, and this not without some blushing, that even good people have had a kind of shame upon them to acknowledge their low beginning, and used all arts to hide it, I could never observe the least of that fault in this worthy man; but he would speak of his own *low beginning* with as much freedom and frequency, as if he had been afraid of having it forgotten.

It was counted an humility in King Agathocles, the son of a potter, to be served therefore in *earthen vessels*, as Plutarch hath informed us: it was counted an humility in Archbishop Willigis, the son of a Wheelright, therefore to have *wheels* hung about his bed-chamber, with this inscription, *Recole unde Veneris*, i. e. "Remember thy original." But such was the *humility* and *lowliness* of this *rising man!* Not only did he after his return to his country in his greatness, one day, make a splendid feast for the *ship-carpenters* of Boston, among whom he was willing at his table to commemorate the mercy of God unto him, who had once been a ship-carpenter himself, but he would on all occasions *permit*, yea, *study* to have his *meannesses* remembered.

Hence, upon frequent occasions of uneasiness in his government, he would chuse thus to express himself: "Gentlemen, were it not that I am to do service for the publick, I should be much easier in returning unto my broad-ax again!" And hence, according to the *affable* courtesie which he ordinarily used unto all sorts of persons, (quite contrary to the *asperity* which the old proverb expects in the *raised*,) he would particularly when sailing in sight of Kennebeck, with armies under his command, call the young soldiers and sailors upon deck, and speak to them after this fashion: "Young men, it was upon that hill that I kept sheep a few years ago; and since you see that Almighty God has brought me to something, do you learn to fear God, and be honest, and mind your business, and follow no bad courses, and you don't know what you may come to!" A temper not altogether unlike what the advanced *shepherd* had, when he wrote the twenty-third Psalm; or when he imprinted on the coin of his kingdom the remembrance of his old condition; for Christianus Gerson, a Christianized Jew, has informed us that on the one side of David's coin were to be seen his old pouch and crook, the instrument of shepherdy; on the other side were enstamped the towers of Zion.

In fine, our Sir William was a person of so sweet a temper, that they who were most intimately acquainted with him, would commonly pronounce him, "The best conditioned gentleman in the world!" And by the

continual discoveries and expressions of such a temper, he so gained the hearts of them who waited upon him in any of his expeditions, that they would commonly profess themselves willing still, "to have gone with him to the end of the world."

But if all other people found him so kind a neighbour, we may easily infer what an husband he was unto his lady. Leaving unmentioned that virtue of his chastity, which the prodigious depravation brought by the late reigns upon the manners of the nation has made worthy to be mentioned as a virtue somewhat extraordinary, I shall rather pass on to say, that the love, even to *fondness*, with which he always treated her, was a matter not only of *observation*, but even of such *admiration*, that every one said, "the age afforded not a kinder husband!"

But we must now return to our story.

§ 19. When persons do by studies full of *curiosity* seek to inform themselves of things about which the God of Heaven hath forbidden our *curious enquiries*, there is a marvellous *impression*, which the *dæmons* do often make on the minds of those their votaries, about the *future* or *secret* matters unlawfully enquired after, and at last there is also an horrible *possession*, which those *Futidic dæmons* do take of them. The *snares* of hell, hereby laid for miserable mortals, have been such, that when I read the laws which Angellius affirms to have been made, even in Pagan Rome, against the *Vaticinatores*,* I wonder that no English nobleman or gentleman signalizes his regard unto Christianity, by doing what even a Roman Tully would have done, in promoting an Act of Parliament against that Paganish practice of *judicial astrology*, whereof, if such men as Austin were now living, they would assert, "The devil first found it, and they that profess it are enemies of truth and of God."

In the mean time, I cannot but relate a wonderful experience of Sir William Phips, by the relation whereof something of an *antidote* may be given against a *poison* which the diabolical *figure-flingers* and *fortune-tellers* that swarm all the world over may insinuate into the minds of men. Long before Mr. Phips came to be Sir William, while he sojourned in London, there came into his lodging an old *astrologer*, living in the neighbourhood; who, making some *observation* of him, though he had small or no *conversation* with him, did (howbeit by him wholly undesired) one day send him a paper, wherein he had, with pretences of a rule in astrology for each article, distinctly noted the most material passages that were to befal this our Phips in the remaining part of his life; it was particularly asserted and inserted, that he should be engaged in a design, wherein, by reason of enemies at Court, he should meet with much delay; that nevertheless in the *thirty-seventh* year of his life, he should find a *mighty-treasure;* that in the *forty-first* year of his life, his King should employ him in as great a *trust beyond sea* as a subject could easily have; that soon after this he should

* Astrologers.

undergo an hard *storm* from the endeavours of his adversaries to *reproach* him and *ruin* him; that his adversaries, though they should go very *near* gaining the point, should yet *miss* of doing so; that he should hit upon a vastly *richer matter* than any he had hitherto met withal; that he should continue *thirteen years* in his publick station, full of action and full of hurry; and the rest of his days he should spend in the satisfaction of a *peaceable retirement.*

Mr. Phips received this undesired paper with trouble and with contempt, and threw it by among certain loose papers in the bottom of a trunk, where his lady some years after accidentally lit upon it. His lady with admiration saw, step after step, very much of it accomplished; but when she heard from England that Sir William was coming over with a commission to be governour of New-England, in that very year of his life which the paper specified, she was afraid of letting it lye any longer in the house, but cast it into the *fire.*

Now, the thing which I must invite my reader to remark is this, that albeit Almighty God may permit the *devils to predict*, and perhaps to *perform* very many particular things to men, that shall by such a "presumptuous and unwarrantable jugglę as astrology" (so Dr. Hall well calls it!) or any other *divination*, consult them, yet the *devils* which *foretel* many *true* things, do commonly *foretel* some that are *false*, and, it may be, propose by the things that are *true* to betray men into some fatal misbelief and miscarriage about those that are *false.*

Very singular therefore was the wisdom of Sir William Phips, that as he ever treated these *prophesies* about him with a most *pious neglect*, so when he had seen all but the *two last* of them very punctually fulfilled, yea, and seen the beginning of a fulfilment unto the *last but one* also, yet when I pleasantly mentioned them unto him, on purpose to *try* whether there were any occasion for me humbly to give him the serious advice necessary in such a case to anticipate the devices of Satan, he prevented my advice, by saying to me, "Sir, I do believe there might be a cursed snare of Satan in those prophesies: I believe Satan might have leave to foretel many things, all of which might come to pass in the beginning, to lay me asleep about such things as are to follow, especially about the main chance of all; I do not know but I am to die this year: for my part, by the help of the grace of God, I shall endeavour to live as if I were this year to die." And let the reader now attend the event!

§ 20. 'Tis a similitude which I have learned from no less a person than the great Basil: that *as* the *eye* sees not those objects which are applied close unto it, and even lye upon it; but when the objects are to some distance removed, it clearly discerns them: *so* we have little sense of the good which we have in our enjoyments, until God, by the removal thereof, teach us better to prize what we once enjoyed. It is true, the generality of sober and thinking people among the New-Englanders, did as highly

value the *government* of Sir William Phips whilst he lived, as they do his *memory* since his death; nevertheless, it must be confessed, that the blessing which the country had in his indefatigable zeal to serve the publick in all its interests, was not so valued as it should have been.

It was mentioned long since as a notorious fault in Old Egypt, that it was *Loquax et ingeniosa in contumeliam præfectorum provincia: si quis forte vitaverit culpam, contumeliam non effugit:** and New-England has been at the best always too faulty, in that very character, "a province very talkative, and ingenious for the vilifying of its publick servants."

But Sir William Phips, who might in a *calm* of the commonwealth have administered all things with as general an acceptance as any that have gone before him, had the disadvantage of being set at *helm* in a time as full of *storm* as ever that province had seen; and the people having their spirits put into a *tumult* by the discomposing and distempering variety of disasters, which had long been rendring the time calamitous, it was natural for them, as 'tis for all men *then*, to be *complaining;* and you may be sure, the *rulers* must in such cases be always complained of, and the chief complaints must be heaped upon those that are *commanders in chief.* Nor has a certain proverb in Asia been improper in America, "He deserves no man's good word, of whom every man shall speak well."

Sir William was very hardly *handled* (or *tongued* at least) in the liberty which people took to make most unbecoming and injurious reflections upon his conduct, and clamour against him, even for those very actions which were not only *necessary* to be done, but highly *beneficial* unto themselves; and though he would ordinarily smile at their *frowardness*, calling it *his country pay*, yet he sometimes resented it with some uneasiness: he seemed unto himself sometimes almost as bad as rolled about in Regulus' barrel; and had occasion to think on the Italian proverb, "To wait for one who does not come; to lye a bed not able to sleep; and to find it impossible to please those whom we serve; are three griefs enough to kill a man."

But as froward as the people were, under the *epidemical vexations* of the age, yet there were very few that would acknowledge unto the very last, "It will be hardly possible for us to see another governour that shall more intirely love and serve the country:" yea, had the country had the choice of their own governour, 'tis judged their *votes,* more than forty to one, would have still fallen upon him to have been the man: and the General Assembly therefore on all occasions renewed their petitions unto the King for his continuance.

Nevertheless, there was a little party of men who thought they must not "sleep till they had caused him to fall:" and they so vigorously prosecuted certain articles before the Council-board at Whitehall against him,

* A province, very free-spoken and ingenious in disparaging its public officers: so that if one of them should be so fortunate as to avoid ill conduct, he would not be lucky enough to escape an ill name.

that they imagined they had gained an *order* of his Majesty in Council to suspend him immediately from his government, and appoint a committee of persons nominated by his enemies, to hear all depositions against him; and so a report of the whole to be made unto the King and Council.

But his Majesty was too well informed of Sir William's integrity to permit such a sort of procedure; and therefore he signified unto his most honourable Council that nothing should be done against Sir William, until he had opportunity to clear himself; and thereupon he sent his royal commands unto Sir William to come over. To give any retorting accounts of the principal persons who thus adversaried him, would be a thing so contrary to the spirit of Sir William Phips himself, who at his leaving of New-England bravely declared that he "freely forgave them all;" and if he had returned thither again, would never have taken the least revenge upon them, that *this* alone would oblige me, if I had no other obligations of Christianity upon me, to forbear it; and it may be, for some of them, it would be "to throw water upon a drowned mouse."

Nor need I to produce any more about the *articles* which these men exhibited against him, than *this:* that it was by most men believed that, if he would have connived at some *arbitrary oppressions* too much used by some kind of officers on the King's subjects, *few* perhaps, or *none* of those articles had ever been formed; and that he apprehended himself to be provided with a full *defence* against them all.

Nor did his Excellency seem loth to have had his case tried under the brazen tree of Gariac, if there had been such an one as that mentioned by the fabulous Murtadi, in his prodigies of Egypt, a tree which had iron branches with sharp *hooks* at the end of them, that when any false accuser approached, as the fabel says, immediately flew at him, and stuck in him, until he had ceased injuring his adversary.

Wherefore, in obedience unto the King's commands, he took his leave of Boston on the seventeenth of November, 1694, attended with all proper testimonies of respect and honour from the *body* of the people, which he had been the *head* unto; and with addresses unto their Majesties, and the chief Ministers of State from the General Assembly, humbly imploring that they might not be deprived of the happiness which they had in such an *head.*

Arriving at Whitehall, he found in a few days that, notwithstanding all the impotent rage of his adversaries, particularly vented and printed in a *villanous libel,* as well as almost in as many other ways as there are mouths, at which Fyal sometimes has vomited out its infernal fires, he had all *humane assurance* of his returning in a very few weeks again the governour of New-England.

Wherefore there were especially *two designs,* full of service to the whole English nation, as well as his own particular country of New-England, which he applied his *thoughts* unto. First, he had a new *scene* of action

opened unto him, in an opportunity to supply the Crown with all naval stores at most *easie rates*, from those eastern parts of the Massachuset province, which, through the conquest that *he* had made thereof, came to be inserted in the Massachuset-charter. As no man was more *capable* than *he* to improve this opportunity unto a vast advantage, so his *inclination* to it was according to his capacity.

And he longed with some impatience to see the King furnished from his own dominions with such floating and stately castles, those "wooden-walls of Great Britain," for much of which he has hitherto traded with foreign kingdoms. Next, if I may say *next* unto this, he had an eye upon Canada; all attempts for the reducing whereof had hitherto proved abortive.

It was but a few months ago that a considerable fleet, under Sir Francis Wheeler, which had been sent into the West-Indies to subdue Martenico, was ordered then to call at New-England, that being recruited there, they might make a further descent upon Canada; but Heaven frowned upon that expedition, especially by a terrible sickness, the most like the *plague* of any thing that has been ever seen in America, whereof there died, ere they could reach to Boston, as I was told by Sir Francis himself, no less than *thirteen* hundred sailors out of *twenty-one*, and no less than *eighteen* hundred soldiers out of *twenty-four*.

It was now therefore his desire to have satisfied the King that his whole interest in America lay at stake while Canada was in French hands; and therewithal to have laid before several noblemen and gentlemen how beneficial an undertaking it would have been for them to have pursued the Canadian-business, for which the New-Englanders were now grown too feeble; their country being too far now, as Bede says England once was, *Omni Milite et floridæ Juventutis Alacritate spoliata.**

Besides these *two* designs in the *thoughts* of Sir William, there was a *third*, which he had hopes that the King would have given him leave to have pursued, after he had continued so long in his government, as to have obtained the more *general welfare* which he designed in the former instances. I do not mean the making of New-England the seat of a Spanish trade, though so vastly profitable a thing was likely to have been brought about by his being one of an honourable company engaged in such a project.

But the Spanish wreck, where Sir William had made his first *good voyage*, was not the *only*, nor the *richest* wreck, that he knew to be lying under the water. He knew particularly that when the ship which had Governour Boadilla aboard, was cast away, there was, as Peter Martyr says, an entire table of gold of *three thousand three hundred and ten pound weight.*

The Duke of Albermarle's patent for all such wrecks now expiring, Sir William thought on the *motto* which is upon the gold medal, bestowed by the late King, with his Knighthood upon him, *Semper Tibi pendeat*

* Drained of all its soldiery and its young and active citizens.

Hamus;* and supposing himself to have gained sufficient information of the right way to such a wreck, it was his purpose, upon his dismission from his government, once more to have gone unto his old *fishing-trade*, upon a mighty shelf of rocks and banks of sands that lye where he had informed himself.

But as the prophet Haggai and Zechariah, in their psalm upon the grants made unto their people by the Emperors of Persia, have that reflection, "Man's breath goeth forth, he returns to his earth; in that very day his thoughts perish," my reader must now see what came of all these considerable *thoughts*. About the middle of February, 1694, Sir William found himself indisposed with a cold, which obliged him to keep his chamber; but under this indisposition he received the honour of a visit from a very eminent person at Whitehall, who upon sufficient assurance, bade him "Get well as fast as he could, for in one month's time he should be again dispatched away to his government of New-England."

Nevertheless, his distemper proved a sort of malignant feaver, whereof many about this time died in the city; and it suddenly put an end at once unto his *days* and *thoughts*, on the eighteenth of February; to the extream surprize of his friends, who honourably interred him in the church of St. Mary Woolnoth, and with him, how much of New England's happiness!

§ 21. Although he has now "no more a portion for ever in any thing that is done under the sun," yet justice requires that *his memory be not forgotten*. I have not all this while said *he was faultless*, nor am I unwilling to use for him the words which Mr. Calamy had in his funeral sermon for the excellent Earl of Warwick, "It must be confessed, lest I should prove a flatterer, he had his infirmities, which I trust Jesus Christ has covered with the robe of his righteousness: my prayer to God is, that all his infirmities may be buried in the grave of oblivion, and that all his virtues and graces may supervive;" although perhaps there were no infirmities in that noble person, which Mr. Calamy counted so.

Nevertheless, I must also say, that if the anguish of his publick fatigues threw Sir William into any faults of passion, they were but *faults* of *passion* soon recalled: and *spots* being soonest seen in *ermin*, there was usually the *most* made of them that could be, by those that were least *free* themselves.

After all, I do not know that I have been, by any personal obligations or circumstances, charmed into any partiality for the memory of this worthy man; but I do here, from a real satisfaction of conscience concerning him, declare to all the world, that I reckon him to have been really a very worthy man; that few men in the world, rising from so mean an original as he, would have acquitted themselves with a thousandth part of his *capacity* or *integrity*; that he left unto the world a notable example of a disposition to *do good*, and encountred and overcame almost invincible *temptations* in doing it.

* Let the barb hang from thee always.

And I do most solemnly profess, that I have most conscientiously endeavoured the utmost sincerity and veracity of a Christian, as well as an historian, in the history which I have now given of him. I have not written of Sir William Phips, as they say Xenophon did of Cyrus, *Non ad Historiæ Fidem, sed ad Effigiem veri imperii:** what *should* have been, rather than what really *was*. If the envy of his few enemies be not now quiet, I must freely say it, that for many weeks before he died, there was not one man among his *personal enemies* whom *he* would not readily and chearfully have done all the kind offices of a *friend* unto: wherefore, though the gentleman in England that once published a vindication of Sir William Phips against some of his enemies, chose to put the name of *publicans* upon them, they must in *this* be counted worse than the Publicans of whom our Saviour says, "They love those that love them."

And I will say this further, that when certain persons had found the *skull* of a *dead man*, as a Greek writer of epigrams has told us, they all fell a weeping, but only one of the company, who laughed and flouted, and through an unheard-of cruelty, threw *stones* at it, which *stones* wonderfully rebounded back upon the face of him that threw them, and miserably wounded him: thus, if any shall be so unchristian—yea, so inhumane—as libellously to throw stones at so deserved a reputation as this gentleman has died withal, they shall see a *just rebound* of all their calumnies.

But the name of Sir William Phips will be heard honourably mentioned in the trumpets of immortal fame, when the names of many that *antipathied* him will either be buried in eternal oblivion, without any *sacer vates*† to preserve them; or be remembered, but like that of Judas in the gospel, or Pilate in the creed, with eternal infamy.

The old Persians indeed, according to the report of Agathias, exposed their *dead* friends to be torn in pieces by wild beasts, believing that if they lay long *unworried*, they had been *unworthy* persons; but all attempts of surviving malice to demonstrate in that way the worth of this dead gentleman, give me leave to *rate off* with indignation.

And I must with a like freedom say, that great was the fault of New-England no more to value a person whose *opportunities* to serve all their interests, though very eminent, yet were not so eminent as his *inclinations*. If this whole continent carry in its very name of America an unaccountable *ingratitude* unto that brave man who first led any numbers of Europeans thither, it must not be wondred at, if now and then a particular country in that continent afford some instances of ingratitude: but I must believe that the ingratitude of many, both to God and man, for such *benefits* as that country of New-England enjoyed from a governour of their own, by whom they enjoyed, *great quietness, with very worthy deeds done unto that nation by his providence*, was that which hastned the removal of such a benefactor from them.

* Not with historic accuracy, but to illustrate his idea of a well-governed empire. † Consecrated bard.

However, as the Cyprians buried their friends in *honey*, to whom they gave *gall* when they were born; thus whatever *gall* might be given to this gentleman while he lived, I hope none will be so base as to put any thing but *honey* into their language of him now after his decease. And, indeed, since 'tis a frequent thing among men to wish for the presence of our friends, when they are dead and gone, whom, while they were present with us, we undervalued; there is no way for us to fetch back our Sir William Phips, and make him yet living with us, but by setting up a *statue* for him, as 'tis done in these pages, that may out-last an ordinary *monument.*

Such was the original design of erecting *statues*, and if in Venice there were at once no less than an hundred and sixty-two marble, and twenty-three brazen statues, erected by the order, and at the expence of the publick, in honour of so many valiant soldiers, who had merited well of that commonwealth, I am sure New-England has had those whose merits call for as good an acknowledgment; and, whatever they did *before*, it will be well, if *after* Sir William Phips, they find many as meritorious as he to be so acknowledged.

Now I cannot my self provide a better statue for this memorable person, than the *words* uttered on the occasion of his death in a very great assembly, by a person of so diffused and embalmed a reputation in the church of God, that such a character from *him* were enough to immortalize the reputation of the person upon whom he should bestow it.

The Grecians employed still the most honourable and considerable persons they had among them, to make a *funeral oration* in commendation of soldiers that had lost their lives in the service of the publick: and when Sir William Phips, the Captain-General of New-England, who had often ventured his life to serve the publick, did expire, that reverend person, who was the president of the only University then in the English America, preached a sermon on that passage of the sacred writ, Isa. lvii. 1: "Merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous are taken away from the evil to come;" and it gave Sir William Phips the following testimony:

"This province is beheaded, and lyes a bleeding. A GOVERNOUR is taken away, who was a merciful man; some think too merciful; and if so, 'tis best erring on that hand; and a righteous man; who, when he had great opportunities of gaining by *injustice*, did refuse to do so.

"He was a known friend unto the best interests and unto the Churches of God: not ashamed of owning them. No: how often have I heard him expressing his desires to be an instrument of good unto them! He was a zealous lover of his country, if any man in the world were so: he exposed *himself* to serve it; he ventured his *life* to save it: in *that*, a true Nehemiah, a governour that "sought the welfare of his people."

"He was one who did not *seek* to have the government cast upon him: no, but instead thereof, to my knowledge, he did several times petition the King that this people might always enjoy the 'great privilege of chusing their own governour;' and I heard him express his desires that it might be so to several of the chief ministers of state in the Court of England.

"He is now dead, and not capable of being *flattered:* but this I must testifie concerning him, that though by the providence of God I have been with him at home and abroad, near

at home and afar off, by land and by sea, *I never saw him do any evil action, or heard him speak any thing unbecoming a Christian.*

"The circumstances of his death seem to intimate the *anger* of God, in that he was 'in the midst of his days' removed; and I know (though *few* did) that he had *great purposes* in his heart, which probably would have taken effect, if he had lived a few months longer, to the great advantage of this province; but now he is gone, there is not a man living in the world capacitated for those undertakings; New-England knows not yet what they have lost!"

The recitation of a testimony so great, whether for the author or the matter of it, has now made a *statue* for the governour of New-England, which

*Nec poterit Ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.**

And there now remains nothing more for *me* to do about it, but only to recite herewithal a well-known story related by Suidas, That an *envious* man, once going to pull down a statue which had been raised unto the memory of one whom he maligned, he only got this by it, that the statue, falling, knocked out his brains.

But *Poetry* as well as *History* must pay its dues unto him. If Cicero's poem, intituled, "*Quadrigæ*," wherein he did with a *poetical chariot* extol the exploits of Cæsar in Britain to the very skies, were now extant in the world, I would have borrowed some *flights* of *that* at least, for the subject now to be adorned. But instead thereof, let the reader accept the ensuing *Elegy.*

UPON THE DEATH OF SIR WILLIAM PHIPS, KNT.

LATE CAPTAIN GENERAL AND GOVERNOUR IN CHIEF OF THE PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSET-BAY IN NEW-ENGLAND, WHO EXPIRED AT LONDON, FEBRUARY, 1694–5.

And to *Mortality* a sacrifice
Falls *he*, whose deeds must him *immortalize!*

REJOICE, *Messieurs;* Netops, rejoice; 'tis true,
Ye Philistines, none will rejoice but *you;*
Loving of *all* he dy'd; who love *him* not
Now, have the grace of *publicans* forgot.
Our Almanacks foretold a great eclipse,
This they foresaw not, of our *greater* PHIPS.
PHIPS our great friend, our wonder, and our glory,
The terror of our foes, the world's rare story.
England will boast him too, whose noble mind
Impell'd by Angels, did those treasures find,
Long in the bottom of the ocean laid,
Which her three hundred thousand richer made,
By silver yet ne'er canker'd, nor defil'd
By Honour, nor betrayed when Fortune smil'd.
Since this bright Phœbus visited our shoar,
We saw no *fogs* but what were rais'd before:
Those vanish'd too; harass'd by bloody *wars*,
Our land saw *peace*, by his most generous cares,
The wolfish Pagans, at his dreaded name,
Tam'd, shrunk before him, and his dogs became!
Fell Moxus and fierce Dockawando fall,
Charm'd at the feet of our brave general.
Fly-blow the *dead*, pale *Envy:* let him not
(What *hero* ever did?) escape a blot.
All is distort with an inchanted eye,
And *heighth* will make what's *right* still stand awry.
He was—Oh that *he was!*—his *faults* we'll tell,
Such *faults* as these we *knew*, and *lik'd* them well.
Just to an injury; denying none
Their dues; but *self-denying* oft his own.
Good to a miracle; resolv'd to do
Good unto all, whether they would or no.
To make us good, great, wise, and all things else,
He wanted but the *gift of miracles.*
On him, vain *Mob*, thy mischiefs cease to throw;
Bad, but alone in *this*, the *times* were so.
Stout to a prodigy; living in pain
To send back Quebeck-bullets once again.
Thunder, his musick, sweeter than the spheres,
Chim'd roaring canons in his martial ears.
Frigats of armed men could not withstand,
'Twas tryed, the force of his one *swordless hand*—
Hand, which in one, all of Briareus had,
And Herculus' twelve *toils* but *pleasures* made.
Too *humble;* in brave *stature* not so tall,
As low in *carriage*, stooping unto all.
Rais'd in estate, in figure and renown,
Not *pride; higher*, and yet not *prouder* grown.
Of *pardons* full; ne'er to *revenge* at all,
Was that which he would *satisfaction* call.
True to his mate; from whom though often flown,
A stranger yet to every love but one.
Write him not *childless*, whose whole people were
Sons, *orphans* now, of his paternal care.
Now lest ungrateful brands we should incur,
Your salary we'll pay in *tears*, GREAT SIR!
To England often blown, and by his Prince
Often sent laden with *preferments* thence.
Preferr'd each time he went, when all was done
That *earth* could do, heaven fetch'd him to a crown.
'Tis *he:* with *him* interr'd how great designs!
Stand fearless now, ye eastern firs and pines,
With naval stores not to enrich the nation,
Stand, for the *universal conflagration.*
Mines, opening unto none but him, now stay
Close under lock and key, till the last day:
In this, like to the *grand aurifick stone*,
By any but *great souls* not to be known.
And thou, rich table, with Bodilla lost,
In the fair Galeon, on our Spanish coast,
In weight three thousand and three hundred pound,
But of pure massy gold, lye *thou*, not found,
Safe, since *he's* laid under the *earth* asleep,
Who learned where thou dost under *water* keep.
But thou, chief loser, poor NEW-ENGLAND, speak
Thy dues to such as did thy welfare seek,
The governour that vowed to *rise and fall*
With thee, thy fate shows in *his* funeral.
Write now *his* epitaph, 'twill be *thine own*,
Let it be this, A PUBLICK SPIRIT'S GONE.
Or, but name PHIPS; more needs not be expreat;
Both Englands, and next *ages*, tell the rest.

* "Nor sword, nor rust of time shall e'er destroy."—OVID. *Metamorph.* XV.

POLYBIUS.

THE THIRD BOOK

OF

THE NEW-ENGLISH HISTORY:

CONTAINING

THE LIVES

OF

MANY REVEREND, LEARNED, AND HOLY DIVINES,

(ARRIVING SUCH FROM EUROPE TO AMERICA,)

BY WHOSE EVANGELICAL MINISTRY THE CHURCHES OF N. ENGLAND HAVE BEEN ILLUMINATED.

BY COTTON MATHER.

Testor, — — Christianum de Christiano vera proferre.
[I bear witness that a Christian here relates the truth concerning other Christians.]

Παντων κατα Θεον πολιτευσαμενων 'ο βιος τοις ευσεβεσιν 'ωφελιμωτατος, 'ουχ' ὑποδειγμα μονον ἀλλα και παρακλησις, ὑπαρχων προς ἀρετην.—*Simeon Metaphrast.* in Vitâ *Chrysostomi.*
[The lives of those who rule in the fear of God are profitable to pious men, inasmuch as they are not only exemplars of virtue, but incentives to it.]

Equidem efferor studio Patres vestros, quos colui, et dilexi, videndi.
["I am transported with a desire to see your fathers, whom I have cherished and loved."]
CICERO, *de Senectute.*

HARTFORD:
SILAS ANDRUS & SON.
1853.

INTRODUCTION.

WHAT was it that obliged Jerom to write his book, *De Viris Illustribus?** It was the common reproach of old cast upon the Christians, "That they were all poor, weak, unlearned men." The sort of men sometime called *Puritans*, in the English nation have been reproached with the same character; and as a malignant Stapleton counted the terms of an *ass*, and a *fool*, good enough to treat our incomparable Whitaker. No less basely are the best of Protestants often termed and thought, by the men who know no Christianity but ceremony. There hath been too much of that envy, that *Sapientior sis Socrate, Doctior Augustino, Calvenianus si modò dicare, clam, vel propalam, mox Tartaris, Moscis, Afris, Turcisque sævientibus, jacebis execratior.*† A wretchedness often seen in English; I shall not English it. This is one thing that has laid me under obligation here to write a book, *De Viris Illustribus:* in the whole whereof I will, with a most conscientious and religious regard of truth, save our *history* from any share in that old complaint of Melchior Canus, *Dolenter hoc dico, multò à Laertio severius Vitas Philosophorum scriptas esse, quàm à Christianis, Vitas Christianorum:*‡ the *lives* of *philosophers* more truly written, than the *lives* of *Christians.*

Reader, behold these *examples;* admire and follow what thou dost behold *exemplary* in them. They are offered unto the publick, with the intention sometimes mentioned by Gregory: *Ut qui Præceptis non accendimur, saltem Exemplis incitemur; atque ac Appetitu Rectitudinis nil sibi mens nostra difficile æstimet, quod perfectè peragi ab aliis videt:*§ that *patterns* may have upon us the force which *precepts* have not.

If a man were so absurd as to form his *ideas* of the primitive Christians from the monstrous accusations of their adversaries, he would soon perswade himself, that their *God* was the *Deus Christianorum Anonychites,*‖ whose image was erected at Rome. And if a man should have no other ideas of the Puritan Christians in our days, than what the tory-pens of the sons of Bolsecus have given them, we would think that it was a just thing to banish them into the cold swamps of the North-America. But when *truth* shall have liberty to speak, it will be known, that Christianity never was more expressed unto the *life*, than in the *lives* of the persons that have been thus reproached among the legions of the accuser of the brethren. It speaks in the ensuing pages! *Here*, behold them, of whom the world was not worthy, wandring in desarts!

Arnobius was put upon an apology, against our particular calumny, among the rest, "That at the meetings of the Christians, a dog, tyed unto the candlestick, drew away the light, whereupon they proceeded unto the most adulterous confusions in the world." And a great

* Concerning Illustrious Men.

† Though you are wiser than Socrates, more accomplished than Augustine, if you are only called a Calvinist, secretly or openly, you will soon be more execrably odious than Tartars, Muscovites, Moors, and bloody Turks.

‡ I confess with grief, that the Lives of Philosophers are written by Laertius with a far more strict adherence to truth, than the Lives of Christians by Christians.

§ So that, if not influenced by precepts, we may be affected by examples, and that in our zeal for virtue we may esteem nothing too difficult for us to achieve, which has already been exemplified by others.

‖ The God without claws.

man in his writings does affirm, "I have heard this very thing, told more than once, with no small confidence concerning the Puritans."

Reader, thou shalt now see what sort of men they were: Zion is not a city of fools. As Ignatius, in his famous epistles to the Trallians, mentioning their pastor, Polybius, reports him, "A man of so good and just a reputation, that the very Atheists did stand in fear of him," I hope our POLYBIUS, will afford many deserving such a character.

It was mentioned as the business and blessedness of John Baptist, "To turn the hearts of the fathers to the children." After a deal of more ado about the sence of the passage thus translated, I contented my self with another translation, "to turn the hearts of the fathers WITH the children;" because I find the preposition, ἐπι, as well as the præfix ב, in Mal. iv. 6, whence the passage is taken, to be rendred *with*, rather than *to*. The sence therefore I took to be, that John should convert both *old* and *young*. But further thought hath offered unto me a further gloss upon it: "to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children," is to turn the *children* by putting the *hearts* of the *fathers* into them; to give them such *hearts* as were in Abraham, and others of their famous and faithful *fathers*.

Reader, the book now in thy hands is to manage the design of a John Baptist, and convey the *hearts* of the *fathers* unto the *children*.

Archilocus being desirous to give prevailing and effectual advice unto Lycambes, by an elegant *Prosopopœia*, brought in his *dead father*, as giving the advice he was now writing, and as it were put his pen into his *father's hands*. Cicero being to read a lecture of temperance and modesty unto Clodia, raised up her father Appius Caius from the grave, and in his name delivered his directions. And now by introducing the *fathers* of *New-England*, without the least fiction, or figure of rhetorick, I hope the plain history of their lives will be a powerful way of propounding their fatherly counsels to their posterity. A stroke with the hand of a *dead man*, has before now been a remedy for a malady not easily remedied.

THE THIRD BOOK.

DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS.

IN FOUR PARTS.

CONTAINING

THE LIVES OF NEAR FIFTY DIVINES,

CONSIDERABLE IN THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND.

*Credunt de nobis quæ non probantur, et nolunt inquiri, ne probentur non esse, quæ malunt credidisse.**—TERT. APOL.

HAVING entertained my readers with a more imperfect *catalogue* "Of many persons whose memories deserve to be embalmed in a *civil history*;" I must so far consider, that it is an *ecclesiastical history* which I have undertaken, as to hasten unto a fuller and larger account of those persons who have been the ministers of the gospel, that fed the "flocks in the wilderness;" and, indeed, New-England having been in some sort an ecclesiastical country above any in this world, those men that have here appeared most considerable in an ecclesiastical capacity, may most reasonably challenge the most consideration in our history.

Take then a catalogue of New-England's first ministers, who, though they did not generally affect the exercise of church-government, as confined unto classes, yet shall give me leave to use the name of classes in my marshalling of them.

THE FIRST CLASSIS.

It shall be of such as were in the *actual exercise* of their ministry when they left England, and were the instruments of bringing the gospel into this wilderness, and of settling churches here according to the order of the gospel.

הסורים ראשרגום: OR, OUR FIRST GOOD MEN.

1. Mr. Thomas Allen, *of Charles-town.*
2. " John Allen, *of Dedham.*
3. " —— Avery, *of Marblehead.*
4. " Adam Blackman, *of Stratford.*
5. " Richard Blinman, *of Glocester.*
6. " —— Brucy, *of Brainford.*
7. " Edmund Brown, *of Sudbury.*
8. " Peter Bulkly, *of Concord.*
9. " Jonathan Burr, *of Dorchester.*
10. " Charles Chauncey, *of Scituate.*
11. " Thomas Cobbet, *of Lyn.*
12. " John Cotton, *of Boston.*
13. Mr. Timothy Dalton, *of Hampton.*
14. " John Davenport, *of New-Haven.*
15. " Richard Denton, *of Stamford.*
16. " Henry Dunstar, *of Cambridge.*
17. " Samuel Eaton, *of New-Haven.*
18. " John Elliot, *of Roxbury.*
19. " John Fisk, *of Chelmsford.*
20. " Henry Flint, *of Braintree.*
21. " —— Fordham, *of Southampton.*
22. " —— Green, *of Reading.*
23. " John Harvard, *of Charles-town.*
24. " Francis Higginson, *of Salem.*

* They [the people of Rome] believe of us [Christians] things that are not proved, and the truth of which they are reluctant to test, lest they should find that to be false which they love to believe.

25. Mr. William Hook, *of New-Haven.*
26. " Thomas Hooker, *of Hartford.*
27. " Peter Hobart, *of Hingham.*
28. " Ephraim Huet, *of Windsor.*
29. " —— Hull, *of the Isle of Sholes.*
30. " —— James, *of Charles-town.*
31. " —— Jones, *of Fairfield.*
32. " —— Knight, *of Topsfield.*
33. " —— Knowles, *of Watertown.*
34. " —— Leverick, *of Sandwich.*
35. " John Lothrop, *of Barnstable.*
36. " Richard Mather, *of Dorchester.*
37. " —— Maud, *of Dover.*
38. " —— Muverick, *of Dorchester.*
39. " John Mayo, *of Boston.*
40. " John Millar, *of Yarmouth.*
41. " —— Moxon, *of Springfield.*
42. " Samuel Newman, *of Rehoboth.*
43. " —— Norris, *of Salem.*
44. " John Norton, *of Boston.*
45. " James Noyse, *of Newberry.*
46. " Thomas Parker, *of Newberry.*
47. " Ralph Partridge, *of Duxbury.*
48. " —— Peck, *of Hingham.*
49. " Hugh Peters, *of Salem.*
50. " Thomas Peters, *of Saybrook*
51. " George Phillips, *of Watertown.*
52. Mr. —— Philips, *of Dedham.*
53. " Abraham Pierson, *of Southampton.*
54. " Peter Prudden, *of Milford.*
55. " —— Reyner, *of Plymouth.*
56. " Ezekiel Rogers, *of Rowly.*
57. " Nathaniel Rogers, *of Ipswich.*
58. " —— Saxton, *of Scituate.*
59. " Thomas Shepard, *of Cambridge.*
60. " Zachary Symms, *of Charles-town.*
61. " —— Skelton, *of Salem.*
62. " Ralph Smith, *of Plymouth.*
63. " —— Smith, *of Wethersfield.*
64. " Samuel Stone, *of Hartford.*
65. " Nicholas Street, *of New-Haven.*
66. " William Thompson, *of Braintree.*
67. " William Waltham, *of Marblehead.*
68. " Nathanael Ward, *of Ipswich*, and his son, Mr. John Ward, *of Haverhil.*
69. " John Warham, *of Windsor.*
70. " —— Weld, *of Roxbury.*
71. " —— Wheelright, *of Salisbury.*
72. " Henry Whitfield, *of Guilford.*
73. " Samuel Whiteing, *of Lyn.*
74. " John Wilson, *of Boston.*
75. " —— Witherel, *of Scituate.*
76. " William Worcester, *of Salisbury.*
77. " —— Young, *of Southold.*

Behold, one *seven* more than *seven decads* of persons, who, being devoted unto the sacred ministry of our Lord, were the first that enlightened the dark regions of America with their ministry! Know, reader, that it was by a particular *diversion* given by the hand of Heaven unto the *intentions* of that great man, Dr. William Ames, that we don't now find his name among the first in the catalogue of our New-English worthies. One of the most eminent and judicious persons that ever lived in this world, was *intentionally* a New-England man, though not *eventually*, when that *profound*, that *sublime*, that *subtil*, that *irrefragable*,—yea, that *angelical doctor*, was designing to transport himself into New-England; but he was hindred by that Providence which afterwards permitted his *widow*, his *children*, and his *library*, to be translated hither. And now, "our fathers, where are they? These prophets, have they lived for ever?" 'Twas the charge of the Almighty to other Kings, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm?" But the King of Terrors, pleading an exemption from that charge, has now *touched* every one of these holy men; however, all the *harm* it has done unto them, has been to carry them from this present evil world unto the "spirits of just men made perfect." I may now write upon all these *old* ministers of New-England the epitaph which the apostle hath left upon the priests of the Old Testament, "These were not suffered to continue, by reason of death;" adding the clause which he hath left upon the patriarchs of that Testament, "These all died in faith."

Wherefore we pass on to

THE SECOND CLASSIS.

It shall be of *young scholars*, whose education for their designed ministry

not being finished, yet came over from England with their friends, and had their education perfected in this country, before the College was come unto maturity enough to bestow its laurels.

1. Mr. Samul Arnold, *of Marshfield.*
2. " John Bishop, *of Stamford.*
3. " Edward Bulkly, *of Concord.*
4. " ——— Carter, *of Woburn.*
5. " Francis Dean, *of Andover.*
6. " James Fitch, *of Norwich.*
7. " ——— Hunford, *of Norwalk.*
8. Mr. John Higginson, *of Salem.*
9. " ——— Hough, *of Reading.*
10. " ———James, *of Easthampton.*
11. " Roger Newton, *of Milford.*
12. " John Sherman, *of Watertown.*
13. " Thomas Thacher, *of Boston.*
14. " John Woodbridge, *of Newberry.*

Of these *two sevens*, almost all are gone, *where* to be is, *by far*, *the best* of all. But these were not come to an age for service to the church of God, before the wisdom, and prudence of the New-Englanders did remarkably signifie it self, in the founding of a COLLEGE, from whence the most of their congregations were afterwards supplied; "a river, the streams whereof made glad the city of God." From that hour *Old* England had more ministers from *New*, than our New-England had since *then* from Old; nevertheless after a cessation of ministers coming hither from Europe, for twenty years together, we had another set of *them*, "coming over to help us;" wherefore take yet the names of *two sevens* more.

We will now proceed unto

THE THIRD CLASSIS.

It shall be of such ministers as came over to New-England after the re-establishment of the *Episcopal*-church-government in England, and the *persecution* which then hurricanoed such as were non-conformists unto that establishment.

1. Mr. James Allen, *of Boston.*
2. " John Bailey, *of Watertown.*
3. " Thomas Baily, *of Watertown.*
4. " ——— Barnet, *of New-London.*
5. " James Brown, *of Swansey.*
6. " Thomas Gilbert, *of Topsfield.*
7. " James Keith, *of Bridgewater.*
8. Mr. Samuel Lee, *of Bristol.*
9. " Charles Morton, *of Charles-town.*
10. " Charles Nicholet, *of Salem.*
11. " John Oxenbridge, *of Boston.*
12. " Thomas Thornton, *of Yarmouth.*
13. " Thomas Walley, *of Barnstable.*
14. " William Woodrop, *of Lancaster.*

It is well known that, quickly after the revival of the English Hierarchy, those whose consciences did not allow them to worship God, in some ways and modes then by *law established*, were pursued with a violence which doubtless many thousands of those whom the Church of England, in its national constitution, acknowledges for her sons, were so far from *approving* or *assisting*, that they *abhorred it.* What *spirit acted* the party that raised this persecution, one may *guess* from a passage which I find in a book of Mr. Giles Firmius. A lady assured him that she, signifying unto a parliament-man her dislike of the "act of uniformity," when they were about it, and saying, "I see you are laying a snare in the gate," he replied, "Ay, if we can find any way to catch the rogues, we will have them!" It is well known that near five-and-twenty hundred faithful ministers of the Gospel were now *silenced* in one *black day*, because they could not com-

ply with some things, by themselves counted sinful, but by the imposers confessed *indifferent.* And it is affirmed that, by a modest calculation, this persecution procured the untimely death of *three thousand* non-conformists, and the ruine of *threescore thousand families*, within five-and-twenty years. Many retired into New-England, that they might have a little *rest* at *noon*, with the flocks of our Lord in this wilderness; but setting aside some eminent persons of a New-English *original*, which were driven back out of Europe into their own country again, by that storm, *these few* were the most of the ministers, that fled hither from it. I will not presume to give the reasons why no *more;* but observing a glorious providence of the Lord Jesus Christ in moving the *stars* to shine where they were most wanted, I will conclude, lamenting the disaster of New-England, in the interruption which a particular providence of Heaven gave unto the designs of that incomparable person Dr. John Owen, who had gone so far as to ship him self, with intents to have taken this country in his way to his eternal rest: it must have been our singular advantage and ornament, if we had thus enjoyed among us one of the *greatest men* that this last age produced.

REMARKS,

ESPECIALLY UPON THE FIRST CLASS, IN OUR CATALOGUE OF MINISTERS.

I. All, or *most*, of the ministers that make up our two first classes, came over from England within the two first *lustres* of years, after the first settlement of the country. After the year 1640, that part of the Church of England which took up arms in the old cause of the "long Parliament," and which, among all its parliament-men—commanders, lord-lieutenants, major-generals, and sea-captains—had scarce any but conformists; I say, *that part* of the Church of England, knowing the Puritans to be generally inclinable unto those principles of such writers as Bilson and Hooker, whereupon the Parliament then acted; and seeing them to be generally of the truest English spirit, for the preservation of the English liberties and properties, for which the Parliament then declared, (although there were some non-conformists in the King's army also:) it was found necessary to have the assistance of that considerable people. Whereupon ensued such a *change of times*, that instead of Old England's driving its best people into New, it was it self turned into New. The body of the Parliament and its friends, which were conformists in the beginning of that miserable war, before the war was ended, became such as those old non-conformists, whose union with them in *political* interests produced an union in *religious.* The Romanizing Laudians miscarried in their enterprize; the Anglicane church could not be carried over to the Gallicane. This was not the first instance of a shipwreck befalling a vessel bound for Rome; nor will it be the last: a vessel bound such a voyage must be shipwrecked, though St. Paul himself were aboard.

II. The occasion upon which these excellent ministers retired into an horrid wilderness of America, and encountred the dismal hardships of such a wilderness, was the violent *persecution* wherewith a prevailing party in the Church of England harassed them. In their own land they were hereby deprived, not only of their *livings*, but also of their *liberty* to exercise their ministry, which was dearer to them than their livings—yea, than their very lives: and they were exposed unto extreme sufferings, because they conscientiously dissented from the use of some things in the worship of God, which they accounted *sins*. But I leave it unto the consideration of mankind, whether this *forbidding of such men to do their duty*, were no ingredient of that iniquity which, immediately upon the departure of these good men brought upon Great Britain, and especially upon the greatest authors of this persecution, "a wrath unto the uttermost," in the ensuing desolations. All that I shall add upon it is, that I remember the prophet, speaking of what had been done of old by the Assyrians to the land of the Chaldæans, uses an expression which we translate, in Isa. xxiii. 12: "He brought it unto ruine:" but there is a Punic word, *Mapatra*, which old Festus (and Servius) affirm to signify *cottages;* according to Philargyrius, it signifies, *Casas in Eremo habitantium:** now that is the very word here used, מפלה † and the condition of *cottagers in a wilderness* is meant by *the ruine* there spoken of. Truly, such was the *ruine* which the *ceremonious* persecutors then brought upon the most conscientious non-conformists unto their unscriptural *ceremonies*. But as the "kingdom of darkness" uses to be always at length overthrown by its own *policy*, so will be at last found no advantage unto that party in the Church of England, that the *orders* and *actions* of the churches by them thus produced, become an *history*.

III. These ministers of the gospel, which were (without *any odious comparison*) as faithful, painful, useful ministers as most in the nation, being thus *exiled* from a *sinful nation*, there were not known to be left so many non-conformist ministers as there were counties in England: and yet they were quickly so multiplied, that a matter of twenty years after, there could be found far more than *twenty hundred*, that were so grounded in their non-conformity, as to undergo the loss of all things, rather than make shipwreck of it. When Antiochus commanded all the *books* of sacred Scripture to be burnt, they were not only preserved, but presently after they appeared out of their hidden places, being translated into the Greek tongue, and carried abroad unto many other patrons. It was now thought there was effectual care taken to destroy all those men that made these *books* the only rule of their devotions; but, behold, they presently appeared in greater numbers, and many other nations began to be illuminated by them.

IV. *Most*, if not *all*, of the ministers who then visited these regions, were either attended or followed with a number of pious people, who had lived within the reach of their ministry in England. These, who were now also

* Cottages of dwellers in the wilderness. † Desert lodges.

become generally non-conformists, having found the powerful impressions of those good men's ministry upon their souls, continued their sincere affections unto that ministry, and were willing to accompany it unto those utmost "ends of the earth." Indeed, the ministers of New-England have this always to recommend them unto a good regard with the Crown of England, that the most flourishing plantation in all the American dominions of that crown, is more owing to *them* than to any sort of men whatsoever.

V. Some of the *ministers*, and many of the *gentlemen* that came over with the ministers, were persons of considerable estates; who therewith charitably brought over many *poor families* of godly people, that were not of themselves able to bear the charges of their transportation; and they were generally careful also to bring over none but *godly servants* in their own families, who afterwards, by God's blessing on their industry, have arrived, many of them, unto such plentiful estates, that they have had occasion to think of the advice which a famous person gave in a public sermon at their first coming over: "You (said he) that are servants, mark what I say: I desire and exhort you to be kind a while hence unto your master's children. It won't be long before you that came with nothing into the country, will be rich men, when your masters, having buried their rich estates in the country, will go near to leave their families in a mean condition; wherefore, when it shall be well with you, I charge you to remember them."

VI. The ministers and Christians by whom New-England was first planted, were a *chosen company* of men; picked out of, perhaps, all the counties in England, and this by no *human contrivance*, but by a strange *work of God* upon the *spirits* of men that were, no ways, acquainted with one another, inspiring them, as *one man*, to *secede* into a wilderness, they knew not *where*, and *suffer* in that wilderness, they knew not *what*. It was a reasonable expression once used by that eminent person, the present lieutenant-governour of New-England in a very great assembly, "God sifted three nations, that he might bring choice grain into this wilderness."

VII. The *design* of these *refugees*, thus carried into the wilderness, was, that they might there "sacrifice unto the Lord their God:" it was, that they might maintain the *power of godliness* and practise the *evangelical worship* of our Lord Jesus Christ, in all the parts of it, without any *human* innovations and impositions: defended by charters, which at once gave them so far the *protection* of their King, and the *election* of so many of their subordinate rulers under him, as might secure them the undisturbed enjoyment of the church-order established amongst them. I shall but repeat the words once used in a sermon preached unto the general court of the Massachuset-colony, at one of their anniversary elections:

"The question was often put unto our predecessors, 'What went ye out into the wilderness to see?' And the answer to it is not only too *excellent*, but also too *notorious*, to be dissembled. Let all mankind know, that we came into the wilderness, because we would worship God without that *Episcopacy*, that *common-prayer*, and those unwarrantable *ceremo-*

nies, with which the 'land of our forefathers' sepulchres' has been defiled; we came hither because we would have our posterity settled under the pure and full *dispensations* of the gospel; defended by rulers that should be of our selves."

VIII. None of the least concerns that lay upon the spirits of these reformers, was the condition of their *posterity:* for which cause, in the first constitution of their churches, they did more generally with more or less *expressiveness* take in their children, as under the churchwatch with themselves. They also did betimes endeavour the erection of a College, for the training up of a successive ministry in the country; but because it was likely to be some while before a considerable supply could be expected from the college, therefore they took notice of the younger, hopeful scholars, who came over with their friends from England, and assisted their liberal education; whereby being fitted for the service of the churches, they were in an orderly manner called forth to that service. Of these we have given you a number; whereof, I think, all but one or two are now gone unto their fathers.

IX. Of these ministers, there were some few, suppose ten or a dozen, that after divers years returned into England, where they were eminently serviceable unto their generation; but by far the biggest part of them continued in this country, "serving their generation by the will of God." Moreover, I find near *half* of them signally blessed with sons, who did work for our Lord Jesus Christ, in the ministry of the gospel; yea, some of them—as Mr. Chancy, Mr. Elliot, Mr. Hobart, Mr. Mather—had (though not like R. Jose, a wise man among the Jews, of whom they report that he had eight sons, who were also celebrated for wise men among them; yet) not less than *four* or *five* sons a piece thus employed: and though Mr. Parker, living always a single man, had no children, yet he was instrumental to bring up no less than twelve useful ministers. Among the Jews, they that have been instructed by another, are called *the sons* of their instructor. We read, "These are the generations of Aaron and Moses;" when we find none but the sons of Aaron in the enumerated generations. But in the Talmud, it is thus expounded, *Hos Aaron genuit, Moses vero docuit, ideoque ejus nomine censentur.** (Thus the sons of Merob are called the sons of Michael, as the Talmud judges, because by her educated.) And on this account no less than twelve were the *sons* of Mr. Parker. I may add, that some of our ministers, having their sons comfortably settled, at or near the place of their own ministry, the people have thereby seen a comfortable *succession* in the affairs of Christianity; thus, the writer of this history hath, he knows not how often, seen it; that his *grandfather* baptized the *grand-parent*, his *father* baptized the *parent*, and *he* himself has baptized the *children* in the same family.

X. In the beginning of the country, the ministers had their frequent meetings, which were most usually after their publick and weekly or

* These were begotten by Aaron, but educated by Moses, and therefore bear the name of the latter.

monthly lectures, wherein they consulted for the welfare of their churches; nor had they ordinarily any difficulty in their churches, which were not in these meetings offered unto consideration, for their mutual direction and assistance; and these *meetings* are maintained unto this day. The private Christians also had their private meetings, wherein they would seek the face, and sing the praise of God; and confer upon some questions of practical religion, for their mutual edification. And the country still is full of those little meetings; yet they have now mostly left off one circumstance, which in those our *primitive times* was much maintained; namely, their concluding of their more sacred exercises with *suppers;* whereof, I sincerely think, I cannot give a better account than *Tertullian* gives of the suppers among the faithful, in his more primitive times: "Therein their spiritual gains countervailed their worldly costs; they remembered the poor, they ever began with prayer [and other devotions]; in eating and drinking they relieved hunger, but showed no excess. In feeding at supper, they remembered they were to pray in the night. In their discourse, they considered that God heard them; and when they departed, their behaviour was so religious and modest, that one would have thought we had rather been at a sermon than at a supper." Our private meetings of good people to pray and praise God, and hear sermons, either preached perhaps by the younger candidates for the ministry, (who here use to form themselves, at their entrance into their work,) or else repeated by exact writers of short hand after their pastors; and sometimes to spend whole days in fasting and prayer, especially when any of the neighbourhood are in affliction, or when the communion of the Lord's table is approaching; those do still abound among us; but the *meals* that made *meatings* of them, are generally laid aside. I suppose 'twas with some eye to what he had seen in this country, that Mr. Firmin has given this report, in a book printed 1681:

"Plain mechanicks have I known, well catechised, and humble Christians, excellent in practical piety: they kept their station, did not aspire to be preachers, but for gifts of prayer, few clergy-men must come near them. I have known some of them, when they did keep their fasts, (as they did often,)they divided the work of prayer; the first begun with *confession;* the second went on with *petition* for themselves; the third with petition for church and kingdom; the fourth with *thanksgiving;* every one kept his own part, and did not meddle with another part. Such excellent matter, so compacted without tautologies; each of them for a good time, about an hour, if not more, a piece; to the wondering of those which joined with them. Here was no reading of *liturgies:* these were old Jacob's sons, they could wrestle and prevail with God."

XI. Besides the ministers enumerated in the three classes of our catalogue, there might a fourth class be offered, under the name of *anomalies of New-England.* There have at several times arrived in this country more than a score of ministers from other parts of the world, who proved either so *erroneous* in their principles, or so *scandalous* in their practices,

or so disagreeable to the *church order* for which the country was planted, that I cannot well croud them into the company of our *worthies:*

*Non benê conveniunt, nec in una sede morantur.**

And, indeed, I had rather my Church History should speak *nothing*, than speak *not well* of them that might else be mentioned in it: being entirely of Plutarch's mind, that it is better it should never be said there was such a man as Plutarch at all, than to have it said, that he was not an *honest* and a *worthy* man. I confess, there were some of those persons whose names deserve to live in our book for their *piety*, although their particular *opinions* were such as to be disserviceable unto the declared and supposed *interests* of our churches. Of these there were some godly Anabaptists; as namely, Mr. Hanserd Knollys, (whom one of his adversaries called *Absurd Knowless,*) of Dover, who afterwards removing back to London, lately died there, a good man, in a good old age. And Mr. Miles, of Swansey, who afterwards came to Boston, and is now gone to his rest. Both of these have a respectful character in the churches of this wilderness. There were also some godly Episcopalians; among whom has been commonly reckoned Mr. Blackstone, who, by happening to sleep first in an hovel, upon a point of land there, laid claim to all the ground whereupon there now stands the metropolis of the whole English America, until the inhabitants gave him satisfaction. This man was, indeed, of a particular humour, and he would never join himself to any of our churches, giving this reason for it: "I came from England, because I did not like the *lord-bishops;* but I can't join with you, because I would not be under the *lord-brethren.*" There were some likewise that fell into gross *miscarriages*, and the *hunter* of souls having stuck the *darts* of some extreme disorder into those poor *hearts*, the whole flock pushed them out of their society. Of these, though there were some so recovered that they became true penitents; yet, inasmuch as the wounds which they received by their *falls* were not in all regards thoroughly cured, I will choose rather to forbear their names, than write them with any *blots* upon them. For the same cause, though I have his name in our catalogue, yet I will not say *which* of them it was that for a while became a Seeker, and almost a Quaker, and seduced a great part of his poor people into his *bewildring errors;* at last the grace of God recovered this gentleman out of his *errors*, and he became a very good and sound man, after his recovery: but, alas! it was a perpetual *sting* unto his penitent *soul*, that he could not now *reduce* his wandring flock, which he had himself seduced into the most unhappy aberrations. They wandred on obstinately still in their errors; and being irrecoverable, he was forced thereby unto a removal from them, taking the charge of a more orthodox flock, upon Long-Island.

* They mate not well; they sit not on one seat.

Nor know I where better than among these *anomalies*, to mention one Mr. Lenthal, whom I find a minister at Weymouth, about the year 1637.

He had been one of good report and repute in England; whereas, here, he not only had imbibed some *Antinomian* weaknesses, from whence he was by conference with Mr. Cotton soon recovered; but also he set himself to oppose the way of *gathering churches*. Many of the common people eagerly fell in with him, to set up a *church state*, wherein all the *baptized* might be communicants, without any further *trial* of them; for which end many hands were procured unto an *instrument*, wherein they would have declared against the New-England design of church-reformation; and would have invited Mr. Lenthal to be their pastor, in opposition thereunto.

Mr. Lenthal, upon the discourses of the magistrates and ministers before the General Court, who quickly checked these disturbances by sending for him, as quickly was convinced of his error and evil, in thus disturbing the good order of the country. His *conviction* was followed with his *confession;* and in open court he gave under his hand a laudable *retractation;* which retractation he was ordered also to utter in the assembly at Weymouth, and so no further *censure* was passed upon him.

In Four Parts we will now pursue the design before us.

JOHANNES IN EREMO.*

MEMOIRS RELATING TO THE LIVES

OF THE EVER-MEMORABLE

MR. JOHN COTTON, WHO DIED 23 D. 10 M. 1652;
MR. JOHN NORTON, WHO DIED 5 D. 2 M. 1663;
MR. JOHN WILSON, WHO DIED 7 D. 6 M. 1667;
MR. JOHN DAVENPORT, WHO DIED 15 D. 1 M. 1670;

Reverend and Renowned Ministers of the Gospel, all, in the more Immediate Service of One Church, in Boston,

AND

MR. THOMAS HOOKER, WHO DIED 7 D. 5 M. 1647,

Pastor of the Church at Hartford, New-England.

PRESERVED BY COTTON MATHER.

THE FIRST PART.

Forte nimis Videor Laudes Cantare MEORUM;
Forte nimis cineres Videor celebrare repostos;
Non ita me Facilem Sine Vero Credite!†——

TO THE READER.

THAT little part of the earth which this age has known by the name of New-England, has been an object of very signal both *frowns* and *favours* of Heaven. Besides those "stars of the first magnitude," which did sometimes *shine*, and at last *set* in this horizon, there have been several men of renown, who were preparing and fully resolved to transport themselves hither, had not the Lord seen us unworthy of more such mercies. It is still fresh in the memory of many yet living, that that great man, Dr. John Owen, had given order for his passage in a vessel bound for Boston; being invited to succeed the other famous Johns, who had been *burning* and *shining lights* in that which was the first candlestick set up in this populous town: but a special providence diverted him. Long before that, Dr. Ames (whose family and whose library New-England has had) was upon the wing for this American desart: but God then took him to the heavenly Canaan. Whether he left his fellow upon earth I know not: such acuteness of *judgment*, and affectionate *zeal*, as he excelled in, seldom does meet together in the same person. I have often thought of Mr. Paul Bayne, his farewel words to Dr. Ames, when going for Holland; Mr. Bayne perceiving him to be a man of extraordinary parts, "Beware (said he) of a strong head and a cold heart." It is rare for a *scholastical wit* to be joined with an *heart warm in religion:* but in him it was so. He has sometimes said that he could be willing to walk twelve miles on his feet, on condition he might have an opportunity to *preach* a sermon: and he seldom did preach a sermon without *tears*. When he lay on his death-bed, he had such tastes of the "first-fruits of glory," as that a learned physitian (who was a Papist) wondring, said, *Num Protestantes sic solent mori:*

* John Baptist in the wilderness.

† Perchance I now shall seem to overpraise
My kindred, and too much extol their dust.
Believe it not!—believe not that I could
So easily forsake the paths of Truth.

(is the latter end of Protestants like this man's?) But although some excellent persons have by a divine hand been kept from coming into these "ends of the earth," yet there have been others who, whilst living, made this land (which before their arrival was an *hell of darkness*) to be a place full of light and glory; amongst whom the champions whose lives are here described are worthy to be reckoned as those that have *attained to the first three.*

There are many who have (and some to good purpose) endeavoured to collect the memorable passages that have occurred in the *lives* of eminent men, by means whereof posterity has had the knowledge of them. Hierom of old, wrote *De Viris Illustribus:* the like has been done by Gennadius, Epiphanius, Isidore, Prochorus, and other ancient authors. Of later times, Schopfius, his *Academia Christi;* Meursius, his *Athenæ Batavæ;* Verheiden, his *Elogia Theologorum*, Melchier Adams, *Lives of Modern Divines*, have preserved the memories of some that did worthily, and were in their day famous. There are two learned men who have very lately engaged in a service of this nature, viz: Paulus Freherus, who has published two volumes in folio, with the title of *Theatrum virorum Eruditione clarorum, ad hæc usque Tempora.** He proceeds as far as the year 1680. The other is Henningus Witten, who has written *Memoria Theologorum nostri seculi.*† It is a *trite* (yet a *true*) assertion, that historical studies are both profitable and pleasant. And of all historical narratives, those which give a faithful account of the *lives* of eminent saints, must needs be the most edifying. The greatest part of the sacred writings are historical; and a considerable part of them is taken up in relating the actions, speeches, exemplary *lives*, and *deaths*, of such as had been choice instruments in the hand of the Lord, to promote his glory in the world. No doubt but that the commemoration of the *remarkable providences* of God towards his servants, will be some part of their work in heaven for ever, that so he may have eternal praises for the wonders of his grace in Christ towards them. It must needs therefore be, in it self, a thing pleasing to God, and a special act of obedience to the Fifth Commandment, to endeavour the preservation of the names and honour of them who have been *fathers* in Israel. On which account, I cannot but rejoice in what is here done. Although New-England has been favoured with many faithful and eminent ministers of God, there are only *three* of them all whose lives have been as yet published, viz: Mr. Cotton, whose life was written by his immediate successor, Mr. Norton; and my father Mather, whose was done by another hand, and is rēpublished in Mr. Sam. Clark's last volume; and Mr. Eliot, whose was done by the same hand which did these, and has been several times rēprinted in London. Here the reader has presented to him *five* of them who were amongst the chief of the *fathers* in the churches of New-England. The same hand has done the like office of love and duty for many others who were the *worthies* of New-England, not only in the churches, but in the *civil state*, whom the Lord Christ saw meet to use as instruments, in planting the *heavens*, and laying the foundation of the *earth*, in this *new* world. If *these* find a candid acceptance, *those* may possibly see the light in due time.

Whether what is herewith emitted and written by my *son* be, as to the *manner* of it, well performed, I have nothing to say, but shall leave it unto others to judge, as they shall see cause; only as to the *matter* of the history, I am ascertained that things are truly related. For although I had little of personal acquaintance with Mr. Cotton, being a child not above thirteen years old when he died, I shall never forget the last sermon which he preached at Cambridge, and his particular application to the scholars there, amongst whom I was then a student newly admitted; and my relation to his family since, has given me an opportunity to know many observable things concerning him. Both Bostons have reason to honour his memory; and New-England-Boston most of all, which oweth its name and being to him, more than to any one person in the world: he might say of Boston, much what as Augustus said of Rome, *Lateritiam reperi, marmoream reliqui:*‡ he found it little better than a wood or wilderness, but left it a famous town with two churches in it. I remember, Dr. Lightfoot,

* The Theatre of Men of Learning, down to the present time.

† Memoirs of Modern Theologians.

‡ I found it of brick, and left it of marble.

in honour to his patron, Sir Roland Cotton, called one of his sons Cotton: it doth not repent me that I gave my eldest son that name, in honour to his grandfather: and the Lord grant that both of us may be *followers of him, as he followed Christ.*

As for the other three worthies who have taught the word of God in this place, they had their peculiar excellencies.

Mr. Wilson (like John the apostle) did excel in *love;* and he was also strong in *faith.* In the time of the Pequod war, he did not only hope, but had assurance that God would make the English victorious. He declared that he was as certain of it, as if he had with his eyes seen the victories obtained; which came to pass according to his faith. I well remember that I heard him once say, that when one of his daughters was sick, and given up as dead, past recovery, he desired Mr. Cotton to pray with that child; "And (said he) whilest Mr. Cotton was praying, I was sure that child should not then die, but live." That daughter did live to be the mother of many children; two of which are now useful ministers of Christ: and she is still living, a pious widow, another Anna, "serving God day and night." When Mr. Norton was called from the church of Ipswich to Boston, Mr. Nathanael Rogers (that excellent man, who was son to the famous Mr. Rogers of Dedham, in Essex, and pastor of the church of Ipswich, in N. E.) opposed Mr. Norton's removal from Ipswich: some saying, that Mr. Wilson would by his argument, or rhetorick, or both, get Mr. Norton from them at last; Mr. Rogers replied, "That he was afraid of his faith more than his arguments." Sometimes he was transported with a prophetical *afflatus*, of which there were marvellous instances. His conversation was both pleasant and profitable; in that he could relate many *memorable providences*, which he himself had the certain knowledge of. Whilst I am writing this, there comes to my mind one very pleasant, and yet very serious story, which he told me, and I do not remember that ever I met with it any where but from him. It was this: there was one Mr. Snape, a Puritan minister, who was by the Bishops cast into prison for his non-conformity; when his money was spent, the jailor was unkind to him; but one day, as Mr. Snape was on his knees at prayer, the window of his chamber being open, he perceived something was thrown into his chamber; but resolved he would finish his work with God before he would divert to see what it was. When he arose from his knees, he saw a *purse* on the chamber-floor, which was full of gold, by which he could make his keeper better natured than he had been. Many such passages could that good man relate.

Mr. Norton was one whose memory, I must acknowledge, I have peculiar cause to love and honour. I was his pupil several years. He had a very *scholastical genius.* In the doctrine of *grace* he was exceeding clear; indeed, another Austin. He loved and admired Dr. Twiss more than any man that this age has produced. He has sometimes said to me, "Dr. Twiss is *Omni exceptione major.*"* He was much in prayer: he would very often spend whole *days* in prayer, with fasting before the Lord alone in his study. He kept a strict daily watch over his own heart. He was an hard student. He took notice in a private diary how he spent his time every day. If he found himself not so much inclined to diligence and study as at other times, he would reflect on his heart and ways, lest haply some unobserved sin should provoke the Lord to give him up to a slothful, listless frame of spirit. In his diary, he would sometimes have these words, *Leve desiderium ad studendum: Forsan ex peccato admisso.*† I bless the Lord that ever I knew Mr. Norton, and that I knew so much of him as I did.

As for Mr. Davenport, I have, in a preface to his sermon on the Canticles, which are transcribed for the press, and now at London, given what account I could then obtain, concerning the remarkable passages of his life. I several times desired him to imitate Junius, and some others, who had written their own lives. He told me he did intend it: but I could not find any thing of that nature among his manuscripts, when many years ago I had an occasion to seek after it. He was a *princely preacher.* I have heard some say, who knew him in his

* Superior to every imperfection.

† I have little inclination to study: perhaps it is due to some sin I have harboured in my bosom.

younger years, that he was then very fervent and vehement, as to the manner of his delivery: but in his *later times* he did very much imitate Mr. Cotton, whom, in the gravity of his countenance, he did somewhat resemble. *Sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat.**

The reader will find many observable things in what is here related concerning Mr. Hooker. Yet great pity it is that no more can be collected of the *memorables* relating to so good and so great a man as he was; than whom Connecticut never *did*, and perhaps never *will*, see a greater person. Mr. Cotton, in his preface to Mr. Norton's answer to Apollonius, says of Mr. Hooker, *Dominatur in Concionibus.*† Dr. Ames used to say, "He never knew his equal:" there was a great intimacy between them two. I remember my father told me, that Mr. Hooker was the author of that large preface which is before Dr. Ames, his *Fresh Suit against Ceremonies*. He would sometimes say, "That next to converting grace, he blessed God for his acquaintance with the principles and writings of that learned man, Mr. Alexander Richardson." It was a *black day* to New-England, when that great light was removed.

There are some who will not be pleased that any notice is taken of the hard measure which these excellent men had from those *persecuting prelates*, who were willing to have the world rid of them. But it is impossible to write the history of New-England, and of the lives of them who were the chief in it, and yet be wholly silent in that matter. That eminent person, Dr. Tillotson (the late Arch-Bishop of Canterbury) did, not above four years ago, sometimes express to me his resentments of the injury which had been done to the first planters of New-England, and his great dislike of Arch-Bishop Laud's spirit towards them. And to my knowledge there are Bishops at this day of the same Christian *temper* and *moderation* with that great and good man, lately dead. Had the Sees in England, fourscore years ago, been filled with such Arch-Bishops and Bishops as those which King William (whom God grant long to live and to reign) has preferred to Episcopal dignity, there had never been a New-England. It was therefore necessary that it should be otherwise then, than at this day, that so the gospel, in the power and purity of it, might come into these dark corners of the earth, and that here might be seen a specimen of the new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwells righteousness, which shall ere long be seen all the world over, and which according to his promise we look for.

INCREASE MATHER.

Boston, New-England, May 16, 1695.

* A counterpart in gesture and in mien.

† He sways popular assemblies.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. WHEN the God of Heaven had carried a nation into a wilderness, upon the designs of a glorious reformation, he there gave them a singular conduct of his *presence* and *spirit*, in a certain pillar, which by day appeared as a cloud, and by night as a fire before them; and the report of the respect paid by the Israelites unto this pillar, became so noised among the Gentiles, that the pagan poets derided them on this account:

Nil præter Nubes et cœli Lumen adorant,

[Which is, I suppose, the true reading of that famous verse in Juvenal: and I thus translate it,]

Only the *clouds* and *fires* of Heaven they do worship at all times.

But I must now observe unto my reader, that more than a score of years after the beginning of the *age* which is now expiring, our Lord Jesus Christ, with a thousand wonders of his providence, carried into an American wilderness a people persecuted for their desire to see and seek a reformation of the church, according to the Scripture: of which matter I can-

not give a *briefer*, and yet *fuller* history, than by reciting the memorable words of that great man, Dr. John Owen, who in his golden book of *Communion with God*, thus expresses it:

"They who hold *communion* with the Lord Jesus Christ, will admit *nothing*, practice *nothing*, in the worship of God, but what they have his warrant for; unless it comes in his name, with a 'Thus saith the Lord Jesus,' they will not hear an *angel from heaven:* they know the *apostles* themselves were to teach the saints only 'what he commanded them:' and *you* know, how many in this very nation, in the days not long since passed, yea how many *thousands*, left their *native soyl*, and went into a vast and howling wilderness, in the uttermost parts of the world, to keep their souls undefiled and chaste unto their Lord Jesus, as to this of his worship and institutions."

Now, though the reformed church thus fled into the wildernes, enjoyed not the miraculous pillar, vouchsafed unto the erratick church of Israel, for about forty years together; yet for that number of years we enjoyed many a *person*, in whom the good *spirit* of God gave a conduct unto us, and mercifully dispensed those directing, defending, refreshing influences, which were as necessary for us, as any that the celebrated pillar of cloud, and fire, could have afforded. The great and good Shepherd of the church favoured his distressed flocks in the wilderness with many pastors that were learned, prudent, and holy, beyond the common rates, and "men after his own heart:" and it would be an ingratitude many ways pernicious, if the churches of New-England should not, like those of the primitive times, have their *diptychs*, wherein the memory of those eminent confessors may be recorded and preserved.

§ 2. Four or five of those eminent persons are now to have their lives described unto us, and offered unto the contemplation and imitation, especially of the generation which are now rising up, after the death of Cotton, and of the elders that out-lived him, and had seen all the great works of the Lord, which he did for New-England. I saw a fearful *degeneracy*, creeping, I cannot say, but rushing in upon these churches; I saw to multiply continually our dangers, of our losing no small points in our *first faith*, as well as our *first love*, and of our giving up the *essentials* of that church order, which was the very end of these colonies; I saw a visible *shrink* in all orders of men among us, from that *greatness*, and that *goodness*, which was in the *first grain* that our God brought from *three sifted kingdoms*, into this land, when it was a *land not sown;* that while the Papists in Europe have grown better of late years, by the growth of Jansenism among them, the Protestants have prodigiously *waxed worse*, for a revolt unto Pelagianism, and Socinianism, or what is *half way* to it, has not been more surprising to me, than to see that in America, while those parts which were at first peopled by the *refuse* of the English nation, do sensibly amend in the regards of sobriety and education, those parts which were *planted with a more noble vine*, do so fast give a prospect of affording only the *degenerate plants of a strange vine*. What should be done for the stop, the turn of this degeneracy? It is reported of the Scythians, who were, doubtless, the ancestors of the Indians first inhabiting these regions, that in battels, when they came to stand upon the graves of their dead fathers, they would there stand immovable, 'till they died upon the spot: and, thought I, why may not such a method now effectually engage the English in these regions, to *stand fast* in their *faith* and their *order*, and in the *power of godliness?* I'll shew them the graves of their dead fathers; and if any of them do retreat unto a contempt or neglect of learning, or unto the errors of another gospel, or unto the superstitions of will-worship, or unto a *worldly*, a *selfish*, a *little* conversation, they shall undergo the irresistible rebukes of their progenitors, here fetched from the dead, for their admonition; and I'll therewithal advertise my New-Englanders, that if a grand-child of a Moses become an Idolater, he shall (as the Jews remark upon Judg. xviii. 30) be destroyed, as if not a Moses, but a Manasseh, had been his father. Besides, *Plus Vivitur Exemplis quam præceptis!**

§ 3. Good men in the Church of England, I hope, will not be offended at it, if the unreasonable impositions, and intolerable persecutions, of certain little-souled *ceremony mongers*, which drove these worthy men out of their native country into the horrid thickets of America, be in their lives complained and resented. For distinguishing between a Romanizing faction in the Church of England, and the *true* Protestant Reforming Church of England,

* Character is formed more by example than by precept.

(things that are different as a *jewel* from a *heylin*, or a Grindal from a Laud!) the first planters of New-England, at their first coming over, did in a publick and a printed address call the Church of England their *dear mother*, desiring their friends therein to "recommend them unto the mercies of God, in their constant prayers, as a Church now springing out of their own bowels:" nor did they think, that it was their *mother* who turned them out of doors, but some of their angry *brethren*, abusing the name of their mother, who so harshly treated them. As for the Romanizing faction in the Church of England, or that party who resolving (altogether contrary to the desire of the most eminent persons, by whom the "common prayer" was made English) that the reformation should never proceed one jot further than the first essay of it in the former century, did make certain unscriptural *canons*, whereby all that could not approve, subscribe, and practise, a multitude of (by themselves confessed purely *humane*) inventions in the worship of God, were accursed, and *ipso facto* excommunicate; and, by the ill-obtained aid of bitter laws to back these canons, did by fines and gaols and innumerable violences, contrary to the very *magna charta* of the nation, ruine many thousands of the soberest people in the kingdom: and who continually made as many *Shibboleths* as they could, for the discovering and the extinguishing of all real *godliness*, and never gave over prosecuting their *tripartite plot*, of Arminianism, and a conciliation with the patriarch of the west, and arbitrary government in the state, until at last they threw all into the lamentable confusions of a civil war; the churches of New-England say, "Come not into their secret, O my soul." We dare not be guilty of the *schism*, which we charge upon that party in the Church of England: and if any faction of men will require the *assent* and *consent* of other men, to a vast number of *disputable* and *uninstituted* things, and, it may be, a *mathematical falsehood* among the first of them, and utterly renounce all Christian communion with all that shall not give that assent and consent, we look upon those to be separatists; *we* dare not to be so narrow-spirited; the churches of New England profess to make only the *substantials* of the Christian religion to be the *terms* of our sacred fellowship: we dare make no difference between a Presbyterian, a Congregational, an Episcopalian, and an Anti-pædo-baptist, where their *visible piety* makes it probable that the Lord Jesus Christ has received them. And such reverend names as Hall and Kidder, most worthy Bishops now adorning the English Church, as well as the names of such reverend and excellent persons, among the Dissenters, as Bates, Annesly, How, Mead and Alsop, (with many others,) are, on *that score*, together precious unto this part of the Christian America. On the other side, the *true* Protestant Reforming Church of England, contains the whole "body of the faithful," scattered through the English dominions, though of different perswasions about some *rites* and *modes*, and lesser points of religion: and all the friends of the last reformation, who, whether they think there needs a *further progress* in that work or no, yet are willing to make the word of God the *rule* of their serving him, do come under this denomination.

Those divines who, with Arch-Bishop Usher in the head of them, did more than fifty years ago give in a paper touching the *innovations* of doctrine and of discipline in the Church of England, and make near forty exceptions against things in the Liturgy, were still as good members of the church, as they that "hated to be reformed;" and the assembly of divines at Westminster, which made the catechisms now used among us, were as genuine sons of the church after they became non-conformists, as while they lived in conformity, which every one of them, except eight or nine, did when they first come together. One who is at this day a Right Reverend Bishop, has, in his *Irenicum*, well expressed the sense which I believe the biggest party of Christians in the realm, three to one, have of those matters, which have been, "the apples of strife" among us:

"That Christ, who came to take away the insupportable yoke of the Jewish ceremonies, certainly did never intend to gall the necks of the disciples with another instead of it; and it would be strange the church would require more than Christ himself did, and make more terms of communion, than our Saviour did of discipleship. The grand *commission* the apostles were sent out with, was only to 'teach what Christ had commanded them;' not the least intimation of any *power* given them to impose or require any thing beyond what he *himself* had spoken to them, or they were directed to, by the immediate guidance of the *spirit* of God."

And (speaking of the reason why our first compilers of the common-prayer took in so much of the Popish service),

"Certainly, those holy men who did seek by any means to draw in others, at such a distance from their principles as the Papists were, did never intend, by what they did for that end, to exclude any truly tender consciences from their communion; that which they laid as a *bait* for them, was never intended by them as an *hook* for those of our own profession."

And if this be the *true* Church of England, give me leave to say, the churches of New-England are no inconsiderable part of *it;* and that accordingly we may have a room in it, I may safely, in the name of them all, offer (as did the renowned author of our *Martyr-Books*, when they demanded *subscription* from him) *to subscribe the New Testament.*

Upon the whole, then, if any be displeased at my report of the unjust impositions and persecutions, which drove into America as good Christians and Protestants as any that were left behind them, it will not be the *true* Church of England; for why should *that* be called "the Church of England," which has caused thousands of as real and thorough Christians as any upon earth to say, "It is better to dwell in the wilderness, than with such an contentious and angry one!" That Church of England, which alone is worthy to be called *so*, will bewail, as I know divers excellent persons now in the Episcopal Sees have done, the injuries offered unto our Puritan fathers.

§ 4. Let my reader, thus prepared, now entertain himself, as far as he pleases, with our four Johns, to whose lives I have, upon the counsel and command of an ever-honoured parent, appendiced the *life* of a famous *Thomas* in this publication; *Johns*, with whom, among the five or six hundred noted persons of *that name*, celebrated by *one* historian, I find not many that were worthy to be compared; Johns, fuller of light and grace and the good spirit, than all those four or five-and-twenty of that name, who have sat in the chair that pretends to infallibility. And, if he pleases, let him see that old little observation confirmed, that as the name *Henry* has been happy in kings, *Elizabeth* in queens, *Edward* in lawyers, *William* in physicians, *Francis* in scholars, *Robert* in soldiers and state-men, so *John* has been happy in divines. Even a divine Jehojadah, when he comes to be reckoned among the *priests* of the Lord, must have put upon him the name of *John* [1 Chron. vi. 9.] But let him consider these *lives*, as tendered unto the publick, upon an account no less than that of keeping *alive*, as far as this poor essay may contribute thereunto, the interests of *dying religion* in our churches. I remember a learned man's conjecture, that [in 1 Tim. iii. 15] it is *Timothy*, and not the *church*, which is called "The pillar and ground of Faith:" such able, holy, and faithful ministers as Timothy are the great *proclaimers* and *preservers* of *truth*, for the Church of God; such were these famous Johns while they lived, and now they are dead, I have done my endeavour that they may still be such unto the churches, unto whom I owe my *all*. I'll say but this, the last words of the most renowned prebend of Canterbury, Dr. Peter du Moulin, who died a very old man, about eleven years ago, were, "Since Calvinism is cried down [*Actum est de Religione Christi apud Anglos*] Christianity is in danger to be lost in the English nation." Alluding to what *he* said, about his John Calvin, I will take leave to say with respect unto our John Cotton, and the rest that here accompany him, "Christianity will be lost among us, if their faith and zeal must all be buried with them;" which God forbid! as there would be an hazard that the early and better times of New-England would have the *true story* thereof, within a while, as irrecoverably lost as the story of the world, relating to those times, which Varo distinguished unto *Incognit* and *fabulous*, preceding the *historical*, and we should shortly have as wretched narratives of the first persons and actions in this land, as Justin gives of the Jews, when he makes Moses the son of their Joseph, and the sixth of their kings, or when he makes *them* expelled from Egypt, because the gods would not otherwise allay a plague that raged there; or such as are given by Pliny, when he makes Moses a magician; or Strabo, that makes him an *Egyptian* priest; if no speedy *care* be taken to preserve the memorables of our first settlement; so I wish, the laudable *principles* and *practices* of that first settlement may be

kept from utterly being lost in our apostasies, by the care which is now taken thus to preserve what was memorable of the men that have delivered them down unto us.

§ 5. Finally; when the apostles had set before Christians the saints which were a "cloud of witnesses," by imitating of whose exemplary behaviour we might "enter into rest," he concludes with a "looking unto Jesus," or, according to the emphasis of the original, "a looking off [from them] unto Jesus," as the incomparably most perfect of all. So let my reader do, when all that was imitable in the lives of these worthy men, has had his contemplation and admiration; they all yet had their defects, and therefore, "look off unto Jesus," *following them* no farther than they *followed him.* It is a notable passage, [in Luke vii. 28,] which we mis-translate: "The least in the kingdom of God, is greater than John." In the Greek, what we translate, "The least," is, "he that is lesser," that is, "he that is younger." [*Minor* still has been the same with *junior.*] Our Lord means *himself*, who was lesser, that is, *younger* than John his fore-runner; but, *greater than he!* Truly, whatever was excellent in these our Johns, I would pray that the minds of all that see it, may be raised still to think our precious Lord Jesus Christ is greater than these Johns: all their excellencies are in him transcendantly, infinitely, as they were from him derived. High thoughts of the Lord Jesus Christ, provoked by *reading* the descriptions of these his excellent servants, that had in them a little of *him*, and were no farther *excellent* than as they had so, will make me an abundant recompence for all the difficulties and all the temptations with which my *writing* is attended. And as it quickens the joys of my hastening death, when I have through grace a prospect of being then in that state whereto the spirits of these "just men made perfect" are all of them gathered, so I would have this now to out-do all those joys, "to be with Jesus Christ," that surely is by far the best of all.

*Monumenta Sepulchralia Justis non faciunt, nam Dicta eorum Sunt Memoriæ Eorum.**
SENTENT. JUDAIC. IN *Bereschit. Rabba.*

CHAPTER I.

COTTONUS REDIVIVUS; OR, THE LIFE OF MR. JOHN COTTON.

In quo Lumen Religionis et Devotionis, Fumus generatus ex Lumine Scientiæ non extinguit, ille perfectus est: Sed Quis est Hic, ut adoremus eum?——ALGAZEL, IN *Libro Stateræ. Resp.* HIC EST!†

§ 1. WERE I master of the pen wherewith Palladius embalmed his Chrysostom, the Greek patriark, or Posidonius eternized his Austin, the Latin oracle, among the ancients; or, were I owner of the quill wherewith, among the moderns, Beza celebrated his immortal Calvin, or Fabius immortalized his venerable Beza; the merits of John Cotton would oblige me to employ it, in the preserving his famous memory. If Boston be the chief seat of New-England, it was Cotton that was the father and glory of Boston: upon which account it becomes a piece of pure *justice*, that the *life* of him, who above all men gave *life* to his country, should bear no little figure in *its* intended history; and, indeed, if any person in this town or

* They raise no sepulchral monuments to the just, for their words are their memorials.

† He is perfect, in whom the flame of religion and devotion is not stifled by the smoke which is generated from the lights of science. But who is he, that we may worship him? *Ans.* Behold him here!

land had the *blessedness* which the Roman historian long since pronounced *such* even, "to do things worthy to be writ, and to write things worthy to be read," it was *he* who now claims a room in our pages. If it were a comparison sometimes made of the reformers, Pomeranus was a grammarian, Justus Jonas was an orator, Melancthon was a logician, but Luther was *all:* even that proportion, it may without *envy* be acknowledged, that Cotton bore to the rest of our New-English divines; he that, whilst he was living, had this vertue extraordinarily conspicuous in him, "that it was his delight always to acknowledge the gifts of God in other men," must, now he is dead, have other men to acknowledge of him what Erasmus does of Jerom, *In hoc uno conjunctum fuit et Eximium, quicquid in aliis partim admiramur.**

§ 2. There was a good heraldry in that speech of the noble Romanus, "It is not the blood of my progenitors, but my Christian profession, that makes me noble." But our John Cotton, besides the advantage of his Christian profession, had a descent from honourable progenitors, to render him *doubly* honourable. His immediate progenitors being, by some injustice, deprived of great revenues, his father, Mr. Roland Cotton, had the education of a lawyer bestowed by his friends upon him, in hopes of his being the better capacitated thereby to recover the estate, whereof his family had been wronged; and so the profession of a lawyer was that unto which this gentleman applied himself all his days. But our John Cotton, in this happier than Austin, whose father was carefuller to make an *orator* than a Christian of him, while his gracious mother was making him on greater *accounts* "a son of her many tears," had a very pious father in this worthy lawyer, as well as a pious mother, to interest him in the covenant of God. That worthy man was indeed very singular in two most imitable *practices.* One was, that when any of his neighbours desirous to sue one another, addressed him for *council*, it was his manner, in the most perswasive and obliging terms that could be, to endeavour a *reconciliation* between both parties; preferring the *consolations* of a *peacemaker*, before all the *fees* that he might have got by blowing up of *differences.* Another was, that every *night* it was his custom to *examine himself*, with reflections on the transactions of the day past; wherein, if he found that he had not either *done* good unto others, or *got* good unto his own soul, he would be as much grieved as ever the famous Titus was, when he could complain in the evening, *Amici, Diem Perdidi!*† Of such parents was Mr. John Cotton born, at the town of Derby, on the fourth of December, in the year 1585.

§ 3. The religious parents of Mr. Cotton were solicitous to have him indued with a *learned* as well as a *pious* education; and being neither so *rich*, that the *Mater Artis*‡ could have no room to do her part, nor so *poor* that the *Res angusta domi*,§ should clog his progress, they were well fitted

* In him were combined all the excellences which we admire separately and singly in other men.
† My friends, I have lost a day! ‡ Mother of Art, *i. e.* native genius. § Straitened circumstances.

thereby to bestow such an education upon him. His first instruction was under a good school-master, one Mr. Johnson, in the town of Derby; whereon the intellectual endowments of all sorts, with which the God of our spirits adorned him, so discovered themselves, that, at the age of thirteen, his proficiency procured him admission into Trinity-College in Cambridge. Indeed, the proverb, "soon ripe, soon rotten," has often been too *hastily* applied unto *rathe ripe wits*, in young people; not only Œcolampadius and Melancthon, who commenced *Batchelours of Arts* at *fourteen* years of age, and Luther, who commenced *Master of Arts* at twenty; but also our Dr. Juel sent unto Oxford, our Dr Usher sent unto Dublin, and our Mr. Cotton sent unto Cambridge, all at the age of *thirteen*, do put in a *bar* to the universal application of that proverb. While Mr. Cotton was at the university, his diligent head, with God's blessings, made him a rich scholar; and his generous mind found no little nourishment by that labour which, like the sage philosopher, he found "sweeter than idleness:" insomuch that his being elected fellow of Trinity College, as the reward of his quick proficiency, was diverted by nothing but this, that the extraordinary charges for their great hall, then in building, did put by their election. And there was this remarkable in the education of this "chosen vessel" at the university: that while he continued *there*, his father's practice was, by the special providence of God, augmented so much beyond what it had been *before*, as was enough to maintain him there; upon which observation Mr. Cotton afterwards would say, "'Twas God that kept me at the University!" Indeed, some have said, that the great notice quickly taken of the eminency in the *son*, was one reason why his father not only came to be complimented on all sides, and *Omnes Omnia Bona dicere, et laudare Fortunas ejus, qui Filium haberet Tali Ingenio præditum*,* but also had his clients more than a little multiplied.

§ 4. Upon the desires of Emanuel-College, Mr. Cotton was not only removed unto that College, but also preferred unto a fellowship in it; in order whereunto, he did, according to the critical and laudable *statutes* of the house, go through a very severe *examen* of his fitness for such a station; wherein 'twas particularly remarked, that the Poser trying his Hebrew skill by the third chapter of Isaiah, a chapter which, containing more hard words than any one paragraph of the Bible, might therefore have puzzled a very good Hebrician, yet *he* made nothing of it. He was afterwards the Head Lecturer, the Dean, the Catechist, in that famous College; and became a tutor to many scholars, who afterwards proved famous persons, and had cause to bless God for the faithful, and ingenious, and laborious *communicativeness* of this their tutor. *Here*, all his academical exercises, whether in disputations or in common places, or whatever else did so "smell of the lamp," that the wit, the strength, the gravity, and the fulness, both of *reason* and of *reading* in them, caused him to be much

* Everybody said everything that was flattering, and congratulated the father on his good fortune in having so accomplished a son.

admired by the sparkling wits of the university. But *one* thing among the rest, which caused a great notice to be taken of him throughout the whole university, was his *funeral oration* upon Dr. Some, the Master of Peter House, wherein he approved himself such a master of Periclæan or Ciceronian oratory, that the auditors were even ready to have acclaimed, *Non vox hominem sonat!** And that which added unto the reputation thus raised for him, was an "University-sermon," wherein, aiming more to preach *self* than *Christ*, he used such florid strains, as extremely recommended him unto *the most*, who relished the *wisdom of words* above the *words of wisdom:* though the pompous eloquence of that sermon afterwards gave such a distaste unto his own *renewed soul*, that with a sacred indignation he threw his notes into the fire.

§ 5. Hitherto we have seen the *life* of Mr. Cotton, while he was not yet *alive!* Though the restraining and preventing grace of God had kept him from such outbreakings of sin as defile the lives of most in the world, yet, like the old man who for such a cause ordered this epitaph to be written on his grave, "Here lies an old man, who lived but seven years," he reckoned himself to have been but a *dead man*, as being "alienated from the life of God," until he had experienced that regeneration in his own soul, which was thus accomplished. The Holy Spirit of God had been at work upon his young heart, by the ministry of that reverend and renowned preacher of righteousness, Mr. Perkins; but he resisted and smothered those *convictions*, through a vain *perswasion* that, if he became a *godly* man, 'twould spoil him for being a *learned* one. Yea, such was the secret enmity and prejudice of an *unregenerate soul* against *real holiness*, and such the *torment* which our Lord's *witnesses* give to the consciences of the *earthly-minded*, that when he heard the bell toll for the funeral of Mr. Perkins, his mind secretly rejoiced in his deliverance from that powerful ministry, by which his conscience had been so oft beleagured: the remembrance of which thing afterwards did break his heart exceedingly! But he was, at length, more effectually awakened by a sermon of Dr. Sibs, wherein was discoursed the misery of those who had only a *negative righteousness*, or a civil, sober, honest *blamelessness* before men. Mr. Cotton became now very sensible of his own miserable condition before God; and the *arrows* of these convictions did stick so fast upon him, that after no less than three year's disconsolate apprehensions under them, the grace of God made him a thoroughly renewed Christian, and filled him with a sacred joy, which accompanied him unto the fulness of joy for ever. For this cause, as persons truly converted unto God have a mighty and lasting affection for the instruments of their conversion; thus Mr. Cotton's veneration for Dr. Sibs was after this very particular and perpetual: and it caused him to have the *picture* of that great man in that part of his house where he might oftenest look upon it. But so the *yoke* of sore tempta-

* His words are not those of a man.

tions and afflictions and long spiritual trials, fitted him to be an eminently useful servant of God in his generation!

§ 6. Some time after this change upon the soul of Mr. Cotton, it came unto his turn again to preach at St. Maries; and because *he* was to preach, an high expectation was raised, through the whole university, that they should have a sermon, flourishing indeed, with all the *learning* of the *whole university*. Many difficulties had Mr. Cotton in his own mind now what course to steer. On the one side, he considered that if he should preach with a scriptural and Christian *plainness*, he should not only wound his own fame exceedingly, but also tempt carnal men to revive an old cavil, "that religion made scholars turn dunces," whereby the name of God might suffer not a little. On the other side, he considered that it was his duty to preach with such a plainness, as became the *oracles* of God, which are intended for the conduct of men in the paths of life, and not for *theatrical* ostentations and entertainments, and the Lord needed not any *sin* of ours to maintain his own glory. Hereupon Mr. Cotton resolved that he would preach a plain sermon, even such a sermon as in his own conscience he thought would be most pleasing unto the Lord Jesus Christ; and he discoursed practically and powerfully, but very solidly upon the plain doctrine of repentance. The vain wits of the university, disappointed thus, with a more excellent sermon, that shot some troublesome admonitions into their consciences, discovered their vexation at this disappointment by their not *humming*, as according to their sinful and absurd custom they had formerly done; and the Vice-Chancellor, for the very same reason also, graced him not, as he did others that pleased him. Nevertheless, the satisfaction which he enjoyed in his own faithful soul, abundantly compensated unto him the loss of any human favour or honour; nor did he go without many encouragements from some doctors, then having a better sence of *religion* upon them, who prayed him to persevere in the *good way of preaching*, which he had now taken. But perhaps the greatest consolation of all was a notable effect of the sermon then preached! The famous Dr. Preston, then a fellow of Queen's College in Cambridge, and of great note in the university, came to hear Mr. Cotton with the same *itching ears* as others were then led withal. For some good while after the beginning of the sermon, his frustrated expectation caused him to manifest his uneasiness all the ways that were then possible; but before the sermon was ended, like one of Peter's hearers, he found himself "pierced at the heart:" his heart within him was now struck with such resentments of his own *interior state* before the God of heaven, that he could have no peace in his own soul, till with a wounded soul he had repaired unto Mr. Cotton; from whom he received those further assistances, wherein he became a *spiritual father* unto one of the greatest men in his age.

§ 7. The well-disposed people of Boston in Lincolnshire, after this,

invited Mr. Cotton to become their minister; with which invitation, out of a sincere and serious desire to serve our Lord in his gospel, after the solemnest addresses to heaven for guidance in such a solemn affair, he complied. At this time the mayor of the town, with a more corrupt party, having procured another scholar from Cambridge, more agreeable to them, would needs have him to preach before Mr. Cotton: but the church-warden pretending to more of influence upon their ecclesiastical matters, over ruled it. However, when the matter came to a *vote*, amongst those to whom the right of election did by charter belong, there was an *equi-vote* for Mr. Cotton and that other person; only the mayor, who had the casting vote, by a strange mistake, pricked for Mr. Cotton. When the mayor saw his mistake, a new vote was urged and granted; wherein it again proved an *equi-vote;* but the mayor most unaccountably mistook again, as he did before. Extreamly displeased hereat, he pressed for a *third vote;* but the rest would not consent unto it; and so the election fell upon Mr. Cotton, by the *involuntary cast* of that very hand which had most opposed it. This obstruction to the settlement of Mr. Cotton in Boston being thus conquered, another followed; for the Bishop of the Diocess, having understood that Mr. Cotton was infected with Puritanism, set himself immediately to discourage his being there; only he could object nothing, but, "That Mr. Cotton being a young man, he was not so fit, upon that score, to be over such a numerous and such a factious people." And Mr. Cotton having learned no otherwise to value himself than to concur with the apprehensions of the Bishop, intended therefore to return unto Cambridge: but some of his friends, against his inclination, knowing the *true way of doing it,* soon charmed the Bishop into a declared opinion that Mr. Cotton was an honest and a learned man. Thus the admission of Mr. Cotton unto the exercise of his ministry in Boston was accomplished.

§ 8. Mr. Cotton found the more *peaceable* reception among the people, through his own want of internal *peace;* and because his continual exercises, from his internal temptations and afflictions, made all people see, that instead of serving this or that party, his chief care was about the salvation of his *own soul.* But the stirs, which had been made in the town, by the Arminian controversies, then raging, put him upon further exercises; whereof he has himself given us a narrative in the ensuing words:

"When I was first called to Boston in Lincolnshire, so it was, that Mr. Baron, son of Dr. Baron, (the divinity reader of Cambridge,) first broached that which was then called Lutheranism, since Arminianism; as being indeed himself learned, acute, plausible in discourse, and fit to insinuate into the hearts of his neighbours. And though he were a physitian by profession, (and of good skill in that art,) yet he spent the greatest strength of his studies in clearing and promoting the Arminian tenets. Whence it came to pass, that in all the great feasts of the town, the chiefest discourse at the table, did ordinarily fall upon Arminian points, to the great offence of godly ministers, both in Boston, and neighbour-towns. I coming among them, a *young man,* thought it a part both of modesty and prudence not to speak much to the points, at first, among strangers and ancients: until afterwards, after

hearing of many discourses, in public meetings, and much private discourse with the doctor, I had learned at length where all the great *strength* of the doctor lay. And then observing (by the *strength* of Christ) how to avoid such expressions as gave him any advantage in the expressions of *others*, I began publickly to preach, and in private meetings to defend the doctrine of God's *eternal election*, before all *foresight* of *good* or *evil*, in the creature; and the *redemption* (*ex gratia*) only of the elect; the effectual *vocation* of a sinner, *Per irresistibilem gratiæ vim**, without all respect of the preparation of *free will;* and finally, the impossibility of the fall of a sincere believer, either totally or finally, from a *state of grace*. Hereupon, when the doctor had objected many things, and heard my answers to those *scruples* which he was wont most plausibly to urge; presently after, our publick feasts and neighbourly meetings were silent from all further debates about *predestination*, or any of the points which depend thereupon, and all matters of religion were carried on calmly and peaceably."

About half a year after Mr. Cotton had been at Boston, thus usefully employed, he visited Cambridge, that he might then and there proceed Batchellor of Divinity, which he did: and his *Concio ad Clerum*† on Matt. v. 13, *Vos estis Sal Terræ*‡ was highly esteemed by the judicious. Nor was he less admired for his very singular acuteness in *disputation*, when he answered the *divinity act* in the schools; wherein he had for his opponent a most acute antagonist—namely, Dr. Chappel—who was afterwards Provost of Trinity-Colledge in Dublin; and one unhappily successful in promoting the *new Pelagianism*.

§ 9. Settled now at Boston, his dear friend, holy Mr. Bayns, recommended unto him a pious gentlewoman, one Mrs. Elizabeth Horrocks, the sister of Mr. James Horrocks, a famous minister in Lancashire, to become his consort in a *married estate*. And it was remarkable that on the very *day* of his *wedding* to that eminently vertuous gentlewoman, he first received that assurance of God's *love* unto his own *soul*, by the *spirit* of God, effectually applying his *promise* of *eternal grace* and *life* unto him, which happily kept with him all the rest of his days: for which cause he would afterwards often say, "God made that day, a day of double marriage to me!" The *wife*, which by the favour of God he had now *found*, was a very great *help* unto him, in the service of God; but especially upon *this*, among many other accounts, that the people of her own sex, observing her more than ordinary *discretion*, *gravity*, and *holiness*, would still improve the freedom of their address unto *her*, to acquaint her with the exercises of their own spirits; who, acquainting her husband with convenient intimations thereof, occasioned him in his publick ministry more *particularly* and *profitably* to discourse those things that were of everlasting benefit.

§ 10. After he had been three years in Boston, his careful studies and prayers brought him to apprehend more of *evil* remaining *unreformed* in the Church of England than he had heretofore considered; and from this time he became a conscientious non-conformist, unto the *unscriptural* ceremonies and constitutions yet maintained by that church; but such was his interest in the hearts of the people, that his non-conformity, instead of

* By the irresistible power of Grace. † Address to the Clergy. ‡ Ye are the salt of the earth.

being *disturbed*, was indeed *embraced* by the greatest part of the town. However, at last, complaints being made against him unto the Bishop's courts, he was for a *while* then put under the circumstances of a *silenced minister;* in all which while, he would still give his presence at the *publick sermons*, though never at the *common prayers* of the *conformable.* He was now offered, not only the *liberty* of his ministry, but very great *preferment* in it also, if he would but conform to the *scrupled rites*, though but in *one act*, and but for *one time;* nevertheless, his tender soul, afraid of being thereby *polluted*, could not in the least comply with such temptations. A *storm* of many troubles upon him was now *gathering;* but it was very strangely diverted! For that very man who had occasioned this affliction to *him*, now became heartily afflicted for his own sin in doing of it; and a stedfast, constant, prudent friend; presenting a *pair of gloves* to a proctor of an higher court, then appealed unto that proctor without Mr. Cotton's knowledge, swore, *In Animam Domini*,* that Mr. Cotton was a *conformable man;* which things issued in Mr. Cotton's being restored unto the exercise of his ministry.

§ 11. The *storm of persecution* being thus blown over, Mr. Cotton enjoyed *rest* for many years. In which time he faithfully employed his great abilities, not in gaining men to this or that *party* of Christians, but in acquainting them with the more essential and substantial points of Christianity. In the space of twenty years that he lived at Boston, on the *Lord's days* in the *afternoons*, he thrice went over the *body of divinity* in a *catechistical way;* and gave the heads of his discourse to young scholars, and others in the town, that they might answer to his questions in the congregation; and the answers he opened and applied unto the general advantage of the hearers. Whilst he was in this way handling the *sixth commandment*, the words of God which he uttered were so quick and powerful, that a woman among his hearers, who had been married sixteen years to a *second husband*, now in horror of conscience, openly confessed her murdering her former husband, by poison, though thereby she exposed herself to the extremity of being burned. In the forenoons of the Lord's days, he preached over the first six chapters in the Gospel of John, the whole book of Ecclesiastes; the prophecy of Zephaniah; the prophecy of Zechariah, and many other scriptures. When the Lord's Supper was administred, which was once a month, he handled the eleventh chapter in the first epistle to the Corinthians, and the thirteenth chapter in the second book of the Chronicles: and some other pertinent paragraphs of the Bible. In his *lectures*, he went through the whole first and second Epistles of John; the whole book of Solomon's Song; the Parables of our Saviour to the seventeenth chapter of Matthew. His house also was full of young students; whereof some were sent unto him out of Germany, some out of Holland, but most out of Cambridge; for Dr. Preston would still advise

* In the spirit of the Lord.

his near fledged pupils, to go live with Mr. Cotton, that they might be fitted for publick service; insomuch that it was grown almost a proverb, "That Mr. Cotton was Dr. Preston's seasoning vessel:" and of those that issued from this learned family, famous and useful in their generation, the well-known Dr. Hill was not the least. Moreover, he kept a *daily lecture* in his house, which, as very reverend ear-witnesses have expressed it, "He performed with much grace, to the edification of the hearers:" and unto this lecture many pious people in the town would constantly resort, until upon a suspicion of some inconveniency, which might arise from the growing *numerousness* of his auditory, he left it off. However, besides his ordinary lecture every Thursday, he preached *thrice* more; every week, on the *week-days;* namely, on Wednesdays and Thursdays, early in the morning, and on Saturdays at three in the afternoon. And besides these immense labours, he was frequently employed on *extraordinary days*, kept *Pro Temporis et Causis*,* whereon he would spend sometimes no less than *six hours* in the word and prayer. Furthermore, it was his custom, once a year, to visit his native-town of Derby, where he was a notable exception to the general rule of "A prophet without honour in his own country;" and by his vigilant cares this town was for many years kept supplied with able and faithful ministers of the gospel. Thus was this *good man* a most indefatigable *doer of good.*

§ 12. The good *spirit* of God, so plentifully and powerfully accompanied the ministry of this excellent man, that a great *reformation* was thereby wrought in the town of Boston. *Profaneness* was extinguished, *superstition* was abandoned, *religion* was embraced and practised among the *body* of the people; yea, the mayor, with most of the magistrates, were now called Puritans, and the *Satanical party* was become insignificant. As to the matter of *non-conformity*, Mr. Cotton was come to forbear the *ceremonies* enjoyned in the Church of England; for which he gave this account:

"The grounds were two: *first*, The *significacy* and *efficacy* put upon them, in the preface to the book of Common-Prayer: That 'they were neither dumb nor dark, but apt to stir up the dull mind of man, to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some notable and special signification, whereby he may be edified;' or words to the like purpose. The *second* was the limitation of church-power, even of the highest apostolical commission, to the 'observation of the commandments of Christ,' Mat. xxviii. 20. Which made it appear to me utterly unlawful for any church-power to enjoyn the observation of *indifferent ceremonies*, which Christ had *not commanded:* and all the *ceremonies* were alike destitute of the *commandment* of Christ, though they had been *indifferent* otherwise; which indeed others have justly pleaded they were not."

But this was not all: for Mr. Cotton was also come to believe, that Scripture bishops were appointed to rule no larger a diocess than a particular congregation; and that the ministers of the Lord, with the *keys* of ecclesiastical government, are given by him to a congregational church. It

* According to the exigencies of the times.

hence came to pass, that our Lord Jesus Christ was now worshipped in Boston, without the use of the *liturgy*, or of those *vestments*, which are by Zanchy called *Execrabiles Vestes*;* yea, the sign of the *cross* was laid aside, not only in baptism, but also in the mayor's mace, as worthy to be made a Nehushtan, because it had been so much abused unto *idolatry*. And besides all this, there were some scores of pious people in the town, who more exactly formed themselves into an Evangelical Church-State, by entring into covenant with God, and with one another, "to follow after the Lord, in the purity of his worship." However, the main bent and aim of Mr. Cotton's ministry was, "to preach a crucified Christ;" and the inhabitants of Boston observed, that God blessed them in their *secular* concernments, remarkably the more, through his dwelling among them; for many *strangers*, and some, too, that were gentlemen of good quality, resorted unto Boston, and some removed their habitations thither on his account; whereby the prosperity of the place was very much promoted.

§ 13. As his *desert* of it was very high, so the *respect* which he met withal was far from *low*. The best of his hearers *loved* him greatly, and the worst of them *feared* him, as "knowing that he was a righteous and an holy man." Yea, such was the *greatness* of his learning, his wisdom, his holiness, that *great men* took no little notice of him. A very honourable person rode thirty miles to see him; and afterwards professed, "That he had as lieve hear Mr. Cotton's ordinary exposition in his family, as any minister's publick preaching that he knew in England." Whilst he continued in Boston, Dr. Preston would constantly come once a year to visit him, from his exceeding value for Mr. Cotton's friendship. Arch-Bishop Williams did likewise greatly esteem him for his incomparable parts; and when he was keeper of the great seal, he recommended Mr. Cotton to the royal favour. Moreover, the Earl of Dorchester and of Lindsey had much regard unto him: which happened partly on this occasion; the Earl's coming into Lincolnshire, about the dreining of some fenny grounds, Mr. Cotton was then in his course of preaching on Gal. ii. 20. Intending to preach on the duties of "living by faith in adversity;" but considering that these noblemen were not much acquainted with *afflictions*, he altered his intentions, and so ordered it, that when they came to Boston, he discoursed on the duties of "living by faith in prosperity:" when the noblemen were so much taken with what they *heared*, that they assured him, if at any time he should want a *friend* at court, *they* would improve all their interest for him. And when Mr. Cotton did plainly, but wisely admonish them, of certain *pastimes on the Lord's day*, whereby they gave some scandal, they took it most kindly from him, and promised a *reformation*. But none of the *roses* cast on this applauded *actor*, *smothered* that humble, that loving, that gracious disposition, which was his perpetual *ornament*.

* Execrable gowns.

§ 14. At length, doubtless to chastise the seldom unchastised evils of *divisions*, crept in among the Christians of Boston, it pleased the God of Heaven to deprive them of Mr. Cotton's ministry, by laying a *tertian ague* upon him for a year together. But being invited unto the Earl of Lincoln's, in pursuance to the advice of his physicians, that he should change the air, he removed thither; and thereupon he happily recovered. Nevertheless, by the same sickness he then lost his excellent wife; who having lived with him *childless* for eighteen years, went from him now, to be for ever with the Lord; whereupon he travelled further a field, unto London, and some other places, whereby the recovery of his lost health was further perfected. About a year after this, he practically appeared in opposition to Tertullianism, by proceeding unto a *second marriage;* wherein one Mrs. Sarah Story, a vertuous widow, very dear to his former wife, became his consort; and by her he had both *sons* and *daughters.*

§ 15. Although our Lord hath hitherto made the discretion and vigilancy of Mr. Thomas Leveret (afterwards a *doubly honoured* elder of the church, in another land) the happy occasion of diverting many designs to molest Mr. Cotton for his non-conformity, yet when the sins of the place had ripened it for so *dark* a vengeance of heaven as the removing of this eminent light, a storm of persecution could no longer be avoided. A debauched fellow in the town, who had been punished by the magistrates for his debaucheries, contrived and resolved a *revenge* upon them, for their *justice:* and having no more effectual way to vent the cursed malice of his heart, than by bringing them into trouble at the High Commission Court, up he goes to London, with informations to that court, that the magistrates did not *kneel at the sacrament*, nor observe some other *ceremonies* by law imposed. When some that belonged unto the court signified unto this informer that he must put in the *minister's name:* "Nay," (said he) "the minister is an honest man, and never did me any wrong:" but it being farther pressed upon him, that all his complaints would be insignificant, if the *minister's name* were not in them, he then did put it in: and *letters missive* were dispatched incontinently, to convent Mr. Cotton before the infamous High Commission Court. But before we relate what became of Mr. Cotton, we will enquire what became of his accuser. The renowned Mr. John Rogers of Dedham, having been on his lecture day, just before his going to preach, advised that Mr. Cotton was brought into this trouble, he took occasion to speak of it in the sermon, with just lamentations for it; and among others he used words to this purpose: "As for that man, who hath caused a faithful pastor to be driven from his flock, he is a wisp, used by the hand of God for the scowring of his people: but mark the words now spoken by a minister of the Lord! I am verily perswaded, the judgments of God will overtake the man that has done this thing: either he will die under an hedge, or something else, more than the ordinary death of men shall befal him." Now, behold, how this pre-

diction was accomplished: this miserable man, quickly after this, dyed of the *plague*, under an *hedge*, in Yorkshire; and it was a long time ere any one could be found that would bury him. *This 'tis to turn persecutor.*

§ 16. Mr. Cotton, knowing that *letters missive* were out against him, from the High Commission Court, and knowing that if he appeared there, he could expect no other than to be choaked with such a *perpetual imprisonment* as had already murdered such men as Bates and Udal, he concealed himself, as well as he could, from the raging *pursevants*. Application was made, in the mean time, to the Earl of Dorset, for the fulfilment of his old engagement unto Mr. Cotton; and the earl did indeed intercede for him, until the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, who would often wish, "Oh! that I could meet with Cotton!" rendred all his intercessions both ineffectual and unseasonable. Hereupon that noble person sent word unto him, that if he had been guilty of *drunkenness*, or *uncleanness*, or any such *lesser fait*, he could have obtained his pardon; but inasmuch as he had been guilty of *non-conformity*, and *puritanism*, the crime was unpardonable; and therefore, said he, "you must fly for your safety." Doubtless, it was from such unhappy *experiments* that Mr. Cotton afterwards published this complaint: "The ecclesiastical courts are like the courts of the high-priests and Pharisees, which Solomon by a spirit of prophecy stileth, *dens of lions, and mountains of leopards.* And those who have to do with them, have found them markets of the sins of the people, the cages of uncleanness, the forges of extortion, the tabernacles of bribery, and they have been contrary to the end of civil government, which is the *punishment* of *evil-doers*, and the *praise* of them which *do well.*"

§ 17. Mr. Cotton, therefore, now, with *supplications* unto the God of Heaven for his direction, joined *consultations* of good men on earth; and among others, he did, with some of his Boston friends, visit old Mr. Dod, unto whom he laid open the difficult case now before him, without any intimation of his own inclination, whereby the advice of that holy man might have been at all forestalled. Mr. Dod, upon the whole, said thus unto him: "I am old Peter, and therefore must stand still, and bear the brunt; but you, being young Peter, may go whether you will, and ought, being persecuted in one city, to flee unto another." And when the Boston friends urged, "that they would support and protect Mr. Cotton, though privately; and that if he should leave them, very many of them would be exposed unto extreme temptation:" he readily answered, "That the removing of a minister was like the draining of a fish pond: the good fish will follow the water, but eels, and other baggage fish, will stick in the mud." Which things, when Mr. Cotton heard, he was not a little confirmed in his inclination to leave the land. Nor did he forget the concession of Cyprian, that a seasonable flight is, in effect, "a confession of our faith:" for it is a *profession* that our *faith* is dearer unto us, than all the *enjoyments* from which we *fly*. But that which is further memorable in this matter

is, that as the great God often makes his *truth* to spread by the sufferings of them that profess the truth, four hundred were converted by the death of one persecuted Cecilia: and the Scotch Bishop would leave off burning of the faithful, because the smoke of Hamilton infected as many as it blew upon. Thus the silencing and removing of Mr. Cotton, which was to him a thing little short of martyrdom, was an occasion of more thorough *repentance* in sundry of his bereived people, who now began to consider that God, by taking away their minister, was punishing their former *unfruitfulness* under the most fruitful ministry which they had thus long enjoyed. And there was yet another such effect of the matter, which is now to be related.

§ 18. To avoid them that thirsted for his ruine, Mr. Cotton travelled under a changed *name* and *garb*, with a full purpose of going over for Holland; but when he came near the place where he would have shipped himself, he met with a kinsman, who vehemently and effectually perswaded him to divert into London. Here the Lord had a *work* for him to do, which he little thought of. Some reverend and renowned ministers of our Lord in that great city, who yet had not seen sufficient reason to expose themselves unto *persecutions* for the sake of *non-conformity*, but looked upon the imposed *ceremonies* as indifferent and sufferable trifles, and weighed not the aspect of the *second commandment*, upon all the *parts* and *means* of *instituted worship*, took this opportunity for a *conference* with Mr. Cotton; being perswaded, that since he was "no passionate, but a very judicious man," they should prevail with him rather to *conform*, than to leave his *work* and his *land*. Unto the motion of a *conference* Mr. Cotton most readily yielded; and first, all *their* arguments for conformity, together with Mr. Byfield's, Mr. Whately's and Mr. Sprint's, were produced; all of which Mr. Cotton answered, unto their wonderful satisfaction. *Then* he gave his arguments for his non-conformity, and the reasons why he must rather forgo his *ministry*, or at least his *country*, than wound his *conscience* with unlawful compliances; the issue whereof was, that instead of bringing Mr. Cotton back to what he had now forsaken, he brought them off altogether from what they had hitherto practised: every one of those eminent persons—Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, and Mr. Davenport—now became all that he was, and at last left the kingdom for their being so. But Mr. Cotton being now at London, there were three places which offered themselves to him for his retreat; Holland, Barbadoes, and New-England. As for Holland, the character and condition which famous Mr. Hooker had reported thereof, took off his intentions of removing thither. And Barbadoes had not near such encouraging circumstances, upon the best accounts, as New-England; where our Lord Jesus Christ had a more than ordinary thing to be done for his glory, in an American wilderness, and so would send over a more than ordinary man, to be employed in the doing of it. Thither, even to that religious and reformed plantation, after the solemn-

est applications to Heaven for direction, this great person bent his resolutions: and letters procured from the church of Boston, by Mr. Winthrop, the governour of the colony, had their influence on the matter.

§ 19. The God that had carried him through the *fire* of persecution was now graciously with him in his passage through the *water* of the Atlantic ocean, and he enjoyed a comfortable voyage over the "great and wide sea." There were then three eminent ministers of God in the ship; namely, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Stone; which glorious triumvirate coming together, made the poor people in the wilderness, at their coming, to say, that the God of heaven had supplied them with what would in some sort answer their three great necessities; *Cotton* for their *clothing*, *Hooker* for their *fishing*, and *Stone* for their *building:* but by one or other of these three *divines* in the ship, there was a sermon preached every day, all the while they were aboard; yea they had three sermons, or expositions, for the most part every day: of Mr. Cotton in the morning, Mr. Hooker in the afternoon, Mr. Stone after supper in the evening. And after they had been a month upon the seas, Mr. Cotton received a mercy, which God had now for twenty years denied unto him, in the birth of his eldest son, whom he called *Sea-born*, in the remembrance of the never-to-be-forgotten blessings which he thus enjoyed upon the seas. But at the end of *seven weeks* they arrived at New-England, September 3, in the year 1633; where he put a shore at New-Boston, which in a few years, by the smile of God—especially upon the holy wisdom, conduct, and credit of our Mr. Cotton—upon some accounts of growth, came to exceed Old Boston in every thing that renders a town considerable. And it is remarkable that his arrival at New-England, was just after the people there had been, by solemn fasting and prayer, seeking unto God, that inasmuch as they had been engaging to walk with him in his ordinances, according to his word, he would mercifully send over to them, such as might be "eyes unto them in the wilderness," and strengthen them in discerning and following of that word.

§ 20. There were divers churches gathered in the country, before the arrival of Mr. Cotton; but upon his arrival, the points of *church-order* were with more of exactness revived, and received in them, and *further* observed in such as were gathered after them. He found the whole country in a perplexed and a divided estate, as to their *civil constitution*, but at the publick desires, preaching a sermon on those words, (Hag. ii. 4,) "Be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; and be strong, O Joshua, son of Josedech the high-priest; and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work: for I am with you, saith the Lord of Hosts." The good spirit of God, by that sermon, had a mighty influence upon all ranks of men, in the infant-plantation; who from this time, carried on their affairs with a new life, satisfaction, and unanimity. It was then requested of Mr. Cotton that he would, from the laws wherewith God governed his

ancient people, form an *abstract* of such as were of a moral and a lasting *equity;* which he performed as acceptably as judiciously. But inasmuch as very much of an *Athenian democracy* was in the mould of the government, by the royal charter which was then acted upon, Mr. Cotton effectually recommended it unto them that none should be *electors*, nor *elected* therein, except such as were *visible subjects* of our Lord Jesus Christ, personally *confederated* in our churches. In these, and many other ways, he propounded unto them an endeavour after a *theocracy*, as near as might be, to that which was the glory of Israel, the "peculiar people."

But the *ecclesiastical constitution* of the country was that on which he employed his peculiar cares; and he was one of those *olive-trees* which afforded a singular measure of *oyl* for the illumination of our *sanctuary.*

§ 21. "The churches now had rest, and were edified: and there were daily added unto the churches those that were to be saved." Now, though the poor people were fed with "the bread of adversity, and the waters of affliction," yet they counted themselves abundantly compensated by this, that "their eyes might see such teachers" as were now to be seen among them. The *faith* and the *order* in *the* churches was generally glorious, whatever little *popular confusions*, might in some few places eclipse the *glory.* But the warm sunshine will produce a swarm of insects; whilst matters were going on thus prosperously, the cunning and malice of Satan, to break the prosperity of the churches, brought in a generation of *hypocrites*, who "crept in unawares, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness." A company of Antinomian and Familistical sectaries were strangely crouded in among our more orthodox planters; by the artifices of which busie *opinionists* there was a dangerous blow given, first unto the *faith*, and so unto the *peace* of the churches. In the storm thus raised, it is incredible what obloquy came to be cast upon Mr. Cotton, as if he had been the *patron* of these *destroyers;* merely because they, willing to have a "great person in admiration, because of advantage," falsly used the name of this "great person," by the credit thereof to disseminate and dissemble their *errors;* and because the chief of them, in their private conferences with him, would make such fallacious profession of gospel-truths, that his Christian and abused charity would not permit him to be so hasty as many others were in *censuring* of them. However, the report given of Mr. Cotton on this occasion, by one Baily, a Scotchman, in a most scandalous pamphlet, called, "*A Disswasive*," written to cast an *odium* on the churches of New-England, by vilifying *him*, that was one of their most eminent servants, are most horrid injuries; for there being upon the encouragement of the success which the old Nicene, Constantinopolitan, Ephesine, and Chalcedonian councils had, in the extinguishing of several successive heresies, a *council* now called at Cambridge, Mr. Cotton, after some debates with the Reverend Assembly, upon some controverted points of *justification*, most vigorously joined with the other ministers of the country in

testifying against the *hateful doctrines*, whereby the churches had been troubled. Indeed, there did happen *paroxisms* in this *hour of temptation* between Mr. Cotton and some other zealous and worthy persons, which, though they did not amount unto the *heat* and *heighth* of those that happened between Chrysostom and Epiphanius, or between Hieron and Ruffinus, yet they inclined him to meditate a *removal* into another colony. But a certain scandalous writer, having publickly reproached Mr. Cotton with his former inclination to *remove*, there was thereby provoked his publick and patient answer; which being a summary narrative of this whole business, I shall here transcribe it:

"There was a generation of Familists in our own and other towns, who, under pretence of holding forth what I had taught, touching union with Christ, and evidencing that union, did secretly vent sundry and dangerous errors and heresies, denying all inherent righteousness, and all evidencing of a good estate thereby in any sort, and some of them also denying *the immortality of the soul*, and *the resurrection of the body*. When they were questioned by some brethren about those things, they carried it as if they had held forth nothing but what they had received from me: whereof, when I was advised to clear my self, I publickly preached against those errors. Then said the brethren to the erring party, 'See, your teacher declares himself clearly to differ from you.' 'No matter,' (say the other) 'what he saith in publick; we understand him otherwise, and we know what he saith to us in private.' Yea, and I my self could not easily believe that those erring brethren and sisters were so corrupt in their judgments as they were reported; they seeming to me forward Christians, and utterly denying any such tenents, or any thing else, but what they received from my self. All which bred in sundry of the country a jealousie that I was in secret a fomenter of the spirit of familism, if not *leavened* my self that way. Which I discerning, it wrought in *me* thoughts (as it did in many other sincerely and godly brethren of our church) not of a *separation* from the churches, but of a *removal* to New-Haven, as being better known to the pastor, and some others *there*, than to such as were at that time jealous of me *here*. The true ground whereof was an inward loathness to be troublesome unto godly minds, and a fear of the unprofitableness of my ministry there, where my *way* was suspected to be doubtful and dangerous. I chose therefore rather to meditate a silent departure in peace, than by tarrying here, to make way for the breaking forth of *temptations*. But when, at the Synod, I had discovered the corruption of the judgment of the erring brethren, and saw their fraudulent pretence of holding forth no other but what they received from *me*, (when as indeed they plead for gross errors contrary unto *my* judgment,) I thereupon did bear witness against them; and when in a private conference with some chief magistrates and elders, I perceived that my removal upon such differences was unwelcome to them, and that such points need not to occasion any *distance* (neither in place nor in heart) amongst brethren, I then rested satisfied in my abode amongst them, and so have continued, by the grace of Christ, unto this day."

'Tis true, such was Mr. Cotton's holy *ingenuity*, that when he perceived the advantage which erroneous and heretical persons in his church had from his abused charity taken to spread their dangerous opinions, before he was *aware* of them, he did publickly sometimes with tears bewail it, "That the enemy had sown so many tares whilst he had been asleep." Nevertheless, 'tis as true, that nothing ever could be *baser* than the disingenuity of those *pamphleteers*, who took advantage hence to catch these *tears* in their venemous *ink horns*, and employ them for so many *blots*

upon the memory of a righteous man, "worthy to be had in everlasting remembrance."

§ 22. When the virulent and violent Edwards had been after a most unchristian manner bespattering the excellent Burroughs, that reviled saint, in his answer, had that passage: "The extreme eagerness of some to asperse our names, makes us to think that God hath made more use of our names than we were aware of."—"We see by their anger, even almost to madness, bent that way, that they had little hope to prevail, with all their argument against the cause we profess, till they could get down our esteem (such as it was) in the hearts of the people."—"But our names are not in the power of their tongues and pens; they are in the hands of God, who will preserve them so far as he hath use of them; and further, we shall have no use of them our selves." That bitter spirit in Baily must for such causes expose the name of the incomparable Cotton unto irreparable injuries: for, from the meer *hearsays* of that uncharitable writer, hastily published unto the world, the learned and worthy Dr. Hoornbeck, not much less against the rules of *charity*, printed a short account of Mr. Cotton, whereof an ingenious author truly says, there was in it, "*Quot fere Verba, tot Errores famosissimi; neque tantum quot Capita, tot Carpenda, sed quot fere Sententiarum punctula, tot Dispungenda.*"* That scandalous account, it is pity it should be read in English, and greater pity that ever that reverend person should make it be read in Latin; but this it was: "COTTONUS, *horrore Ordinis Episcopalis, in Aliud Extremum prolapsus, Omnia plebi absque Vinculo Ecclesiarum concedebat.*—COTTONUS *iste, primum in Anglia, alterius Longe Sententiæ fuerat, unde et plurimorum Errorum Heresiumque Reus, Maximus Ordinis istius, vel potius* ATAXIAS, *promptor extitit; habuitque secum, quemadmodum* MONTANUS *olim* MAXIMILLAM, *suam* HUTCHINSONAM, *de qua varia et prodigiosa multa referunt.*"† From these miserable *historians*, who would imagine what a *slur* has been abroad cast upon the name of as holy, as learned, as orthodox, and eminent a servant of our Lord, in his Reformed Churches, as was known in his age! Among the rest, it is particularly observable how a laborious and ingenious foreigner, in his "*Bibliotheca Anglorum Theologica*," having in his *index* mentioned a *book* of this our Mr. Cotton, under the stile of "*Johannis Cottoni*, VIA VITÆ, *Liber Utilissimus*,"‡ presently adds, "*Alius Johannes Cottonus malæ Notæ Homo:*"§ whereas 'twas only by the misrepresentations of contentious and unadvised men, that John Cotton, the

* Almost as many notable errors as words; and not only reprehensible notions enough to match the number of chapters, but such an abundance of matters worthy of being utterly expunged, as almost to outnumber the punctuation-marks.

† Cotton, driven by his horror of the Episcopal order into the opposite extreme, gave up every thing to those out of the pale of the Church. This Cotton, who had cherished widely different sentiments in England, becoming afterwards guilty of very many errors and heresies, was the greatest promoter of this new order, or rather disorder; and had by his side his Ann Hutchinson, as Montanus once had his Maxilla, about whom they tell many and various marvels.

‡ John Cotton's "*Way of Life*" is a most useful work. § The other John Cotton was a man of evil repute.

experimental author of such an useful book, must be branded with a *note* of infamy. But if the reader will deal justly, he must join these gross calumnies upon Cotton with the fables of Luther's devil, Zuinglius' dreams, Calvin's brands, and Junius' cloven foot. If Hoornbeck ever saw Cotton's mild, but full reply to Baily, which, as the good spirited Beverly says, would have been esteemed a sufficient refutation of all these wretched slanders, *Nisi Fratrum quorundam aures erunt ad veritatem, tanquam Aspidum, obduratæ*,* 'tis impossible to excuse his wrongful dealings with a venerable minister of our Lord! Pray, sir, charge not our Cotton with an *Horror Ordinis Episcopalis;* until you have chastised your friend *Honorius Reggius*, that is *Georgius Hornius*, for telling us, as Voetius quotes it: "*Multorum Animos Subiit Recordatio illius, quod Venerabilis Beza, non sine Prophetiæ Spiritu, olim rescripsit Knoxo, Ecclesiæ Scoticæ Reformatori: Sicut Episcopi Papatum pepererunt, ita Oculis pœne ipsis jam cernitur, Pseudo-Episcopos, papatus Reliquias, Epicureismum Terris Invecturos. Atque hæc præmittere Visum, ut eo manifestius esset Britanniam diutius Episcopos non potuisse ferre, nisi in Papismum et Atheismum Labi vellet.*"† Charge not our Cotton with an *Omnia Plebi absque Vinculo Aliarum Ecclesiarum concedebat;* until, besides the whole scope and scheme of his ecclesiastical writings, which allow no more still unto the *fraternity*, than Parker, Ames, Cartwright; and advance no other than that *aristocrasie* that Beza, Zanchy, Whitaker, Bucer, and Blondel pleaded for; you have better construed his words in his golden preface to Norton's answer unto the *Sylloge Quæstionum*, "*Neque nos Regimen proprie dictum alibi quam penes Presbyteres stabilendum Cupimus: Convenimus ambo in Subjecto Regiminis Ecclesiastici: Convenimus etiam in Regula Regiminis, ut Administrentur Omnia Juxta Canonem Sacrarum Scripturarum: Convenimus etiam in Fine Regiminis, ut Omnia Transigantur ad Edificationem Ecclesiæ, non ad Pompam aut Luxum Secularem: Synodos nos, una Vobiscum, cum opus fuerit, et Suscipimus et veneramur. Quantillum est, quod Restat, quod Distat! Actus Regiminis, quos vos a Synodis peragi Velletis, eos a Synodis porrigi Ecclesiis, et ab Ecclesiis, ex Synodali* DIORTHOSEI, *peragi peteremus.*"‡ Charge not our Cotton with an ATAXIAS *Promotor Extitit*, until you, your self, Doctor, have revoked your own *two* concessions, which are all the Ataxies that ever could, with

* Unless the ears of the brethren shall be as deaf as those of adders to the truth.

† Many were reminded of what the venerable Beza, not without the spirit of prophecy, formerly wrote to Knox, the Reformer of the Scottish church: "As the bishops begot papacy, so now it is almost visible to the eye itself that pseudo-bishops, the relics of papacy, are about to introduce Epicureanism among mankind." And it seemed to escape him that, for this very reason, it was more evident that Britain could not endure bishops longer, unless she was prepared to relapse into papacy and atheism.

‡ Nor do we desire to establish the doctrine, that church government is not properly claimed elsewhere than among Presbyterians. We both agree in the rule of church government, that all things should be conducted according to the canon of the Holy Scriptures. We agree also concerning the proper end of church government, that all things should be done for the edification of the church, not for show or luxury. We, as well as you, both convoke and venerate Councils (Synods) when they become necessary. How narrow then is the line which separates us! Those acts of church government which you wish to see administered by Synods, we desire to see transferred from the Synods to the churches, and by the churches administered with all the precision of a Synod itself.

so much as the least pretence, be imputed unto this renowned person: "*Ecclesia particularis quælibet Subjectum est Adæquatum et proprium plenæ potestatis Ecclesiasticæ; nec Congrue dicitur ejus Synodo Dependentia*, and, *Neque enim Synodi in alias Ecclesias potestatem habent Imperantem, quæ Superiorum est, in Inferiores sibi Subditos; Non-Communionis Sententia Potestatem Summam denotat.*"* As for the *Cottonus Plurimorum Errorum Hæresiumque Reus*, were old Austin alive, he would have charged no less a crime than that of *sacriledge* upon the man that thus, without all colour, should *rob* the church of a *name* which would justly be dear unto it; for, as the great Caryl hath expressed it, "The name of COTTON is as an ointment poured forth." But for the top of all these calumnies, *Cottoni Hutchinsona*, instead of a resemblance to *Montani Maximilla*, the truer comparison would have been, *Mulier ista, quæ per Calumniam notissimam Objiciebatur Athanasio;*† all the favour which that prophetess of Thyatira had from this *angelical man*, was the same that the provoked Paul showed unto the Pythoniss. In fine, the histories which the world has had of the New-English churches, under the influence of Mr. Cotton, I have sometimes thought much of a piece with what we have in the old histories of Lysimachus; that when a *leprous*, a *scabby* sort of people were driven out of Egypt into the wilderness, there was a certain man called Moses, who counselled them to march on in a body, till they came to some good soyl. This Moses commanded them to be kind unto no man; to give *bad* advice rather than *good*, upon all occasions; and to destroy as many *temples* as they could find; so, after much travel and trouble, they came to a *fruitful soyl*, where they did all the mischief that Moses had recommended, and built a city, which was at first called *Hierosyla*, from the spoiling of the temples; but afterwards, to shun the disgrace of the occasion, they changed it into *Hierosolyme*, and bore the name of *Hierosolymitans*. But thus must a *bad report*, as well as a *good report*, follow such a man as Mr. Cotton, whose only fault, after all, was that with which that memorable ancient Nazienzen was taxed sometimes; namely, the fault of *Mansuetude*.

§ 23. These *clouds* being thus happily blown over, the rest of his days were spent in a more settled peace; and Mr. Cotton's growing and spreading fame, like Joseph's bough, "ran over the wall" of the Atlantic ocean, unto such a degree, that in the year 1641 some great persons in England were intending to have sent over a ship on purpose to fetch him over, for the sake of the service that such a man as *he* might then do to the church of God, then *travelling* in the nation. But although their doubt of his willingness to remove caused them to forbear that *method* of obtaining him, yet the principal members in both houses of parliament wrote unto him, with an opportunity for his return into England; which had

* Each particular church is a fit and proper depository of plenary ecclesiastical power, nor can it be justly styled a dependancy of the Synod. Nor have Synods any such ruling authority over the churches as a superior exercises over an inferior. The right of decreeing non-communion indicates independent sovereignty.

† That woman whom an infamous calumny connected with the name of Athanasius.

prevailed with him, if the dismal showers of *blood*, quickly after breaking upon the nation, had not made such afflictive impressions upon him as to prevent his purpose. He continued therefore in Boston unto his dying day; counting it a great favour of Heaven unto him, that he was delivered from "the unsettledness of habitation," which was not among the least of the calamities that exercised the apostles of our Lord. Nineteen years and odd months he spent in this place, doing of *good* publickly and privately, unto all sorts of men, as it became "a good man full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost." Here, in an expository way, he went over the Old Testament once, and a second time as far as the thirtieth chapter of Isaiah; and the whole New Testament once, and a second time as far as the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews. Upon the Lord's-days and lecture-days, he preached thorow the Acts of the Apostles; the prophesies of Haggai and Zechariah, the books of Ezra, the Revelation, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, second and third Epistles of John, the Epistle to Titus, both Epistles to Timothy; the Epistle to the Romans; with innumerable other scriptures on incidental occasions. Though he had also the most remarkable faculty, perhaps of any man living, to *meet* every remarkable occasion with pertinent *reflections*, whatever *text* he were upon, without ever wandring out of sight from his text: and it is possible there might sometimes be a particular operation of providence, to make the *works* and *words* of God meet in the ministry of his holy servant. But thus did he "abound in the works of the Lord!"

§ 24. At length, upon desire, going to preach a sermon at Cambridge, (which he did on Isa. liv. 13: "Thy children shall be all taught of the Lord;" and from thence gave many excellent councils unto the students of the college there) he took wet in his passage over the ferry; but he presently felt the effect of it, by the failing of his *voice* in sermon-time; which ever until *now* had been a clear, neat, audible voice, and easily heard in the most capacious auditory. Being "found so doing," as it had often been his declared wish, "That he might not outlive his work!" (saying upon higher principles than once Curius Dentatus did, *Malle esse se Mortuum, quam Vivere:* that he had rather *be dead*, than *live dead;* and with Seneca, *Ultimum malorum est ex vivorum Numero exire, ante quam moriaris:*)* his illness went on to an inflammation in his lungs; from whence he grew somewhat asthmatical; but there was a complication of other *scorbutic effects*, which put him under many symptoms of his approaching end. On the eighteenth of November he took in course, for his text, the four last verses of the second Epistle of Timothy, giving this reason for his insisting on so many verses at once, "Because else (he said) I shall not live to make an end of this Epistle;" but he chiefly insisted on those words, "Grace be with you all." Upon the Lord's day following, he preached his last sermon on Joh. i. 14, about that "glory of the Lord

* It is the extreme of all evils to depart from life, before death.

Jesus Christ," from the *faith* to the *sight* whereof he was now hastening. After this, in that *study* which had been *perfumed* with many such *days* before, he now spent a day in secret humiliations and supplications before the Lord; seeking the special assistance of the Holy Spirit for the great work of dying, that was now before him. What glorious *transactions* might one have heard passing between the Lord Jesus Christ and an excellent servant of his, now coming unto him, if he could have had an *hearing place* behind the hangings of the chamber, in such a day! But having finished the duties of the day, he took his leave of his beloved *study*, saying to his consort, "I shall go into that room no more!" And he had all along *presages* in his heart that God would, by his present sickness, give him "an entrance into the everlasting kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ." Wherefore, "setting his house in order," he was now so far from unwilling to receive the *mercy stroke* of *death*, as that he was desirous to be with Him, "with whom to be, is by far the best of all." And although the chief ground of his *readiness* to be gone, was from the unutterably sweet and rich *entertainments* which he did by *foretaste* as well as by *promise*, know that the Lord had reserved in the heavenly regions for him, yet he said it contributed unto this readiness in him, when he considered the saints, whose company and communion he was going unto; particularly Perkins, Ames, Preston, Hildersham, Dod, and others, which had been peculiarly dear unto himself; besides the rest, in that *general assembly*.

§ 25. While he thus lay sick, the magistrates, the ministers of the country, and Christians of all sorts, resorted unto him, as unto a *publick father*, full of sad apprehensions at the withdraw of such a *publick blessing;* and the "gracious words that proceeded out of his mouth," while he had strength to utter the profitable conceptions of his mind, caused them to reckon these their visits the *gainfulest* that ever they had made. Among others, the then president of the college, with many tears, desired of Mr. Cotton, before his departure, to bestow his blessing on him: saying, "I know, in my heart, they whom you bless shall be blessed." And not long before his death, he sent for the elders of the church, whereof he himself also was an elder; who having, according to the apostolical direction, prayed over him, he exhorted them to "feed the flock over which they were overseers," and increase their *watch* against those *declensions* which he saw the *professors* of religion falling into: adding, "I have now, through grace, been more than forty years a servant unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and have ever found him a good master." When his colleague, Mr. Wilson, took his leave of him with a wish that God would lift up the "light of his countenance" upon him, he instantly replied, "God hath done it already, brother!" He then called for his children, with whom he left the gracious *covenant* of God, as their never-failing portion: and now desired that he might be left *private* the rest of his minutes, for the more freedom of his applications unto the Lord. So lying *speechless* a few hours, he

breathed his blessed soul into the hands of his heavenly Lord on the twenty-third of December, 1652, entring on the sixty-eighth year of his own age: and on the day—yea, at the *hour*—of his constant weekly labours in the lecture, wherein he had been so long serviceable, even to all the churches of New-England. Upon Tuesday, the twenty-eighth of December, he was most honourably interred, with a most numerous concourse of people, and the most grievous and solemn funeral that was ever known perhaps upon the American strand; and the lectures in his church, the whole winter following, performed by the neighbouring ministers, were but so many funeral sermons upon the death and worth of this extraordinary person: among which, the first, I think, was preached by Mr. Richard Mather, who gave unto the bereaved church of Boston this great character of their incomparable Cotton: "Let us pray that God would raise up some Eleazar to succeed this Aaron: but you can hardly expect that so large a portion of the spirit of God should dwell in any one, as dwelt in this blessed man!" And generally in the other churches through the country, the expiration of this *general blessing* to them all, did produce funeral sermons full of honour and sorrow; even as many miles above an hundred, as New-Haven was distant from Massachuset-bay, when the tidings of Mr. Cotton's decease arrived there, Mr. Davenport with many tears bewailed it, in a publick discourse on that in 2 Sam. i. 26, "I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan, very pleasant hast thou been unto me." Yea, they speak of Mr. Cotton in their lamentations to this day!

It is a memorable saying of Algazel, *In quo Lumen Religionis et Devotionis, Fumus generatus ex Lumine Scientiæ non extinguit, ille perfectus est: Sed quis est hic, ut adoremus eum?** Reader, I will show thee such a man; one in whom the *light* of *learning* accompanied the *fire* of *goodness*, met in an high degree: but thou shalt *adore* none but the Lord Jesus Christ, who made him such a man.

§ 26. How vast a treasure of *learning* was laid in the grave, which was opened on this occasion, can scarce *credibly* and *sufficiently* be related. Mr. Cotton was indeed a most *universal scholar*, and a *living system* of the liberal arts, and a *walking library*. It would be endless to recite *all* his particular accomplishments, but only three articles of observation shall be offered. First, for his *grammar*, he had a very singular skill in those three languages, the knowledge whereof was the inscription on the cross of our Saviour, proposed unto the *perpetual use* of his church. The Hebrew he understood so exactly, and so readily, that he was able to *discourse* in it. In the Greek he was a critic, so accurate and so well versed, that he need not, like Austin, to have studied in his reduced age. Thus, if many of the *ancients* committed gross mistakes in their *interpretations* of the Scriptures, through their want of skill in the originals, Mr. Cotton was better qualified for an interpreter. He both wrote and spoke Latin also with

* For translation, see page 252.

great facility; and with a most Ciceronian elegancy, exemplified in one published composure. Next, for his *logic* he was compleatly furnished therewith to encounter the subtilest adversary of the truth. But although he had been educated in the *peripatetick* way, yet, like the other puritans of those times, he rather affected the Ramaen discipline; and chose to follow the methods of that excellent Ramus, who, like Justin of old, was not only a *philosopher*, but a Christian, and a *martyr* also; rather than the more empty, trifling, altercative notions, to which the works of the Pagan Aristotle, derived unto us through the mangling hands of the apostate Porphyrie, have disposed his disciples. Lastly, for his *Theologie*, *there* 'twas that he had his greatest *extraordinariness*, and most of all, his *Textual Divinity*. His abilities to expound the Scriptures, caused him to be admired by the ablest of his hearers. Although his incomparable modesty would not permit him to speak any more than the *least* of *himself*, yet unto a private friend he hath said, "That he knew not of any difficult place in all the whole Bible, which he had not weighed, some what unto satisfaction." And hence, though he ordinarily bestowed much pains upon his publick sermons, yet he hath sometimes preached most admirably, without any warning at all; and a *new note* upon a text before him, occurring to his mind, but just as he was going into the assembly, has taken up his discourse for that hour, so pertinently and judiciously, that the most critical of his auditors imagined nothing extemporaneous. Indeed, his library was vast, and vast was his acquaintance with it; but although amongst his readings he had given a special room unto the *fathers*, and unto the *school-men*, yet at last he preferred one Calvin above them all. If Erasmus, when offered a bishoprick to write against Luther, could answer, "There was more divinity in a page of Luther, than in all Thomas Aquinas," 'tis no wonder that Salmasius could so venerate Calvin as to say, "That he had rather be the author of that one book, '*the Institutions*,' written by Calvin, than have written all that was ever done by Grotius." Even such a Calvinist was our Cotton! Said he, "I have read the fathers and the school-men, and Calvin too; but I find that he that has Calvin, has them all." And being asked, why in his latter days he indulged *nocturnal studies* more than formerly, he pleasantly replied, "Because I love to sweeten my mouth with a piece of Calvin before I go to sleep."

§ 27. Indeed, in his common preaching, he did as Basil reports of Ephrem Syrus, *Plurimum distare a Mundana Sapientia*:* and though he were a great scholar, yet he did conscientiously forbear making to the common people any ostentation of it. He had the *art* of *concealing his art;* and thought with Sobinus, *Non minus est Virtus Populariter quam Argute Loqui*,† and Mr. Dod, "That Latin for the most part was flesh in a sermon." Accordingly, when he was handling the *deepest subjects*, a speech

* He abstained from displays of worldly wisdom.

† Speaking so as to reach the popular understanding, is no less an accomplishment than eloquence itself.

of that import was frequent with him, "I desire to speak so as to be understood by the meanest capacity!" And he would sometimes give the same reason for it, which the great Austin gave: "If I preach more scholastically, then only the learned, and not the unlearned, can so understand as to profit by me; but if I preach plainly, then both learned and unlearned will understand me, and so I shall profit all." When a *golden key* of oratory would not so well open a *mystery* of Christianity, he made no stick to take an *iron one*, that should be less rhetorical. You should hear few terms of art, few latinities, no exotic or obsolete phrases, obscuring of the truths which he was to bring unto the people of God. Nevertheless, his more judicious and observing hearers could, by his most *untrimmed sermons*, perceive that he was a man of more than ordinary abilities. Hence, when a Dutchman of great learning heard Mr. Cotton preach at Boston, in England, he professed, "That he never in his life saw such a conjunction of learning and plainness as there was in the preaching of this worthy man." The *glory* of God, and not his own glory, was that at which he aimed in his labours; for which cause, at the end of his notes, he still inserted that clause, *Tibi Domine:* or, "For thy glory, O God!" For this *delivery*, though it were not like Farel's, noisy and thundering, yet it had in it a very awful *majesty*, set off with a natural and becoming motion of his *right hand;* and the Lord was in the *still voice* at such a rate, that Mr. Wilson would say, "Mr. Cotton preaches with such authority, demonstration, and life, that methinks, when he preaches out of any prophet or apostle, I hear not him; I hear that very prophet and apostle; yea, I hear the Lord Jesus Christ himself speaking in my heart." And the success which God gave to these *plain labours* of his faithful, humble, diligent servant, was beyond what most ministers in the country ever did experience: there have been few that have seen so many and mighty effects given to the "travels of their souls."

§ 28. He was even from his youth to his age an indefatigable student, under the conscience of the apostolical precept, "Be not slothful in business, but fervent in spirit serving the Lord." He was careful to redeem his hours, as well as his days; and might lay claim to that character of the blessed martyr, "Sparing of sleep, more sparing of words, but most sparing of time." If any came to visit him, he would be very civil to them, having learned it as his duty, "To use all gentleness towards all men:" and yet he would often say with some regret, after the departure of a visitant, "I had rather have given this man an handful of money, than have been kept thus long out of my study:" reckoning, with Pliny, the time not spent in study, for the most part, *sweeled away.* For which cause he went not much abroad; but he judged ordinarily that more benefit was obtained, according to the advice of the wise King, by conversing with the *dead* [in *books*] than with the *living* [in *talks:*] and that *needless visits* do commonly unframe our spirits, and perhaps disturb our comforts. He was an early riser, taking the morning for the Muses; and in his latter

days forbearing a supper, he turned his former supping-time into a reading, a thinking, a praying-time. Twelve hours in a day he commonly studied, and would call that *a scholar's day;* resolving rather to wear out with using than with rusting. In truth, had he not been of an healthy and hearty constitution, and had he not made a careful, though not curious *diet* serve him, instead of an Hippocrates, his continued labour must have made his *life*, as well as his *labour*, to have been but of a short continuance. And, indeed, the work which lay upon him could not have been performed without a labour more than ordinary. For besides his constant preaching, more than once every week, many cases were brought unto him far and near, in resolving whereof, as he took much time, so he did much good, being a most excellent *casuist.* He was likewise very deeply concerned in peaceable and effectual disquisitions of the controversies about church-government, then agitated in the Church of God. And though he chiefly gave himself to reading, and doctrine, and exhortation, depending much on the ruling elders to inform him concerning the state of his particular flock, that he might the better order himself in "the word and prayer," yet he found his church-work, in this regard also, to call for no little painfulness, watchfulness, and faithfulness.

§ 29. He was one so "clothed with humility," that, according to the emphasis of the apostolical direction, by this *livery* his relation as a disciple to the lowly Jesus was notably discovered; and hence he was *patient* and *peaceable*, even to a proverb. He had a more than common excellency in that *cool spirit*, which the oracles of wisdom describe as "the excellent spirit in the man of understanding;" and therefore Mr. Norton would parallel him with Moses among the patriarchs, with Melancthon among the reformers. He was rather excessive than defective in self-denial, and had the *Nimia Humilitas*,* which Luther sometimes blamed in Staupicius; yea, he was at last himself sensible, that some fell very deep into the sin of Corah, through his extreme *forbearance*, in matters relating to his own *just rights* in the church of God. He has, to a judicious friend, thus expressed himself: "Angry men have an advantage above me; the people dare not set themselves against such men, because they know it wont be born; but some care not what they say or do about me, because they know I wont be angry with them again." One would have thought the ingenuity of such a spirit would have broke the hearts of men, that had indeed the *hearts of men* in them; yea, that the hardest *flints* would have been broken, as is usual, upon such a soft bag of *Cotton!* But, alas! he found it otherwise, even among some who pretended unto high attainments in Christianity. Once particularly, an humorous and imperious brother, following Mr. Cotton home to his house, after his publick labours, instead of the grateful respects with which those holy labours were to have been encouraged, rudely told him that his ministry was become generally either dark

* Excessive meekness.

or flat: whereto this meek man, very mildly and gravely, made only this answer: "Both, brother, it may be, both: let me have your prayers that it may be otherwise." But it is remarkable, that the man sick thus of wanton singularities, afterwards died of those damnable heresies, for which he was deservedly excommunicated.—Another time, when Mr. Cotton had modestly replied unto one that would much talk and crack of his insight into the *revelations:* "Brother, I must confess my self to want *light* in those mysteries." The man went home, and sent him *a pound of candles:* upon which action this good man bestowed only a silent smile. He would not set the *beacon* of his great soul on *fire* at the landing of such a little cock-boat. He learned the lesson of Gregory, "It is better, many times, to fly from an injury by silence, than to overcome it by replying:" and he used that practice of Grynæus, "To revenge wrongs by Christian taciturnity."

I think I may not omit, on this occasion, to transcribe a remarkable passage, which that good man, Mr. Flavel, reports, in a sermon on *gospel-unity.* His words are these:

"A company of vain, wicked men, having inflamed their blood in a tavern at Boston, and seeing that reverend, meek, and holy minister of Christ, Mr. Cotton, coming along the street, one of them tells his companion, 'I'll go, saith he, 'and put a trick on old Cotton.' Down he goes, and crossing his way, whispers these words into his ear: 'Cotton,' said he, 'thou art an old fool.' Mr. Cotton replied, 'I confess I am so: the Lord make both me and thee wiser than we are, even wise unto salvation.' He relates this passage to his wicked companions, which cast a great damp upon their sports, in the midst of a frolick."

And it may pass for a branch of the same temper in him, that he extremely hated all *Allotrio Episcopacy:* and though he knew, as practically as most men in the world, "That we have a call to do good, as often as we have power and occasion;" yet he was slow of apprehending any occasion at all, though he might have had never so much power to meddle for good, any where but within the sphere of his own proper calling. As he understood that Leontius blamed Constantine for interposing too far in *ecclesiastical affairs*, thus Mr. Cotton, on the other side, had a great aversion from engaging in any *civil* ones. He would religiously decline taking into his cognisance all civil controversies, or umpirages, and whatever looked heterogeneous to the calling of one whose whole business 'twas to feed the flock of God. Nevertheless, in the things of God, of Christ, of conscience, his *condescending temper* did not hinder him from the most *immoveable resolution.* He would not so "follow peace with all men," as to abandon or prejudice, one jot, the interests of holiness.

§ 30. His command over his own spirit was particularly observable in his government of his family, where he would never correct any thing in a *passion;* but first, with much deliberation, shew what rule in the holy word of God had been violated by the fault lately committed. He was indeed one that "ruled well his own house." He therein morning and evening read a chapter, with a little applicatory exposition, before and

after which he made a prayer; but he was very short in all, accounting as Mr. Dod, Mr. Bains, and other great saints did before him, "That it was a thing inconvenient many ways to be tedious in family duties." He also read constantly a portion of the Scripture alone, and he prayed over what he read: prayed, I say; for he was very much in prayer, a very man of prayer; he would rarely sit down to study, without a prayer over it, referring to the presence of God accompanying what he did. It was the advice of the ancient, *Si vis esse Semper cum Deo, Semper Ora, Semper Lege:** and agreeably hereunto, Mr. Cotton might say with David, "Lord, I am still with thee." But he that was with God all the week, was more intimately with him on his own day, the chief day of the week, which he observed most conscientiously. The Sabbath he began the evening before: for which keeping of the Sabbath, *from evening to evening*, he wrote arguments before his coming to New-England: and, I suppose, 'twas from his reason and practice that the Christians of New-England have generally done so too. When that evening arrived, he was usually larger in his exposition in his family than at other times: he then catechised his children and servants, and prayed with them, and sang a psalm; from thence he retired unto study and secret prayer, till the time of his going unto his repose. The next morning, after his usual family-worship, he betook himself to the devotions of his retirements, and so unto the publick. From thence towards noon, he repaired again to the like devotions, not permitting the interruption of any other dinner, than that of a small repast carried up unto him. Then to the publick once more; from whence returning, his first work was closet-prayer, then prayer with repetitions of the sermons in the family. After supper, he still sang a psalm; which he would conclude with uplifted eyes and hands, uttering this doxology—"Blessed be God in Christ our Saviour!" Last of all, just before his going to sleep, he would once again go into his prayerful study, and there briefly recommended all to that God, whom he served with a pure conscience.

But there was one point of Sabbath-keeping, about which it may not be unuseful for me to transcribe a passage, which I find him writing to Mr. N. Rogers, in the year 1630:

"Studying for a sermon upon the Sabbath-day, so far as it might be any wearisome labour to invention or memory, I covet (when I can) willingly to prevent it; and would rather attend unto the quickning of my heart and affections, in the meditation of what I am to deliver. My reason is, much reading, and invention, and repetition of things to commit them to memory, is a weariness to the *flesh* and *spirit* too; whereas the Sabbath-day doth rather invite unto an holy rest. But yet, if God's providence have straitned my time in the week days before, by concurrence of other business, not to be avoided, I doubt not but the Lord, who allowed the priests to employ their labour in killing the sacrifices on the Sabbath-day, will allow us also to labour in our callings on the Sabbath, to prepare our sacrifice for the people."

* If thou wouldst always find thyself in the society of God, spend all thine hours in prayer and study.

These were his ordinary Sabbaths: but he also kept *extraordinary* ones, upon the just occasions for them. He was in *fasting* often, and would often keep whole days by himself, wherein he would with solemn humiliations and supplications, implore the wanted mercies of Heaven; yea, he would likewise by himself keep whole days of *thanksgiving* unto the Lord: besides the many days of this kind which he celebrated in publick assemblies with the people of God. Thus did this man of God continually.

§ 31. Without *liberality* and *hospitality*, he had been really as undeserving of the character of "a minister of the gospel," as the sacrilegious niggardliness of the people does often endeavour to make ministers uncapable of answering that character. But Mr. Cotton was most exemplary for this virtue; wherein there are of his children that have also learned of him. The stranger and the needy were still entertained at his table, *Episcopaliter et Benigne*,* as was the phrase instructively used, for a charitable entertainment of old. It might be said of him, as once it was of the generous Corinthian, *Semper aliquis in* Cottoni *Domo*:† he was ever shewing of kindness to some-body or other. What Posidonius relates of Austin, and what Peter Martyr affirms of Bucer, was very true of our Cotton: "His house was like an inn, for the constant entertainment which he gave upon the account of the gospel." And he would say, "If a man want an heart for this charity, it is not fit such a man should be ordained a minister:" consenting therein to the great canonist, *Hospitalitas usque adeo Episcopis est necessaria, ut si ab ea inveniantur alieni, Jure prohibentur ordinari.*‡ While he lived quietly in England, he was noted for his bountiful disposition, especially to ministers driven into England by the storms of persecution, then raging in Germany: for which cause Libingus, Saumer, Tolner, and others of the German sufferers, in their accounts of him, would stile him, *Fautor Doctissimus, Clarissimus, Fidelissimus, plurimumque Honorandus.*§ It was remarkable that he never omitted inviting unto his house any minister travelling to or through the town, but only that one man who perfidiously betrayed Mr. Hildersham, with his non-conformist associates, into the hands of their enemies. And after he came to New-England, he changed not his mind with his air; but with a *Quantum ex Quantillo!*‖ continued his *beneficence* upon all occasions, though his abilities for it were much diminished; which brings to mind a most memorable story. A little church, whereof the worthy Mr. White was pastor, being by the strange and strong malice of their prevailing adversaries, forced of Barmudas in much misery, into a desart of America, the report of their distresses came to their fellow-sufferers, though not alike sufferers, at New-England. Mr. Cotton immediately applied himself to obtain a collection

* With the hospitality becoming a bishop. † Some guest was always by the hearth of *Cotton*.

‡ Hospitality is so essential a qualification of a bishop, that if a candidate should be found averse to it, he would be denied ordination.

§ A most learned, renowned, faithful and honoured patron.

‖ How much can be made out of very little!—*i. e.* a faculty of accomplishing much good with small means.

for the relief of those distressed saints; and a collection of about £700 was immediately obtained, whereof two hundred was gathered in that one church of Boston, where there was no man who did exceed, and but one man who did equal, this "deviser of liberal things," in that contribution. But behold the wonderful providence of God! This contribution arrived unto the poor people on the *very day* after they had been brought unto a personal division of the little *meal* then left in the barrel; upon the spending whereof, they could foresee nothing but a lingering death; and on that *very day* when their pastor had preached unto them upon that most suitable text, Psal. xxiii. 1: "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want."

§ 32. The reader that is inquisitive after the *prosopography* of this great man, may be informed, that he was a clear, fair, sanguine complexion, and like David of a "*ruddy countenance.*" He was rather *low* than *tall*, and rather *fat* than *lean*, but of a becoming mediocrity. In his younger years his *hair* was brown, but in his latter years as white as the driven snow. In his countenance there was an inexpressible sort of majesty, which commanded reverence from all that approached him: this Cotton was indeed the Cato of his age, for his gravity; but had a glory with it which Cato had not. I cannot indeed say, what they report of Hilary, that "serpents were not able to look upon him;" nevertheless, it was commonly observed, that the worser sort of serpents would, from the awe of his presence keep in their poisons. As the keeper of the inn where he did use to lodge, when he came to Derby, would profanely say to his companions, that he wished Mr. Cotton were gone out of his house; for "he was not able to swear while that man was under his roof;" so other wicked persons could not show their wickedness whilst this holy and righteous man was in the company. But the exacter picture of him is to be taken from his printed works, whereof there are many, that "praise him in the gates," though few of them were printed with his own *knowledge* or *consent.*

We will mention a catalogue of his works, because (as it was said of Calvin's),

Chara quibus fuerat Cottoni Vita, *laborum*
*Gratior ejusdem Vita perennis erit.**

The children of New-England are to this day most usually fed with his excellent catechism, which is entituled, "*Milk for Babes.*"

His well-known sermons on the First Epistle of John, in folio, have had their acceptance with the church of God; though being preached in his youth, and not published by himself, there are some things therein which he would not have inserted.

There are also of his abroad, sermons on the thirteenth of the Revelations, and on the *vials*, and on Rev. xx. 5, 6, and 2 Sam. vii., last in quarto.

As also, a savory treatise, entituled, "*The Way of Life.*" The reverend

* His life was precious, for he did God's will:
His works live after him, more precious still.

prefacer whereto saith, "Ever since I had any knowledge of this judicious author, I have looked upon him as one intrusted with as great a part of the church's treasure, as any other whatsoever."

Several volumes of his expositions upon Ecclesiastes and Canticles, are also published in octavo.

As likewise, "A Treatise of the New Covenant:" which being only a posthumous piece, and only notes written after him, is accordingly to be judged of.

And there have seen the light, an answer to Mr. Ball, about forms of prayer. A discourse about the grounds and ends of *infant-baptism.* A discourse about *singing of psalms*, proving it a gospel-ordinance. An "*Abstract of laws*" in Christ's kingdom, for civil government. A treatise about the holiness of church-members; proving that visible saints are the matter of a church. Another discourse upon *things indifferent*, proving that no church-governours have power to impose *indifferent things* upon the consciences of men. Add hereto, the way of the churches in New-England: and that golden discourse of "*The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven:*" in a written copy whereof, yet in our hands, there were some things which were never printed, maintaining that, in the government of the church, *authority* is peculiar to the *elders* only; and answering all the Brownistical arguments to the contrary. But whereas there may occur a passage in his book of "*The Way of the Churches,*" which may have in it a little more of the Morellian tang, reader, 'twas none of Mr. Cotton's; Mr. Cotton was troubled when he saw such a passage, in an imperfect copy of his writings, exposed unto the world, under his *name*, against his *will:* and he took an opportunity, in the most publick manner, to declare as much unto the world.

He was also sometimes put upon writing yet more *polemically.* Indeed there was one occasion of so writing, which he declined meddling withal; and that was this: Mr. Cotton having in his younger years, written to a private friend some things, tending (at his desire) to clear the doctrine of *reprobates* from the exceptions of the Arminians; and this manuscript falling into Dr. Twiss' hand, that learned man published it, with his own confutation of certain passages in it, which did not agree so well with the doctor's own *Supralapsarian scheme.* Now when Mr. Cotton saw himself reviled for this cause by Baily, as being Pelagian, he only made this meek reply: "I hope God will give me opportunity ere long to consider of this, the doctor's labour of love. I bless the Lord, who has taught me to be willing to be taught of a far meaner disciple than such a doctor, whose scholastical acuteness, pregnancy of wit, solidity of judgment, and dexterity of argument, all orthodox divines do highly honour, and whom all Arminians and Jesuites do fall down before, with silence. God forbid I should shut my eyes against any light brought to me by him. Only I desire I may not be condemned as a Pelagian or Arminian before I be heard."

Moreover, Mr. Cawdry fell hard upon him; to whom he prepared an answer, which was afterwards published and seconded by Dr. Owen. But besides these, he was twice compelled unto some other *Eristical* writings: once in answer to Baily; another time in answer to Williams: in both of which, like Job, he "turned the books which his adversaries had written against him, into a crown." I believe never any meer man, under such open and horrid injuries as these two *reporters* heaped upon Mr. Cotton, did unswer with more Christian patience: his answers are indeed a pattern for all answerers to the world's end. But it was particularly remarkable that, in this matter, certain persons, who had fallen under the censures of the civil authority in the country, singled out Mr. Cotton for the object of their displeasure, although he had, *most of all men*, declined interesting himself in the actions of the magistrate, and had also done *more than all men* to obtain healing and favour for those ungrateful delinquents. However, the venomous tongues all this while only licked a file, which made themselves to bleed; his *fame*, like the *file*, remained invulnerable; and if Mr. Cotton would, from his own profitable experience, have added another book unto this catalogue, it might have been on the subject handled by Plutarch, *De Capienda ex Hostibus Utilitate.** This is the *Elenchus* of Mr. Cotton's published writings; wheupon we might make this conclusion:

Digna Legi Scribis, Facis et Dignissima Scribi:
Scripta probant Doctum, Te, Facta, probum.†

§ 33. The things which have been related, cause us to account Mr. Cotton an extraordinary person.

Dives eras Donis, etiamque Fidelis in Usu,
Lucratus Domino multa Talenta tuo.
Multus eras Studiis, multusque Laboribus: una,
Te, Fora, Templa, Domus, Te, cupiere frui.
Multa Laboribus Scribendo, Multa Docendo,
Invigilans Operi, Nocte Dieque, Dei.

Multa Laboribus Scribendo, Multa Ferendo,
Quæ nisi Cottono, viz Subeunda forent.
Tu non unus eras, sed Multi; Multus in uno,
Multorum Donis præditus Unus eras.
Uno Te amisso, Multos Amisimus in Te,
Sed neque per Multos Restituendus eris.‡

These were some of the lines which the renowned Bulkly justly wept upon his grave. Yea, we may, on as many accounts as *these days* will allow, reckon him to have been a "prophet of the Lord:" and when we have entertained ourselves with a memorable demonstration of *it*, in one surprizing and stupendious article of our Church-History, we will put a period unto *this part* of it.

At the time when some unhappy persons were just going from hence to England, with certain *petitions*, which had a tendency to disturb the

* The art of profiting by enmity.

† Thou writest what is worthy to be read,
And worthy to be written are thy deeds;
Thy words win *Learning's* honours for thy head;
Thy works shall merit *Virtue's* nobler meeds.

‡ His gifts were bounteous, and he used them well;
His talent hath made many for his Lord.
In pulpit, forum and at home the spell
His genius wrought was felt in every word.
He wrote much—thought much—seeking still the way
To do his Master's work both night and day.

In swift succession sped thy toilsome hours;
Thy labours could be borne by none but thee.
Thou wast not one, but many; and the powers
Of many seemed in thee combined to be.
In losing thee, the loss of more we trace,
Yet many more could not thy loss replace.

good order of things in both church and state, then settling among us, Mr. Cotton in the ordinary course of his lectures, on the Canticles, preached on Cant. ii. 15: "Take us the foxes, the little foxes, which destroy the vines." Having thence observed, "That when God has delivered his church from the dangers of the persecuting bear and lyon, then there were foxes that would seek by policy to undermine it;" and, "that all those who go by a fox-like policy to undermine the churches of the Lord Jesus Christ, shall be taken and overtaken by his judgments;" he came at length to his *application*, where, with a more than ordinary majesty and fervency, he after this manner expressed himself:

"First, Let such as live in this country take heed, how they go about in any indirect way or course to prejudice the churches of the Lord Jesus Christ in the land, or the government of the land. If you *do*, the 'keeper of Israel, who neither slumbereth nor sleepeth,' will not take it well at your hands. He that brought this people hither, and preserved them from the rage of *persecution*, and made this wilderness an *hiding-place* for them, whilst he was chastising our nation, with the other nations round about it, and has manifested his gracious presence in the midst of these his 'golden candlesticks,' and secured us from the plots of the late Archbishop, and his confederates abroad, and from the plots of the heathen here at home; there is no question but He will defend us from the underminings of false brethren, and such as are joined with them. Wherefore let such know, that this is, in many respects, Immanuel's land, and they shall not prosper that rise up against it, but shall be taken every one of them in the snares they lay for it. This I speak *as a poor prophet of the Lord, according to the word of his grace now before us!* But in the second place, whereas many of our brethren are going to England, let me direct a word unto *them* also. I desire the gracious presence of our God may go with you, and his angels guard you, not only from the dangers of the seas, while you are thereupon, but also from the *errors* of the *times*, when you arrive. Nevertheless, if there be any among you, my brethren, as 'tis reported there *are*, that have a petition to prefer unto the High Court of Parliament, that may conduce to the distraction and annoyance of the peace of our churches, and the weakening the government of the land where we live, let *such* know, the Lord will never suffer them to prosper in their subtil, malicious, desperate undertakings against his people, who are as tender unto him as the 'apple of his eye.' But if there be any such among you, who are to *go*, I do exhort you, and I would advise you in the fear of God, that when the terrors of the Almighty shall beset the vessel wherein you are, when the heavens shall frown upon you, and the billows of the sea shall swell above you, and the dangers of death shall threaten you, as I am verily perswaded they will, I would have you then to 'consider your ways.' I will not give the counsel that was taken concerning Jonas, to cast such a person into the sea; God forbid! but I counsel such to come then unto a resolution in themselves to *desist* from their enterprizes, and *cast their petitions into the sea.* It may be that hardness of heart and stoutness of spirit may cause you to persist, and yet in mercy to some gracious persons among you, the Lord may deliver the ship from utter destruction for *their* sakes. But the Lord hath further judgments in store: he is the God of the *land*, as well as of the *sea.* I speak this also *as an unworthy prophet of the Lord!*"

These things were then uttered by a person that was as little of an *enthusiast* as most men in the world. Now attend the event!

That ship, after many stresses of weather in the harbour, puts out to *sea;* but at sea it had the terriblest *passage,* perhaps, that ever was heard of; the mariners not being able to take any observation of either *sun* or

star for seven hundred leagues together. Certain well disposed persons aboard, now calling to mind the words of Mr. Cotton, thought it necessary to admonish the persons who were carrying over the malignant papers against the country; and some of those papers were by them thereupon given to the seamen, who immediately cut them in pieces and threw them over. The storm forthwith abated; however, there afterwards came up *new storms*, which at last hurried the ship among the rocks of Scilly; where they yet received a deliverance, which most of them that considered it, pronounced *miraculous*. When the rude Cornish men saw how miraculously the vessel had escaped, they said, "God was a good man to save them so!" but the most instructed obliged passengers kept a day of solemn Thanksgiving to God; in which even the profanest persons on board, under the impression of what had happened, then bore a part. However, the corn-fields in New-England, still stood undisturbed, notwithstanding the various *names* affixed unto the *tailes* of petitions against their *liberties*. For, as Mr. Cotton elegantly expressed it, "God then rocqued three nations, with shaking dispensations, that he might procure some rest unto his people in this wilderness!"

§ 34. *This* was Mr. Cotton! what *more* he was, let these lines, taking no license but from the real truth, delineate:

UPON THE TOMB OF THE MOST REVEREND MR. JOHN COTTON,

LATE TEACHER OF THE CHURCH OF BOSTON IN NEW-ENGLAND.

HERE lies magnanimous *humility;*
Majesty, *meekness;* Christian *apathy*
On soft *affections; liberty* in *thrall;*
A *noble* spirit, *servant* unto all;
Learning's great *master-piece*, who yet would sit
As a disciple, at his *scholars'* feet:
A simple *serpent*, or serpentine *dove*,
Made up of wisdom, innocence and love:
Neatness embroider'd with *it self* alone,
And *civils canonized* in a gown;
Embracing old and young, and low and high,
Ethics imbodyed in *divinity;*
Ambitious to be *lowest*, and to raise
His brethren's honour on his own decays;
(Thus doth the *sun* retire into his bed,
That being gone the *stars* may shew their head;)
Could *wound* at argument without *division*,
Cut to the quick, and yet make no *incision:*
Ready to sacrifice *domestick notions*
To churhes' peace, and ministers' devotions:
Himself, indeed (and singular in that)
Whom all admired he admired not:
Liv'd like an *angel* of a mortal birth,
Convers'd in *heaven* while he was on *earth:*
Though not, as Moses, radiant with light
Whose glory dazzell'd the beholder's sight,
Yet so divinely beautified, you'ld count
He had been born and bred upon the *mount:*
A living, breathing Bible; tables where
Both *covenants*, at large, engraven were;
Gospel and *law*, in's heart, had each its column;
His head an index to the sacred volume;
His very name a *title-page*; and next,
His life a *commentary* on the text.

O, what a monument of glorious worth,
When, in a *new edition*, he comes forth,
Without *erratas*, may we think he'll be
In *leaves* and *covers* of eternity!
A man of might, at heavenly eloquence,
To fix the *ear*, and charm the *conscience;*
As if Apollos were reviv'd in him,
Or he had learned of a seraphim:
Spake *many tongues* in one: one voice and sense
Wrought *joy* and *sorrow*, *fear* and *confidence:*
Rocks rent before him, *blind* receiv'd their sight;
Souls *levell'd* to the dunghill, stood *upright:*
Infernal *furies* burst with rage to see
Their prisoners *captiv'd* into *liberty:*
A *star* that in our eastern England rose,
Thence hurry'd by the blast of stupid foes,
Whose foggy *darkness*, and benummed senses,
Brookt not his daz'ling fervent influences:
Thus did he move on earth, from *east* to *west;*
There he went *down*, and *up* to heaven for rest.
Nor from himself, whilst living, doth he vary,
His death hath made him an *ubiquitary:*
Where is his *sepulchre* is hard to say,
Who, in a *thousand sepulchres*, doth lay
(Their *hearts*, I mean, whom he hath left behind,
In them) his sacred reliques, now, enshrin'd.
But let his mourning flock be comforted,
Though Mosès be, yet Joshua is not dead:
I mean renowned Norton; worthy he,
Successor to our Moses, is to be.
O happy Israel in America,
In such a Moses, such a Joshua.

B. WOODBRIDGE.

§ 35. Three sons and three daughters was this renowned "walker with God" blessed withal.

His *eldest* son did spend and end his days in the ministry of the gospel, at Hampton: being esteemed a thorough scholar, and an able preacher; and though his name were *Sea-born*, yet none of the lately revived heresies were more abominable to him, than that of his name-sake, Pelagius [or, Morgan] of whom the *witness* of the ancient poet is *true:*

*Pestifero Vomuit coluber Sermone Britannus.**

His second son was a minister of the gospel, at Plymouth; and one by whom not only the English, but also the Indians of America, had the "glad tidings of salvation" in their own language carried unto them.

Of his two younger daughters, the first was married unto a merchant of good fashion, whose name was Mr. Egginton; but she did not long survive the birth of her first child, as that child also did not survive many years after the *death* of her mother. The next is at this time living the consort of one well known in both Englands, namely Increase Mather, the President of Harvard Colledge, and the teacher of a church in Boston.

The *youngest* of his sons, called Roland, and the eldest of his daughters, called Sarah, both of them died near together, of the small-pox, which was raging among the inhabitants of Boston, in the winter of the year 1649. The death of those two lovely children, required the *faith* of an Abraham, in the heart of their gracious father; who indeed most exemplarily *expressed* what was required. On this occasion, I find, that on a spare leaf his almanack, he wrote in *Greek letters* these English verses:

IN SARAM.†

Farewel, dear daughter Sara, now thou'rt gone, d
(Whither thou much desiredst) to thine home; d
"Pray, my dear father, let me now go home?" d
Were the last words thou spak'st to me alone.
Go then, sweet Sara, take thy *sabbath rest*,
With thy great Lord, and all in heaven blest.

IN ROLANDUM.‡

Our eldest daughter, and our youngest son,
Within nine days, both have their full race run.
On th' twentieth of th' eleventh, died she,
And on the twenty-ninth day died he.
Both in their *lives* were *lovely* and *united*,
And in their *deaths* they were not much *divided*.
Christ gave them both, and he takes both again
To live with him; blest be his holy name.

IN UTRUMQUE.§

"Suffer," saith Christ, "your little ones,
To come forth, me unto,
For of such ones my kingdom is,
Of grace and glory too."
We do not only *suffer* them,
But *offer* them to thee;
Now, blessed Lord, let us believe,
Accepted, that they be:
That thou hast *took* them, in thine arms,
And on them put thine hand,
And blessed them with sight of thee,
Wherein our blessings stand.

But he has at this day five grandsons, all of them employed in the publick service of the gospel; whereof, let the *reader* count him the meanest, that is the *writer* of this history; and accept further one little piece of history, relating hereunto.

The gathering of the second church in Boston, was evidently very

* The British serpent breathed his poisoned speech. † To Sarah. ‡ To Roland. § To both.

much to the disadvantage of Mr. Cotton, in many of his interests. But he was a John, who reckoned his joy fulfilled in this, that in his own *decrease* the interests of the Lord Jesus Christ would *increase;* and therefore, with an exemplary self-denial, divesting himself of all carnal respects, he set himself to encourage the foundation of that church, out of respect unto the service and worship of our *common Lord.* Now, it has pleased the Lord so to order it, that, many years after his decease, that self-denial of his holy servant, has turned unto some account, in the opportunities which *that very church* has given unto *his* children to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, in the conduct of it: his son-in-law has been for more than thrice ten years, and his grandson for more than twice seven years, the ministers of the gospel, in *that very church*, accommodated with happy opportunities, "to serve their generation."

EPITAPHIUM.
JOHANNES COTTONUS,

Cujus Ultima Laus est,
*Quod fuerit inter Nov-Anglos Primus.**

CHAPTER II.

NORTONUS HONORATUS,† THE LIFE OF MR. JOHN NORTON.

§ 1. THERE was a famous *John* whose achievements are by our Lord emblazoned in those terms: "He was a burning and a shining light." In the tabernacle of old, erected by the order and for the worship of God, there were those two things, a candlestick and an altar; in the one a *light* that might never go out, in the other a *fire* that might never be extinguished; and yet such an affinity between these, that there was a *fire* in the *light* of the one, and a *light* in the *fire* of the other. Such a mixture of both *faith* and *love* should be in those that are employed about the service of the tabernacle: and though the tabernacle erected for our Lord in this wilderness, had many such "burning and shining lights," yet among the *chief* of them is to be reckoned, that *John* which we had in our blessed *Norton.*

§ 2. He was born the sixth of May, 1606, at Starford in Hartfordshire; descended of honourable ancestors. In his early childhood he discovered a ripeness of wit, which gave just hopes of his proving *extraordinary;* and under Mr. Strange in the school of Bunningford, he made such a proficiency, that he could betimes write good Latin, with a more than common elegancy and invention. At fourteen years of age, being sent

* John Cotton, whose highest praise it is that he was the first man in New-England.
† Norton duly honoured.

unto Peter-house, he staid there till after his taking of his first degree; where a Romish emissary, taking a curious and exact observation of his notable accomplishments, used all the methods he could think of to have seduced him over unto the Romish irreligion: but God intending him to be a *pillar* in his own *temple*, mercifully prevented his hearkening unto any temptations to become a *support* unto the tower of Babel.

§ 3. In his *youth* he was accustomed unto some *youthful vanities;* especially unto *card-playing;* an evil which he did first *ponder* and *reform* upon a serious admonition, which a *servant* of his father's gave unto him. When he came to consider that a *lot* is a *solemn appeal* unto the God of heaven, and even by the rudest Gentiles counted a *sacred thing*, he thought that *playing* with it, was a breach of the Third Commandment in the laws of our God; it should be used, he thought, rather *prayerfully* than *sportfully.* He considered, that the Papists themselves do not allow these games in ecclesiastical persons, and the fathers do reprove them with a vehement zeal in all sorts of persons. He considered, that when the Roman empire became Christian, severe edicts were made against these games, and that our Protestant *reformers* have branded them with an infamous character; wherefore, inclining now to follow "whatsoever things are of a good report," he would no longer meddle with games that had so much of a *scandal* in them.

§ 4. An extreme disaster befalling his father's estate, he left the University, and became at once usher to the school, and curate in the church at Starford: where, a lecture being maintained by a combination of several godly and able ministers, he on that occasion fell into acquaintance with several of them; especially Mr Jeremiah Dyke, of Epping, by whose ministry the Holy Spirit of God gave him a discovery of his own manifold sinfulness and wretchedness in an *unregenerate state*, and awakened him unto such a *self-examination*, as drove him to a *sorrow* little short of despair; but after some time, the same Holy Spirit enabled him to receive the Christ and grace, tendered in the *promises* of the gospel, with an unspeakable consolation. Whereupon, he thought himself concerned in that advice of heaven, "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren!"

§ 5. Having before this been well studied in the *tongues* and *arts*, he was the better fitted for the higher studies of divinity; whereto he now wholly addicted himself: and being in his own happy experience acquainted with *faith*, and *repentance*, and *holiness*, he did from that experience now make *lively sermons* on those points unto his hearers. He soon grew eminent in his ministry; setting off the truths he delivered, not only with such *ornaments* of *laconic* and well-contrived expression as made him worthy to be called "the master of sentences," but also with such *experimental passages* of devotion, as made him admired for "a preacher seeking out acceptable words."

§ 6. His accomplishments rendered him as capable of *preferments*, as most in his age; but *preferments* were then so clogged with troublesome

and scruplesome *impositions*, that Mr. Norton, as well as other conscientious young ministers, his contemporaries, declined medling with them. His *aversion*, and indeed *antipathy* to Arminianism (after he was, as Bradwardin speaks, *Gratiæ Radio Visitatus*,)* and his dislike of the *ceremonies*, particularly hindered him from a considerable benefice, whereto his unkle might have helped him. Dr. Sibs also, the master of Katharine Hall, in Cambridge, taken with his abilities, did earnestly solicite him, to have accepted of a fellowship in that College; but his conscience being now satisfied in the *unlawfulness* of some things then required in order thereunto, would not permit him to do it. One asked once a great prelate at court, how it came to pass, that such a preacher, (an ancient chaplain there,) a wise, grave, holy man, did not *rise?*—meaning by way of preferment: the prelate answered him, "Truly, let me tell you, that I verily think he never will rise until the resurrection." Truly, let me now tell the world, that such were the principles of Mr. Norton, there was no likelihood of his *rising* in this world, as things then went in the world. Wherefore he contented himself with a more private life, as chaplain in two Knights' house, at High Lever in Essex, namely, Sir William Masham's; there waiting, till God might furnish him with *unexceptable opportunities* for his more publick preaching of the gospel. But, generally, all those who had any taste of his ministry, had a very high opinion of it; nor was there any man in that part of the country more esteemed than *he* was, for all sorts of excellencies; insomuch, that when he came away, an ancient minister said, "He believed there was not more grace and holiness left in all Essex, than what Mr. Norton had carried with him."

§ 7. His natural temper had a tincture of *choler* in it; but as the sowrest and harshest *fruits* become the most *pleasant*, when tempered with a due proportion of *sweetness* added thereunto, so the *grace* of God *sweetned* the disposition of this good man, into a most affable, courteous, and complaisant behaviour, which rendered him exceeding *amiable*. Indeed, when the apostle speaks of the *spirit*, and *soul*, and *body*, being *sanctified*, some do by *spirit* understand the natural *temper* or *humour;* and accordingly the *spirit* of this *quick* man being sanctified, he became a man of an *excellent spirit*.

§ 8. Vast was the treasure of learning in this reverend man. He was not only a most accurate grammarian, which is abundantly manifested by his printed works in divers languages; but an universal scholar: nevertheless, 'twas as a *school-man* that he showed himself the most of a *scholar*. He accounted that the excellency of a scholar, lay more in *distinctness of judgment*, than in *elegancy* of *language;* and therefore, though he had a neater style than most other men, yet he was desirous to furnish himself *ad pugnam*,† rather than *ad pompam*.‡ Hence, having intimately acquainted himself with the subtilties of scholastic divinity, he made all to illustrate the *doctrine of Christ and of grace*, unto which he made all the

* Visited by a beam of Divine grace. † For battle. ‡ For show.

spoils of the schools gloriously subservient. He was a most elegant preacher, and the true follower of Dr. Sibs!

§ 9. But let his *excellencies* have been what they will, there was in those days a *set of men* resolved that the church of God should lose the benefit of all those excellencies, except the person which had them could comply with certain uninstituted *rites* in the worship of God; which our Mr. Norton could not; and it was that which made him ours. This drove him to the remote regions of America, where he *hoped*, as well he *might*, that there would never be done so *unreasonable* a thing, as to obstruct that evangelical worship of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the sake whereof those regions have been added unto the English dominions. Wherefore in the year 1634, having married a gentlewoman both of good estate and of good esteem, he took shipping for New-England, acompanied in the same ship with the famous Mr. Thomas Shepard.

§ 10. In the road betwixt Harwich and Yarmouth, he very narrowly escaped a terrible shipwrack: for by the vehemency of a storm all their anchors gave way, so that they were driven within a cable's length of the sands; but yet the *anchor* of their *hope* in God, held fast unto the *last*. Mr. Shepard having taken the mariners above decks, Mr. Norton took the passengers between decks, and each of them with their company, applied themselves unto fervent prayer, whereto the Almighty God gave a present answer in their wonderful deliverance. After this tempest, which disappointed their voyage to New-England for that season, Mr. Norton returned unto his friends in Essex, where Mr. Dyke welcomed him, as one come from the dead; professing to him, "That he would have given many pounds for such a tryal of his faith, as this his friend had newly met withal."

§ 11. The next year Mr. Norton renewed his voyage to New-England; but intervening accidents made it very late in the year before he could begin the voyage: and so, coming upon the American coast in the month of October, they encountred with another very terrible storm, which lasted eight-and-forty hours with great extremity, and had broken the vessel to pieces, if it had not had a strength more than ordinary. One wave remarkably washed some of the sea-men overboard on one side, and then threw them in again on the other: and so vehement was the storm, that they were forced at length to undergird the ship with the cable, that they might keep her sides together. But within ten days after this, they were brought safe into Plymouth harbour.

§ 12. There had been some overtures between him and Mr. Winslow, the agent of Plymouth, now on board with him, about his accepting of a settlement in that plantation; and the people of Plymouth now courteously and earnestly invited him, accordingly to continue with them. Nevertheless, the state of things in the Massachuset-colony, was more agreeable unto him; and the church of Ipswich made their speedy applications unto him, to take the pastoral charge of them. This occasioned his deliberation with his friends in the bay what course to steer.

§ 13. While he sojourned in his unsettled state at Boston, he came into acquaintance with the ministers thereabouts, who entertained him with a very high opinion of him; especially Mr. Mather of Dorchester, who, though of longer standing than he, yet consulted him as an oracle, in matters of greatest consequence unto him; and found him so accomplished and experienced a person, that he maintained a most valuable friendship with him to the last. Yea, though he were yet a young man, and short of thirty, when he first came into the country, yet the magistrates of the colony soon became so sensible of his abilities, as to make use of him in some of their most arduous affairs. And there happened several occasions to try the scholastick eminencies whereto he was arrived; one of which was, when there was in these parts a French friar, who found in Mr. Norton a Protestant equal to his own school-men, and well acquainted with them all. Indeed, there was in him the union of *two excellencies*, which do not always meet. It was the character of Hortensius, that he was weak in writing, and yet able to speak: it was the character of Abericus, that he was weak in speech, and yet able in writing: but our Norton was in both of these a very able person.

§ 14. It was the church of Ipswich that our Lord gave so rich a thing as his eminent servant Norton: but besides the constant labours of this holy and fruitful man, in that particular church, he there did several great services of a more extensive influence to the whole Church of God; whereof one was this: Gulielmus Apollonii, at the direction of the divines in Zealand, in the year 1644, sent over to New-England a number of questions, relating to our way of church-government; whereto the ministers of New-England unanimously imposed upon Mr. Norton the task of drawing up an answer, which he finished in the year 1645, and it was, I suppose, the first Latin book that ever was written in this country. What satisfaction it gave, may be gathered, not only from the attestations of Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Sympson, thereunto; but also from the expressions of Dr. Hornbeck, who frequently magnifies the reason, and the candour of our New-English divine, even in those points wherein he does himself dissent from him. Nor is it amiss to add the words in Dr. Fuller's Church-History, hereupon; which are: "Of all the authors I have perused concerning these opinions, none to me was more informative than Mr. John Norton, one of no less learning than modesty, in his answer to Apollonius, pastor in the church of Middleburgh."

§ 15. It will do no hurt for me to repeat one passage on this occasion, which to me seemed worthy of some remark. While Mr. Norton was deeply engaged in writing his Latin account of our church-discipline, some of his more accurate and judicious hearers imagined that his publick sermons wanted a little of that exactness which did use to attend them; whereof one said something to that Mr. Whiting whom I may well call the *angel* in the church of Lyn. Mr. Whiting hereupon, in a very respect-

ful and obliging manner, spoke to Mr. Norton, saying, "Sir, there are some of your people who think that the services wherein you are engaged for all the churches, do something take off the edge of the ministry, wherein you should serve your own particular church; I would entreat you, sir, to consider this matter; for our greatest work is to preach the gospel unto that flock whereof we are overseers." Our great and good man took the excellent oyl of this intimation with the kindness which became such a man, and made it serviceable unto his holy studies.

§ 16. Another considerable service, which then called for the studies of this excellent man, was the advising, modelling, and recommending the *Platform of Church-Discipline*, agreed by a Synod at Cambridge, in the year 1647. Into that Platform he would fain have had inserted certain *propositions* concerning the *watch* which our churches are to have over the *children* born in them; which propositions were certainly *the first principles* of New-England; only the fierce oppositions of one eminent person caused him that was of a *peaceable temper* to forbear urging them any further; by which means, when those very propositions came to be advanced and embraced in another Synod, more than twice seven years after, many people did ignorantly count them *novelties.* Moreover, when the Synod first assembled, it was a thing of some unhappy consequence that the church of Boston would not send any *messengers* unto it: but Mr. Norton preaching the next lecture there, wherein he handled the *nature of counsils*, and the *power of civil magistrates* to call such assemblies, and the duty of the churches in regarding their *advice*, the church of Boston were therewithal so satisfied, as to testifie their communion with the rest of the churches, by sending three messengers to accompany their elders now in the Synod. And when the result of the Synod came to try its acceptance in the churches, he did his part, especially in his own, with a prudent and pious diligence to obtain it; which was happily accomplished.

§ 17. There was yet one comprehensive service more, which this learned man here did for the church of God; and that was this: a gentleman of New-England had written a book, entituled, "*The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption*;" wherein he pretends to prove, "That Christ suffered not for us those unutterable torments of God's wrath, which are commonly called *hell-torments*, to redeem our souls from them: and that Christ bore not our sins by God's *imputation*, and therefore also did not bear the curse of the law for them." The General Court of the colony, concerned that the glorious truths of the gospel might be rescued from the confusions whereinto the essay of this gentleman had thrown them, and afraid lest the church of God abroad should suspect that New-England allowed of such *exhorbitant aberrations*, appointed Mr. Norton to draw up an answer to that *erroneous treatise.* This work he peformed with a most elaborate and judicious pen, in a book afterwards published under the title of, "*A Discussion of that great point in Divinity*, THE SUFFERINGS OF CHRIST: *and*

the Questions about his Active and Passive Righteousness, and the Imputation thereof." In that the true principles of the gospel are stated with so much *demonstration*, as is indeed unanswerable. The great assertion therein explained and maintained, is, (according to the express words of the reverend author,) "That the Lord Jesus Christ, as God-man, and Mediator, according to the will of the Father, and his own voluntary consent, fully obeyed the *law*, *doing* the command in a way of *works*, and suffering the *essential punishment* of the curse, in a way of obedient satisfaction unto divine justice, thereby exactly fulfilling the first covenant: which active and passive obedience of his, together with his *original righteousness*, as a surety, God, of his rich grace, actually imputeth unto believers: whom, upon the *receipt* thereof, by the *grace of faith*, he declareth and accepteth, *as perfectly righteous*, and acknowledgeth them to have a *right* unto *eternal life*."

And in every clause of this position, the author expressed not his own sence alone, but the sence of all the churches in the country: in testimony whereof, there published at the end of the book an instrument signed by five considerable names, Cotton, Wilson, Mather, Symmes, and Tompson, who in the name of others, declare, "As they believe, they do also profess, that the *obedience* of Christ to the whole law, which is the law of righteousness, is the *matter* of our *justification:* and the *imputation* of our sins to Christ (and thereupon his *suffering* the *sence of the wrath of God*, upon him for our sin) and the *imputation* of his obedience and sufferings to us, are the *formal cause* of our *justification:* and that they who deny this, do now take away both of these, both *matter* and *form* of our *justification*, which is the *life* of our souls and of our religion, and therefore called the *justification of life.*"

This being the primitive doctrine of *justification*, among the churches of New-England the things that were judged opposite hereunto, in the renowned Richard Baxter's "*Aphorisms of Justification*," did then give a great and just offence unto the faithful in this country: yea, they looked upon many things in his writings, to be, as Photius has it, upon some things in Clemens Alexandrinus; that is to say, *things expressed*, ἐκ' ὑγιῶς, not *safely* and *soundly;* albeit, the other more practical and savory books of that holy man, were highly valued in these American regions; and not a few have here blessed God for him and for his labours. And as in those *elder* days of New-England, the esteem which our churches had for that eminent man, did not hinder them from rejecting that *new covenant of works*, with which they thought he confounded that most important article, upon the notions whereof the *church* either stands or falls: thus it is *a grief of mind* unto our churches at this day, to find that great and good man, in some of his *last works*, under the blinding heat of his indignation against some which we also account *unjustifiable*, yea, *dangerous* opinions and expressions of Dr. Crisp, reproaching some of the most undoubted points in our common faith. We read him unaccountably enumerating

among errors, which, he says, have "corrupted Christianity," and "subverted the gospel," such things as these:

"They *feign*, that God made a covenant with Adam, that if he stood, God would continue him and his posterity; and if he fell, God would take it, as if all his posterity then personally sinned in him.——Feigning God to make Adam, not only the natural father and root of mankind, but also arbitrarily, a *constituted representer* of all the persons that should spring from him. Whence they infer, that Christ was by God's imposition, and his own sponsion, made the *legal representative* person of every one of the elect, taken singularly: so that what he did for them, God reputeth them to have done by him. Hereby they falsly make the person of the Mediator, to be the *legal person* of the sinner.

"They *forge* a law, that God never made, that saith, 'Thou or thy surety shall obey perfectly, or die."

"They *feign* God to have made an *eternal covenant* with his Son.

"They *feign* Christ to have made such an *exchange* with the elect, as that, having taken all *their* sins, he hath given them all *his* righteousness; not only the *fruit of it*, but the *thing in it self*.

"They say that, by the imputation of Christ's righteousness, *habitual* and *actual*, we are judged *perfectly just*.

"They talk of *justification* in meer ignorant confusion.——They say, that to *justifie* is not to *make righteous*, but to *judge righteous*.

"They err grosly, saying, that by [*faith imputed for righteousness*] and [*our being justified by faith*] is not meant, the *act*, or *habit* of *faith*, but the *object*, Christ's *righteousness:* not sticking thereby to turn such texts into worse than *nonsence*.

[All these are Mr. Baxter's words, in his "*Defence of Christ*," chap. II.]

These things, which our churches with amazement behold Mr. Baxter thus calling *fictions*, *falsehoods*, *forgeries*, *ignorant confusions*, and *gross errors*, were defended by Mr. Norton, as the "faith once delivered unto the saints:" nor do our churches at this day consider them, as any other, than "glorious truths of the gospel;" which, as they were maintained by Mr. Norton. So two divines, which were the scholars of Mr. Norton, well known in both Englands, Nathanael and Increase Mather, (*Fratrum dulce Par;*)* and a third, a worthy minister of the gospel, Mr. Samuel Willard, now living in the same house from whence Mr. Norton went, unto "that not made with hands," have in their printed labours most accurately expressed them and confirmed them. Hence, although as, on the one side, I have this passage of Mr. Baxter's in a letter from him, written but a few months before he died, "I am as zealous a lover of the New-England churches as any man, according to Mr. Norton's and the Synod's model:" so, on the other side, the memory of Mr. Baxter is on many accounts *zealously loved* among the churches of New-England, yet espousing the principles for their establishment, wherein Mr. Norton had appeared: nevertheless, inasmuch as Mr. Baxter, just before his entrance into his "everlasting rest," requested of my parent, then in London: "Sir, if you know of any errors in any of my writings, I pray you to confute them after I am dead." I

* A charming pair of brothers.

thought it not amiss to regard so far the *gospel-truths* of *justification* at this day labouring, as to take occasion from the mention of Mr. Norton's book, to say, that in that one book of his, there is a *confutation* of Mr. Baxter, who seems to oppose those things, which the churches of New-England judge cannot be denied without *corrupting of Christianity,* and *subverting of the gospel.* But waving any further mention of the book, I cannot leave unmentioned a couple of passages in the preface of it, which is dedicatory to the General Court of the Massachuset colony. One is this: "I appeal to any competently judicious and sober-minded man, if the denial of *rule* in the Presbytery, of a decisive *voice* in the Synod, and of the power of the *magistrate* in matters of religion, do not in this point translate the *Papal power* unto the *brotherhood* of every congregation." Another is this: "You have been among the *first of magistrates*, which have approved and practised the *Congregational way;* no small favour from God, nor honour to your selves, with the generation to come, when that shall appear to be *the way of Christ.*"

§ 18. But we say nothing of Norton, if we don't speak of *an orthodox evangelist.* Being himself such an one, he digested the subtleties of the school-men into solid and wholesome Christianity, which he published in a treatise entituled, "*The Orthodox Evangelist;*" wherein he handles the abstruse points of the *existence* and *subsistence*, and *efficience* of God, and the *person* of Christ, and the *methods* of the Spirit in uniting us to him; and the doctrine of *justification*, with the *future* and *happy* state of the saints; all in such a manner, that Mr. Cotton saw cause to say in his preface to this treatise, "Clusters of ripe grapes passing under the press, are fit to be transported unto all nations; thus, such gifts and labours passing under the press, may be fitly communicated to all churches. The physicians do speak, there are *Pillulæ sine Quibus esse nolo;** so there are *Libelli sine quibus,* 'some books,' *Sine quibus esse nolo;*† and this is one of them." This book he dedicated unto his own church, in Ipswich; and in the close of his dedication, I cannot forget this emphatical passage: "You are our glory and joy: forget not the emphasis in the word, *our:* ministers, compared with other Christians, have little to joy in in this world: it is not with the ministers of the present, as with the ministers of late times; nor with your exiles, as with some others. Let this *our*, or if you please *your* condition, for therein you have been both partakers with us and supporters of us, be your provocation." Thus, and more than thus useful, was this *Bradwardin* of New-England, while Ipswich had him.

§ 19. When Cotton, that "man of God," lay sick of the sickness whereof he died, his church desired that he would nominate and recommend a fit person to succeed him; and he advised them to apply themselves unto Mr. Norton, hoping that the church of Ipswich, being accommodated with such another eminent person as Mr. Rogers, would, out of respect unto

* Pills which I do not like to be without.

† Books I cannot dispense with.

the general good of all the people of God throughout the land, so far deny themselves, as to dismiss him from themselves. That which gave encouragement unto this business, was not a *dream* of Mr. Cotton's, though it was indeed a strange thing, that Mr. Cotton in his illness, being solicitous what counsel to give unto his church, he dreamed that he saw Mr. Norton riding unto Boston, to succeed him, upon a *white horse*, in circumstances that were exactly afterwards accomplished: and when Mr. Wilson, with his flock, saw the thing accomplished, it caused them to look upon Mr. Norton, almost with the same eye that old Narcissus, with the church at Jerusalem, did upon Alexander, when upon the warning of a voice from heaven, to take him, whom they should so find, they found him out of the city, provided for them. But it was a design which Mr. Norton had of returning for England: a design which he had so laid before his people, as to obtain their grant, that if upon staying a twelvemonth longer among them, there did occur no occasion for him to alter his purposes, they would not oppose his going. Now when the agents of the church at Boston made this motion to the church of Ipswich, there was much debate about it; wherein at length an honest brother made this proposal: "Brethren, a case in some things like to this was once that way determined: 'we will call the damsel, and enquire at her mouth:' wherefore I propose, that our teacher himself be enquired of, whether he be inclined to go?" They then put that question to Mr. Norton himself, who being troubled at the offer of the question unto him, answered, "That if they judged such reasons as caused his removal from Europe into America, now called for his removal from Ipswich to Boston, he should resign himself; but he could not be active." However, at length, they consented that he should for the present go sojourn at Boston, to try and see how far the *will* of God about this matter, might be afterwards discovered; but after Mr. Norton was gone, many of the people fell into a very unreasonable indisposition towards Mr. Rogers, as if he had not been *active* enough, although he had, indeed, been as active as he well could be to retain his collegue among them. The melancholly temper of Mr. Rogers felt so deep an impression from those *paroxisms*, and *murmurings* of the people, that it is thought his end was thereby hastned; but the church, upon the death of Mr. Rogers, renewing their demands of Mr. Norton's return, a council was upon that occasion called; which council advised Ipswich to grant Mr. Norton a fair dismission unto the service of Boston, and in Boston, of all New-England. However, divers lesser councils, that were successively called on this occasion, could not comfortably procure this dismission, till at last the governour and magistrates of the colony called a council for this end; in their *order* for which, they intimate their concern lest, while the two churches were contending which of them should enjoy Mr. Norton, they should both of them, and the whole country with them, lose that reverend person, by his prosecuting his inclination to remove into England. Hereupon

such a *dismission* could not be denied; but now Boston joyfully receiving Mr. Norton, Ipswich applied themselves unto Mr. Cobbet, who afterwards continued a rich blessing among them. And Mr. Norton did indeed the part of a surviving brother for Mr. Cotton, in raising up, or at least keeping up the name of that great man, by publishing a most elegant account of his *life*, part whereof was afterwards transcribed by Sam. Clark into his collections.

§ 20. Mr. Norton being now transplanted into that garden which our Lord had in Boston, did there bring forth much of that *fruit* whereby the "Heavenly Father was glorified." There he preached, he wrote, he prayed, and maintained without any *prelatical Episcopacy*, a *care of all the churches*. And New-England being a country whose interests were most remarkably and generally enwrapped in its ecclesiastical circumstances, there were many good offices, which Mr. Norton did for the peace of the whole country, by his wise *counsels* upon many occasions, given to its *counsellors*. In truth, if he had never done any thing, but that one thing of preventing by his wise interposition, the acts of *hostility* which were like to pass between our people, and the Dutch at Manhatoes, that alone were well worth his coming into the *station* which he now had at Boston. But the service which now most signalized him, was, his agency at White-hall; for it being found necessary to address the restored King; the worshipful Simon Bradstreet, Esq. and this reverend Mr. John Norton, were sent over as agents from the colony, with an address unto his Majesty; wherein there were, among others, the following passages:

"We supplicate your Majesty for your gracious protection of us, in the continuance both of our civil, and of our religious liberties; according to the grantees' known end of suing for the patent, conferred upon this plantation by your royal father. 'Our liberty to walk in the faith of the gospel, with all good conscience, according to the order of the gospel,' was the cause of our transporting our selves, with our wives, our little ones, and our substance, from that pleasant land, over the Atlantick Ocean, into the vast wilderness; choosing rather the pure Scripture-worship, with a *good conscience*, in this remote wilderness, than the pleasures of England, with submissions to the impositions of the then so disposed, and so far prevailing hierarchy, which we could not do without an evil conscience."——"We are not seditious as to the interests of Cæsar, nor schismatical as to the matters of religion. We distinguish between churches, and their impurities."——"We could not live without the *publick worship* of God, nor be permitted the public worship, without such a *yoke* of *subscription* and *conformity*, as we could not consent unto without sin. That we might, therefore, enjoy divine worship, free from human mixtures, without offence to God, man, and our own consciences, we, with *leave*, but not without *tears*, departed from our country, kindred, and fathers' houses, into this Patmos."

It was in February, 1661–2, that they began their voyage, and it was in September following that they returned: Mr. Norton's place being the mean time supplied by the neighbouring ministers, taking of their turns. And by *their hands* the country received the King's letters, wherein he signified, that the expressions of their loyalty and affection to him, were

very acceptable, and that confirming to them their *privileges*, he would cherish them with all manner of encouragement and protection.

§ 21. Such has been the *jealous* disposition of our New-Englanders about their dearly bought *privileges*, and such also has been the *various* understanding of the people about the extent of those privileges, that of all the agents which they have sent over unto the Court of England, for now forty years together, I know not any one who did not, at his return, meet with some very froward entertainment among his country-men: and there may be the *wisdom* of the holy and righteous God, as well as the *malice* of the evil one, acknowledged, in the ordering of such *temptations*. Of these temptations, a considerable share fell to Mr. Norton; concerning whom there were many who would not stick to say, that "he had laid the foundation of ruine to all our liberties;" and his melancholly mind imagined that his best friends began therefore to *look awry* upon him.

§ 22. In the spring before his going for England, he preached an excellent sermon unto the representatives of the whole colony, assembled at the Court of Election, wherein I take particular notice of this passage: "Moses was the meekest man on earth, yet it went ill with Moses, 'tis said, for their sakes. How long did Moses live at Meribah? Sure I am, it killed him in a short time; a man of as good a temper as could be expected from a meer man; I tell you, it will not only kill the people, but it will quickly kill Moses too!" And in the spring after his return from England, he found his own observation in himself too much exemplified. It was commonly judged that the *smothered griefs* of his mind, upon the *unkind resentments* which he thought many people had of his faithful and sincere endeavours to serve them, did more than a little hasten his end; an end whereat JOHN NORTON went, according to the anagram of his name INTO HONNOR. But he had the privilege to enter into *immortality*, without such a formal and feeling death, as the most of *mortals* encounter with; for though in the *forenoon* of April 5, 1663, it was his design to have preached in the *afternoon*, he was that afternoon taken with a sudden *lypothymie*, which presently and easily carried him away to those glories, wherein the "weary are at rest;" but it was a *dark night* which the inhabitants of Boston had upon the noise of his death; every corner of the town was filled with lamentations, which left a character upon that *night*, unto this *day* not forgotten! His dearest neighbour, Mr. Richard Mather, wept over him at his funeral, which was on the next lecture day, a sermon most agreeable to the occasion; and the son of his fellow-traveller, Mr. Thomas Shepard, was one of the many who bestowed their *elegies* upon him; using *this*, among his other strokes:

THE schoolmen's *Doctors*, whomsoe'er they call,
Subtil, *seraphick*, or *angelical*;
Dull souls! their tapers burnt exceeding dim;
They might to *school* again, to learn of him.

Lombard must out of date; we now profess
Norton the *master of the sentences*;
Scotus, a *dunce* to him; should we compare
Aquinas here, none to be named are.

Of a more *heavenly* strain his notions were;
More pure, sublime, scholastical, and clear.
More like th' Apostles Paul and John, I wist,
Was this our *orthodox* Evangelist.

Which lines accompanied with Mr. Wilson's anagrammatising of JOHANNES NORTONUS into *Nonne is Honoratus?** will give him his deserved character.

§ 23. He that shall read the tragical romances, written by that brazen-faced lyar Bolsecus, concerning the deaths of such men as Calvin and Beza, or such monstrous writings as those of Tympius, Cochleus, Genebard, and some others, who would bear the world in hand, that Luther and Œcolampadius learned the Protestant religion of the *devil*, and were at last killed by him; and that Bucer had his guts pulled out and cast about by the devil; will not wonder if I tell him that, after the death of Mr. Norton, the Quakers published a *libel*, by them called, "*A Representation to King and Parliament;*" wherein, pretending to report some, "remarkable judgments upon their persecutors," they insert this passage: "John Norton, chief priest in Boston, by the immediate power of the Lord, was smitten, and as he was sinking down by the fire-side, being under just judgment, he confessed the hand of the Lord was upon him, and so he died."— Which they mention as a *judgment* upon a *persecutor*. Whereas, the death of this good man was attended with no circumstances but what, unto a *good man*, might be *eligible* and *comfortable*, and circumstanced far otherwise than it was by those revilers *represented*. But it was necessary for that enchanted people thus to revenge themselves upon one who, amongst his other services to the church of God, already mentioned, had, at the desire of the General Court, written a book, entituled, "*The Heart of New-England rent at the Blasphemies of the Present Generation; or, a Brief Tractate concerning the Doctrine of the Quakers:*" which *doctrine* was in this *tractate* solidly confuted. And perhaps, it had been better if *this* had been *all* the *confutation;* which I add, because I will not, I cannot make my self a vindicator for all the *severities* with which the zeal of some eminent men hath sometimes *enraged* and *increased*, rather than *reclaimed* those miserable *hereticks:* but wish that the Quakers may be treated as Queen Elisabeth directed the Lord President of the North to treat the Papists; when she advised him to convince them with *argument*, rather than suppress them with *violence;* to that purpose using of the words of the prophets, *Nolo Mortem Peccatoris.*†

§ 24. Not long after his death, his friends published three sermons of his, which for the circumstances of them could have been entituled, "These were the last words of that servant of the Lord." The first of the sermons, was the *last sermon* which he preached at the Court of Election at Boston, It is on Jer. x. 17, entituled, "Sion the Out-cast healed of her Wounds:" and there are two or three passages in it, which I cannot but recommend unto the peculiar consideration of the present generation:

"To differ from our orthodox, pious, and learned brethren, is such an affliction to a Christian and an ingenuous spirit, as nothing but love to the truth could arm a man of peace

* Is he not honoured?

† I would not die the death of a transgressor.

against. Our profession being in a way differing from these and those, it concerns us, that our walking be very cautelous, and that it be without giving any just offence."

Again.—"In matters of state and church, let it be shown that we are his disciples, who said, 'give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and give unto God the things that are God's;' and in matters of religion, let it be known, that we are for reformation, and not for separation."

Once more.—"I may say thus much (and pardon my speech) a more yielding ministry unto the people than ours' I believe is not in the world. I beseech you, let not Cæsar be killed in the *senate*, after he hath conquered in the *field*. Let us acknowledge the order of the eldership in our churches, in their way, and the order of councils in their way, duely backed and encouraged: without which experience will witness that these churches cannot long consist."

The second of the sermons, was the *last sermon* which he preached on the *Lord's day*. It is on Joh. xiv. 3, entituled, "*The Believer's Consolation in the remembrance of his Heavenly Mansion, prepared for him by Christ.*"

The third of the sermons was the *last sermon* which he preached on his *lecture*. It is on Heb. viii. 5, entituled, "*The Evangelical Worshipper, subjecting to the prescription and sovereignty of Scripture Pattern.*"

§ 25. The three sermons thus published as the *last*, or the *dropt mantle* of this Elias, are accompanied with the translation of a letter, which was composed in Latin by Mr. Norton, and subscribed by more than forty of the ministers, on this occasion. The famous John Dury having, from the year 1635, been most indefatigably labouring for a *pacification* between the reformed churches in Europe, communicated his design to the ministers of New-England, requesting their concurrence and countenance unto his generous undertaking. In answer to *him*, this letter was written; and there are one or two passages which I chuse to transcribe from it, because as well the *spirit* of our Norton, as the story of our *country*, is therein indigitated:

"*Redeunt in Memoriam, et redeunt quidem non sine Sanctiori Sympathia, Beatæ illæ Animæ*, Melancthonis *et* Parei ΝΥΝ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ, *hic inter* Reformatos, *ille inter* Evangelicos, *Vir Consummatissimus. Quorum Alter* Haganoam *iter faciens, ita Ingemuit:*

"*Viximus in Synodis, et jam moriemur in illis.*

"*Alter Vero, Super Eristica Eucharistica Meditabundus, in hæc Verba Erupit,* Defessus sum Disputando. *Nimirum, illis Judicibus,* Orandum *potius quam*— Disputandum; Vivendum, *non* Litigandum. *Forsitan et* Consilia Pacis, quæ, *Stimulanti recenti Ira hactenus, minus grata fuere, utriusque partis* Theologi *Rixis diuturnioribus aliquando fessi et Subacti, æquis animis Suscipere, non moleste ferunt:* Mare pacificum Aquis Meribanis, *Longo Rerum usu Edocti, anteferentes.*"

"We may here call to mind, and not without some sacred sympathy, those blessed souls, Melancthon and Pareus, now among the blessed—the one no less famous among the *Reformed*, than the other among the *Evangelicks*. Of these, the one going towards Haganoa, with sighs uttered these words:

"In Synods hitherto we lived have,
And now in them, return unto the grave.

"The other seriously meditating on the controversy of the Eucharist, brake forth into these words: 'I am weary with disputing.' Thus, if *these* might be judges, we ought rather to *pray* than *dispute*, and study to *live* rather than *contend*. And perhaps the divines of either part, after they have been wearied and broke in their spirits with daily and continual contention, will more readily accept of the 'counsels of peace,' which hitherto have been less acceptable, while the sense of *anger* has been spurring of them: after they have been taught by long use, they may prefer the waters of the Pacific Sea, before those of Meribah."

"*Gratias agimus Domino* Dureo, *cui* Josephi *Longe terra marique a fratribus Distantis, meminisse Cordi fuit: Qui nos Misellos, in* Cillicio, Cillicio *autem ipsi confidimus Evangelico Militantes, tam Auspicato Nuncio invisere dignatus est: Qui* Novam Angliam, *quasi particulam aliquam Fimbriæ Vestimenti* Aronici, *unguento prædiviti delibutam, in Album* Syncretismi *Longe celeberrimi adscribere non adspernatur: Qui porro Litteris ad* Syncretismum *hortatoriis, subinde nobis Ansam præbuit Testimonium hoc, quale quale, perhibendi Communionis nostræ fraternæ, cum universa Cohorte* Protestantium, *fidem Jesu Christi profitentium. Ingenue enim fatemur, tranquilla tam quum erant Omnia, nec Signora Minantia signis adhuc nobis conspiciebantur; quippe quibus,* Episcopis, *illa Tempestate Rerum Dominis, publico Ministerio Defungi, necdum Sacris frui, sine* Subscriptione *et* conformitate, (*ut loqui solent*) *utque adeo Humanarum Adinventionum in Divinis Commixtione, non Liceret, et satius visum est, vel in Longinquas, et Incultas Terrarum Oras, Cultus purioris Ergo concessisse, quam Oneri* Hierarchico, *cum Rerum Omnium Affluentia, Conscientiæ autem Dispendio, succubuisse. At patriam fugiendo, nos* Ecclesiarum Evangelicarum *Communioni Nuncium misisse, hoc vero est quod fidenter et Sancte pernegamus.*"

"We give thanks to Mr. *Dury* into whose heart it came to remember Joseph *separate from his bretheren* at so great a distance both by sea and land: and who hath vouchsafed with so comfortable a message to visit us poor people, cloathed in *sackcloth*, for our warfare; yet, as we trust, the *sackcloth* of the gospel: who hath not refused to put New-England as part of the skirt of 'Aaron's garment,' upon which hath descended some of the 'precious oyl,' into the catalogue of the so much famed 'agreement:' and who hath by his letter exhorting to such agreement given us an occasion to bring in this testimony, such as it is, for our 'brotherly communion' with the whole company of Protestants professing the faith of Christ Jesus. For we must ingenuously confess, that then, when all things were quiet, and no threatning signs of war appeared, seeing we could not be permitted by the Bishops at that time prevailing to perform the office of the ministry in *publick*, nor yet to enjoy the holy ordinances, without *subscription* and *conformity* (as they were wont to speak) nor without the mixture of 'humane inventions' with 'divine institutions,' we chose rather to depart into the remote and unknown parts of the earth, for the sake of a *purer worship*, than to ly down under the Hierarchy in the *abundance* of all things, but with *prejudice* of conscience. But that in flying from our country, we should renounce *communion* with such churches as profess the *gospel*, is a thing which we confidently and solemnly deny."

"*Quoscunque apud Cœtus, per Universum Evangelicorum chorum,* Fundamentalia Doctrinæ *et* Essentialia Ordinis, *Vigeant, quamvis in plerisque* Controversiæ Theologicæ Apicibus *nobiscum juxta minus Sentiant, illos tamen ad unum Omnes pro* Fratibus *agnoscimus, iisque cætera pacificis, et Ordinate incedentibus,* ΔΕΧΙΑΣ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΣ in *Domino porrigere paratissimos nos esse hisce palam facimus.*"

"In whatever assemblies amongst the whole company of those that profess the gospel, the fundamentals of doctrine, and essentials of order, are maintained, though in many nice-

ties of controversial divinity they are at less agreement with us, we do hereby make it manifest, that we do acknowledge them all and every one for brethren, and that we shall be ready to give unto them the right hand of fellowship in the Lord, if in other things they be peaceable, and walk orderly."

§ 26. This was our Norton! and we might have given yet a fuller account of him, if we could have seen the *Diary*, which he kept of his *daily walk*. However, he was well known to be a great example of *holiness, watchfulness*, and extraordinary *wisdom;* and though he left no *children*, yet he has a *better name than that of sons and of daughters*. Moreover, there was one considerable part of *ministerial work*, wherein he not only went beyond most of his age, but also proved a *leader* unto many *followers*. Though the ministers of New-England counted it *unlawful* for them, *ordinarily*, to perform their *ministerial acts* of solemn and publick *prayer* by *reading* or *using* any "forms of prayer" composed by *other persons* for them; they reckoned "an ability to express the case of a congregation in prayer," to be a *ministerial gift*, which our Lord forbids his ministers to *neglect;* they supposed that a minister who should only read "forms of sermons" composed for him, would as truly discharge the duty of *preaching*, as one that should only read such "forms of prayers," would the duty of *praying*, in it: they could not find that any humane "forms of prayers" were much used in any part of the church, until about *four hundred* years after Christ, nor any made for more than some single province, until *six hundred* years; nor any imposed until *eight hundred*, when all manner of "ill-formed things" began to be found in the *temple* of God; nevertheless, very many of our greatest ministers, in our more early times, did not use to expatiate with such a significant and admirable *variety* in their prayers before their sermons, as many of our later times have attained unto; nor indeed *then* did *they*, nor *still* do *we*, count all "forms of prayer" simply unlawful. But the more general improvements and expressions of "the gift of prayer," in our ministers have *since* been the matter of observation; and particularly Mr. Norton therein was truly admirable! It even transported the souls of his hearers to accompany him in his devotions, wherein his *graces* would make wonderful *salleys* into the vast *field* of *entertainments*, and *acknowledgements*, with which we are furnished in the *new-covenant*, for our *prayers*. I have heard of a godly man in Ipswich, who, after Mr. Norton's going to Boston, would ordinarily travel on foot from Ipswich to Boston, which is about thirty miles, for nothing but the weekly *lecture* there; and he would profess, "That it was worth a great journey, to be a partaker in one of Mr. Norton's prayers. This pattern of *prayer* in Mr. Norton, had some influence upon it, that since his time, our *pulpits* have been fuller than ever of "experimental demonstrations," that the ministers of the gospel may on all occasions present their supplications before God, in the discharge of their ministry, with more pertinent, more affecting, more expanded *enlargements*, than any *form* could afford

unto them. New-England can show, even young ministers, who never did in all things repeat *one prayer* twice over, in that part of their ministry wherein we are "first of all, to make supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings;" and yet sometimes, for much more than an *hour* together, they pour out their souls unto the Almighty God in such a fervent, copious, and yet *proper* manner, that their most critical auditors, can complain of nothing *disagreeable*, but profess themselves extreamly edifyed.

But our praying Norton, who, while he was among us, "prayed with the tongue of angels;" is now gone to "praise with the angels" for ever.

EPITAPHIUM.
JOHANNES NORTONUS.

Quis fuerat, Ultra si quæras,
*Dignus es qui Nescias.**

CHAPTER III.

MEMORIA WILSONIA, THE LIFE OF MR. JOHN WILSON.

§ 1. Such is the natural tendency in humane minds to poetry, that as 'tis observed, the Roman historian, in the very first line of his history, fell upon a verse,

Urbem Romam, In Principio Reges habuere;†

So the Roman *orator*, though a very *mean poet*, yet making an oration for a *good one*, could not let his first sentence pass him, without a perfect *hexameter*,

In Qua me non Inficior, mediocriter Esse.‡

If, therefore, I were not of all men the most *unpoetical*, my reader might now expect an entertainment altogether in *verse;* for I am going to write the *life* of that New-English divine, who had so nimble a faculty of putting his devout thoughts into verse, that he signalized himself by the greatest *frequency*, perhaps, that ever man used, of sending *poems* to all persons, in all places, on all occasions; and upon this, as well as upon greater accounts, was a David unto the *flocks* of our Lord in the wilderness:

Quicquid tentabat Dicere, Versus erat:§

Wherein, if the *curious* relished the *piety* sometimes rather than the *poetry*, the capacity of the *most*, therein to be accommodated, must be considered. But I intend no further account of this matter than what is given by his worthy son, (rēprinting at Boston in the year 1680, the *verses* of his

* If you need to ask who he was, you ought not to know.
† Rome, at the first, was ruled by kings.
‡ In which, I do not deny, that I am moderately versed.
§ "He lisped in numbers," whensoe'er he spoke.

father upon his famous deliverances of the English nation, printed at London, as long ago as the year 1626,) whose words are, "What volumes hath he penned, for the help of others, in their several changes of condition! How was his heart full of good matter! And his verses past, like to the handkerchiefs carried from Paul to uphold the disconsolate, and heal their wounded souls!" For indeed this is the least thing that we have to relate of that *great saint;* and, accordingly, it is under a more considerable character that I must now exhibit him, even as a *father* to the infant colonies of New-England.

§ 2. Mr. John Wilson, descending from eminent ancestors, was born at Windsor in the *wonderful year* 1588, the third son of Dr. William Wilson, a prebend of St. Paul's, of Rochester and of Windsor, and rector of Cliff: having for his mother a neece of Dr. Edmund Grindale, the most worthily renowned Arch-Bishop of Canterbury. His exact education under his parents, which betimes *tinged* him with an aversation to vice, and, above all, to the very shadow of a *lye*, fitted him to undergo the further education which he received in Eton Colledge, under Udal (and Langley) whom now we may venture, after poor *Tom Tusser*, to call, "the severest of men." Here he was most remarkably delivered twice from drowning: but at his book he made such proficiency, that while he was the *least boy* in the school, he was made a *propositor;* and when the Duke of Biron, embassador from the French King Henry IV. to Queen Elizabeth, visited the school, he made a Latin oration, for which the Duke bestowed three *angels* upon him. After four years' continuance at Eton, he was removed unto Cambridge, between the fourteenth and fifteenth year of his age; and admitted into King's Colledge in the year 1602. When he came to stand for a fellowship in that Colledge, his antipathy to some horrid wickedness, whereto a detestable wretch that had been acquainted with him would have betrayed him, caused that malicious wretch by devised and accursed *slanders* to ruin so far the reputation of this chast youth with the other *fellows*, that had not the Provost, who was a serious and a reverend person, interposed for him, he had utterly lost his priviledge; which now by the *major vote* he obtained. But this affliction put him upon many thoughts and prayers before the Lord.

§ 3. He had hitherto been, according to his good education, very civilly and soberly disposed: but being by the good hand of God led unto the ministry of such holy men as Mr. Bains, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Chaderton, he was by their sermons enlightened, and awakened unto more solicitous enquiries after "the one thing yet lacking in him." The serious dispositions of his mind were now such, that besides his pursuance after the works of repentance in him self, he took no little pains to pursue it in others; especially the malefactors in the prisons, which he visited with a devout, sedulous, and successful industry. Nevertheless, being forestalled with prejudices against the Puritans of those times, as if they had held he

knew not well what *odd things*, he declined their acquaintance; although his good conversation had made him to be accounted one of them himself. Until going to a bookseller's shop, to augment his well-furnished library, he lighted upon that famous book of Mr. Richard Rogers', called, "*The Seven Treatises;*" which when he had read, he so affected, not only the matter, but also the author of the book, that he took a journey unto Wethersfield, on purpose to hear a sermon from that Boanerges. When he had heard the heavenly passages that fell from the lips of that worthy man, privately as well as publickly, and compared therewithal the writings of Greenham, of Dod, and of Dent, especially, "*The Pathway to Heaven*," written by the author last mentioned, he saw that they who were nicknamed Puritans, were like to be the desirablest companions for one that intended his own everlasting happiness; and pursuant unto the advice which he had from Dr. Ames, he associated himself with a pious company in the university; who kept their meetings in Mr. Wilson's chamber, for prayer, fasting, holy conference, and the exercises of true devotion.

§ 4. But now perceiving many good men to scruple many of the *rites* practised and imposed in the Church of England, he furnished himself with all the books that he could find written on the case of *conformity*, both *pro* and *con*, and pondered with a most conscientious deliberation the arguments on both sides produced. He was hereby so convinced of the evil in *conformity*, that at length, for his observable omission of certain uninstituted *ceremonies* in the worship of God, the Bishop of Lincoln, then visiting the university, pronounced upon him the sentence of *Quindenum;* that is, that besides other mortifications, he must within fifteen days have been expelled, if he continued in his offence. His father being hereof advised, with all paternal affection, wrote unto him to *conform;* and at the same time interceded with the Bishop, that he might have a quarter of a year allowed him; in which time, if he could not be reduced, he should then leave his fellowship in the Colledge. Hereupon he sent him unto several Doctors of great fame, to get his objections resolved; but when much discourse and much writing had passed between them, he was rather the more confirmed in his principles about *church-reformation*. Wherefore his father, then diverting him from the designs of the *ministry*, disposed him to the *inns of court;* where he fell into acquaintance with some young gentlemen, who associated with him in constant exercises of devotion: to which meetings the repeated sermons of Dr. Gouge were a continual entertainment: and here it was that he came into the advantageous knowledge of the learned Scultetus, chaplain to the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, then making some stay in England.

§ 5. When he had continued three years at the inns of court, his father discerning his disposition to be a minister of the gospel, permitted his proceeding Master of Arts, in the university of Cambridge: but advised him to address another colledge than that where he had formerly met with

difficulties. Dr. Carey, who was then Vice-chancellor, understanding his former circumstances, would not admit him without *subscription;* but he refused to *subscribe.* In this distress he repaired unto his father, at whose house there happened then to be present the Countess of Bedford's chief gentleman, who had business with the Earl of Northampton, the Chancellor of the university. And this noble person, upon the information which that gentleman gave him of the matter, presently wrote a letter to the Vice-chancellor, on the behalf of our young Wilson; whereupon he received his *degree,* and continued a while after this in Emanuel-Colledge; from whence he made frequent and useful visits unto his friends in the counties adjoining, and became further fitted for his intended service. But while he was passing under these changes, he took up a *resolution* which he thus expressed before the Lord: "That if the Lord would grant him a liberty of conscience, with purity of worship, he would be content, yea, thankful, though it were at the furthermost end of the world." A most prophetical resolution!

§ 6. At length, preaching his first sermon at Newport, "he set his hand unto that plough, from whence he never afterwards looked back:" not very long after which, his father lying on his death-bed, he kneeled, in his turn, before him for his *blessing,* and brought with him for a share in that blessing, the vertuous young gentlewoman, the daughter of the Lady Mansfield, (widow of Sir John Mansfield, master of the Minories, and the Queen's surveyor) whom he designed afterwards to marry: whereupon the old gentleman said, "Ah, John, I have taken much care about thee, such time as thou wast in the university, because thou wouldest not conform; I would fain have brought thee to some higher preferment than thou hast yet attained unto: I see thy conscience is very scrupulous, concerning some things that have been observed and imposed in the Church: nevertheless, I have rejoiced to see the grace and fear of God in thy heart: and seeing thou hast kept a good conscience hitherto, and walked according to thy light, so do still; and go by the rules of God's holy word: the Lord bless thee, and her whom thou hast chosen to be the companion of thy life!"—Among other places where he now preached, Moreclake was one; where his non-conformity exposed him to the rage of persecution; but by the friendship of the Justice—namely, Sir William Bird, a kinsman of his wife—and by a mistake of the informers, the rage of that storm was moderated.

§ 7. After this he lived as a chaplain successively in honourable and religious families; and at last was invited unto the house of the most pious Lady Scudamore. Here Mr. Wilson observing the discourse of the gentry at the table, on the Lord's day, to be too disagreeable unto the devout frame to be maintained on such a day, at length he zealously stood up at the table, with words to this purpose: "I will make bold to speak a word or two: this is the Lord's holy day, and we have been hearing his word,

and after the word preached, every one should think, and speak about such things as have been delivered in the name of God, and not lavish out the time in discourses about hawks and hounds." Whereupon a gentleman then present made this handsome and civil answer: "Sir, we deserve all of us to be thus reproved by you; this is indeed the Sabbath-day, and we should surely have better discourse: I hope it will be a warning to us." Notwithstanding this, the next Lord's day, the gentry at the table were at their *old notes;* which caused Mr. Wilson again to tell them, "That the hawks which they talked of, were the birds that picked up the seed of the word, after the sowing of it;" and prayed them, "That their talk might be of such things as might sanctifie the day, and edifie their own souls;" which caused the former gentleman to renew his former thankfulness for the admonition. But Mr. Leigh, the lady's husband, was very angry; whereof when the lady advised Mr. Wilson, wishing him to say something that might satisfie him, he replied, "Good madam, I know not wherein I have given any just offence; and therefore I know of no satisfaction that I owe: your ladyship has invited me to preach the good word of God among you; and so I have endeavoured according to my ability: now such discourse as this, on the Lord's day, is profane and disorderly: if your husband like me not, I will be gone." When the lady informed her husband how peremptory Mr. Wilson was in this matter, he mended his countenance and carriage; and the effect of this reproof was, that unsuitable discourse, on the Lord's day, was cured among them.

§ 8. Removing from this family, after he had been a while at Henly, he continued, for three years together, preaching at four places by turns, which lay near one another, on the edges of Suffolk—namely, Bumsted, Stoke, Clare, and Candish. Here some of Sudbury happening to hear him, they invited him to succeed the eminent old Mr. Jenkins, with which invitation he cheerfully complied, and the more cheerfully because of his opportunity to be near old Mr. Richard Rogers, from whom afterwards, when dying, he received a blessing among his children; yea, to encourage his acceptance of this place, the very reader of the parish did subscribe, with many scores of others, their desires of it; and yet he accepted not the pastoral charge of the place, without a solemn day of prayer with fasting, (wherein the neighbouring ministers assisted) at his election: great notice was now taken of the success which God gave unto his labours in this famous town; among other instances whereof, one was this: a tradesman much given to stealing, as well as other profane and vicious practices, one day seeing people flock to Mr. Wilson's lecture, thought with himself, "Why should I tarry at home to work, when so many go to hear a sermon?" Wherefore, for the sake of company, he went unto the lecture too; but when he came, he found a sermon, as it were, particularly directed unto himself, on Eph. iv. 28: "Let him that hath stole, steal no more;"

and such was the impression thereof upon his heart, that from this time he became a changed and pious man.

§ 9. But if "they that will live godlily, must suffer persecution," a peculiar share of it must fall upon them who are zealous and useful instruments to make others live so. Mr. Wilson had a share of this persecution; and one A—n, was a principal author of it. This A—n had formerly been an apprentice in London, where the Bishops detained him some years, under an hard imprisonment, because he refused the oath *ex officio*, which was pressed upon him, to tell "Whether he had never heard his master pray against the Bishop?"

The charity of well-disposed people now supported him, till he got abroad, recommended by his hard sufferings, unto the good affections of the Puritans, at whose meetings he became so conversant, and thereupon such a forward and zealous professor, that at length he took upon him, under the confidence of some Latinity, whereof he was owner, to be a sort of *preacher* among them. This man would reverence Mr. Wilson as his father, and yet upon the provocation of seeing Mr. Wilson more highly valued and honoured than himself, he not only became a conformist himself, but also, as apostates use to be, a malignant and violent persecutor of those from whom he had apostatized. By his means Mr. Wilson was put into trouble in the Bishop's courts; from whence his deliverance was at length obtained by certain powerful mediators. And once by his tricks, the most noted pursivant of those times was employed for the seizing of Mr. Wilson; but though he seized upon many scores of the people coming from the lecture, he dismissed the rest, because he could not meet with Mr. Wilson himself, who by a special providence went out of his direct way, to visit a worthy neighbour, and so escaped this mighty hunter.

Afterwards an eminent lady, happening innocently to make some comparisons between the preaching of Mr. Wilson and one Dr. B. of B., the angry Doctor presently applied himself unto the Bishop of London, who for a while suspended him. And when that storm was over, he, with several other worthy ministers, came to be wholly silenced in another, that was raised upon complaints made by one Mr. Bird, unto the Bishop of Norwich against them. Concerning this *ill Bird*, there happened one passage hereupon, which had in it something extraordinary. Falling very sick, he had the help of a famous and skilful physician, one Dr. Duke of Colchester; who having left his patient, in his opinion, safely recovered, gave Mr. Wilson a visit, with an account of it. "Recovered!" says Mr. Wilson; "you are mistaken Mr. Doctor; he's a dead man!" The Doctor answered, "If ever I recovered a sick man in my life, that man is recovered." But Mr. Wilson replied, "No, Mr. Doctor, he's a dead man; he shall not live: mark my words!" The doctor smiled; but for all that, before they parted, the news was brought them that the man was dead indeed, and "the Lord known by the judgment which he executed."—

But at last Mr. Wilson obtained from the truly noble Earl of Warwick, to sign a letter, which the Earl bid himself to draw up, unto the Bishop, on his behalf; by the operation of which letter, his liberty for the exercise of his ministry was again procured. This Bishop was the well-known Dr. Harsnet, who a little while after this, travelling northward, upon designs of mischief against the reforming pastors and Christians there, certain ministers of the south set apart a day for solemn fasting and prayer, to implore the help of Heaven against those *designs;* and on that very day he was taken with a sore and an odd fit, which caused him to stop at a blind house of entertainment on the road, where he suddenly died.

§ 10. At last, "being persecuted in one country, he must flee into another." The plantation of a New-English colony was begun; and Mr. Wilson, with some of his neighbours, embarked themselves in the fleet, which came over thither in the year 1630, where he applied himself with all the vigour imaginable, to encourage the poor people, under the difficulties of their new plantation. This good people buried near two hundred of their number, within a quarter of a year after their first landing; which caused Mr. Wilson particularly to endeavour their consolation, by preaching on Jacob's not being disheartned by the death of his nearest friends in the way, when God had called him to remove. And how remarkably, perhaps I might say, *excessively* liberal he was, in employing his estate for the relief of the needy, every such one so beheld him, as to reckon him "the father of them all:" yea, the poor Indians themselves also tasted of his *bounty.* If it were celebrated, as the glory of Bellarmine, that he would sell his goods, to convert them into alms for the poor; yea, that *Quadam die proprium Atramentarium Argenteolum, ut ditaret Inopes, inter pignora obligavit:** our Mr. Wilson, though a greater disclaimer of merit than Bellarmine was, not only in his writings, but on his death-bed it self, yet came not behind Bellarmine for the extension of his charity. To give instances of his, even over-doing liberality, would be to do it injuries; for indeed they were innumerable: he acted as if the primitive agreement of having "all things in common," had been of all things the most agreeable unto him. I shall sum up all, in the lines of an elegant elegy, which Mr. Samuel Bache, an ingenious merchant, made upon him, at his death:

When as the poor want succour, where is he
Can say all can be said *extempore?*
Vie with the lightning, and melt down to th' quick
Their souls, and make themselves their pockets pick?
Where 's such a leader, thus has got the sleight
T' teach *holy hands to war, fingers to fight?*
Their arrow hit? *Bowels* to *bowels* meant it,
God, Christ, and saints, accept, but Wilson sent it.
Which way so e'er the propositions move,
The *ergo* of his syllogism 's *love.*
So bountiful to all: but if the poor
Was Christian too, all 's money went, and more,
His coat, rug, blanket, gloves; he thought their due
Was all his money, garments, one of two.

But he was most set upon the main business of this new plantation: which was, "to settle and enjoy the ordinances of the gospel, and worship the Lord Jesus Christ according to his own institutions;" and accordingly,

* On one occasion he pawned his own silver inkstand to raise money for some poor people.

he, with the governour, and others that came with him on the same account combined into a church-state, with all convenient expedition.

§ 11. Mr. Wilson's removal to New-England was rendred the more difficult, by the indisposition of his dearest consort thereunto; but he hoping, that according to a dream which he had before his coming hither, "That he saw here a little temple rising out of the ground, which by degrees increased into a very high and large dimensions," the Lord had a temple to build in these regions; resolved never to be discouraged from his undertaking. Wherefore having first sent over an encouraging account of the good order, both civil and sacred, which now began to be established in the plantation, he did himself return into England, that he might further pursue the effect thereof: and accordingly he made it his business, where-ever he came, to draw as many good men as he could into this country with him. His wife remained unperswadable, till upon *prayer* with *fasting* before the Almighty *turner of hearts*, he received an answer, in her becoming willing to accompany him over an *ocean* into a *wilderness*. A very sorrowful parting they now had from their old friends in Sudbury, but a safe and quick passage over the Atlantick; and whereas the church of Boston, observing that he arrived not at the time expected, had set apart a *day of humiliation* on his behalf, his joyful arrival before the day caused them to turn it into a *day of thanksgiving*. But Mrs. Wilson being thus perswaded over into the difficulties of an American desart, I have heard that her kinsman, old Mr. Dod, for her consolation under those difficulties, did send her a present with an advice, which he had in it, something of *curiosity*. He sent her, at the same time, a brass *counter*, a silver *crown*, and a gold *jacobus;* all of them severally wrapped up; with this instruction unto the gentleman who carried it: that he should first of all deliver only the counter, and if she received it with any shew of discontent, he should then take no further notice of her; but if she gratefully resented that small thing, for the sake of the hand it came from, he should then go on to deliver the *silver*, and so the *gold:* but withal assure her, "That such would be the dispensations of God unto her, and the other good people of New-England: if they would be content and thankful with such little things as God at first bestowed upon them, they should, in time have silver and gold enough. Mrs. Wilson accordingly, by her cheerful entertainment of the least remembrance from good old Mr. Dod, gave the gentleman occasion to go through with his whole present, and the annexed advice; which hath in a good measure been accomplished.

§ 12. It was not long before Mr. Wilson's return to England once more was obliged by the death of his brother, whose will, because it bequeathed a legacy of a thousand pounds unto New-England, gave satisfaction unto our Mr. Wilson, though it was otherwise injurious unto himself. A tedious and winter-voyage he now had; being twice forced into Ireland, where first at Galloway, then at Kingsale, afterwards at Bandon-Bridge,

he occasionally, but vigorously and successfully, served the kingdom of God. At last he got safe among his old friends at Sudbury; according to the prediction which he had let fall in his former farewel unto them: "It may be John Wilson may come and see Sudbury once again." From whence, visiting Mr. Nathanael Rogers at Assington, where he arrived before their morning prayers; Mr. Rogers asked him to say something upon the chapter that was read, which happened then to be the first chapter in the first book of Chronicles; and from a paragraph of meer *proper names*, that seemed altogether barren of any edifying matter, he raised so many fruitful and useful notes, that a pious person then present, amazed thereat, could have no rest without going over into America after him. Having dispatched his affairs in England, he again embarked for New-England, in company with four ministers and near two hundred passengers, whereof some were persons of considerable quality: but they had all been lost by a large leak sprang in the ship, if God had not, on a day of solemn fasting and prayer, kept on board for that purpose, mercifully discovered this dangerous leak unto them.

§ 13. That *Phœnix* of his age, Dr. Ames, would say, "That if he might have his option of the best condition that he could propound unto himself on this side heaven, it would be, that he might be the teacher of a congregational church, whereof Mr. Wilson should be the pastor." This happiness, this priviledge, now had Mr. Cotton in the church of Boston. But Satan, envious at the prosperity of that flourishing church, raised a storm of Antinomian, and Familistical errors, which had like to have thrown all into an irrecoverable confusion, if the good God had not remarkably blessed the endeavours of a Synod; and Mr. Wilson, for a while, met with hard measure for his early opposition to those errors, until, by the help of that Synod, the storm was weathered out. At the beginning of that assembly, after much discourse against the unscriptural *enthusiasms*, and *revelations*, then by some contended for, Mr. Wilson proposed, "You that are against these things, and that are for the spirit and the word together, hold up your hands!" And the multitude of hands then held up, was a comfortable and encouraging introduction unto the other proceedings. At the *conclusion* of that *assembly*, a catalogue of the *errors* to be condemned was produced; whereof when one asked, "What shall be done with them?" the wonted zeal of Mr. Wilson made this blunt answer, "Let them go to the devil of hell, from whence they came."

In the midst of these temptations also, he was by a lot chosen to accompany the forces, then sent forth upon an expedition against the Pequod Indians; which he did with so much *faith* and *joy*, that he professed himself "as fully satisfied that God would give the English a victory over those enemies, as if he had seen the victory already obtained." And the whole country quickly shared with him in the consolations of that remarkable victory.

§ 14. In the wilderness he met with his *difficulties;* for besides the loss of houses, divers times by *fire*, which yet he bore with such a cheerful submission, that once one that met him on the road, informing of him, "Sir, I have sad news for you; while you have been abroad, your house is burnt;" his first answer was, "Blessed be God: he has burnt this house, because he intends to give me a better." (Which accordingly came to pass.)

He was also put upon complying with the inclinations of his eldest son to *travel;* who accordingly travelled, first into Holland, then into Italy, where he proceeded a *doctor of physick*, and so returned into England, excellently well adorned with all the accomplishments of a most pious and useful gentleman. But this worthy person died about the year 1658. And this hastned the death of his mother, ere the year came about; which more than *doubled* the *grief* of his father. And these afflictions were yet further embittered by the death of his eldest daughter, Mrs. Rogers, in child-bed with her first child; at whose interment, though he could not but express a deal of *sorrow*, yet he did it with so much *patience*, that "In token," he said, "of his grounded and joyful hopes, to meet her again in the morning of the resurrection, and of his willingness to resign her into the hands of him who would make all things work together for good," he himself took the *spade*, and threw in the first shovelful of earth upon her. And not long after, he buried three or four of his grand children by another daughter, Mrs. Danforth (yet living with her worthy son-in-law, Edward Bromfield, Esq. in Boston) whereof one lying by the walls, on a day of publick thanksgiving, this holy man then preached a most savoury sermon on Job i. 21: "The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord." The next child, although so weakly that all despaired of its life, his prophetical grand-father said, "Call him John; I believe in God, he shall live, and be a prophet top, and do God service in his generation!" which is, at this day, fulfilled in Mr. John Danforth, the present pastor to the church of Dorchester. Encountring with such, and many other exercises, his years rolled away, till he had served New-England, *three* years before Mr. Cotton's coming over, *twenty* years with him; *ten* years with Mr. Norton, and *four* years after him.

§ 15. In his younger time, he had been used unto a more *methodical* way of preaching, and was therefore admired above many, by no less auditors than Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Burroughs, and Mr. Bridge, when they travelled from Cambridge into Essex, on purpose to observe the ministers in that county; but after he became a *pastor*, joined with such illuminating *teachers*, he gave himself a liberty to *preach* more after the *primitive* manner; without any distinct *propositions*, but chiefly in *exhortations* and *admonitions*, and good wholesome *councils*, tending to excite good motions in the minds of his hearers; (but upon the same texts that were doctrinally handled by his colleague instantly before:) and yet sometimes his pastoral discourses had such a *spirit* in them, that Mr. Shephard would say, "Me-

thinks I hear an apostle, when I hear this man:" yea, even one of his *ex-tempore* sermons has been since his death counted worthy to be published unto the world. The great lecture of Boston, being disappointed of him that should have preached it, Mr. Wilson preached that lecture on a text occurring in the chapter that had been read that morning in his family, Jer. xxix. 8: "Neither hearken to your dreams, which you cause to be dreamed;" from whence he gave a seasonable warning unto the people against the *dreams*, wherewith sundry sorts of opinionists have been endeavouring to seduce them. It was the last Boston lecture that ever he preached, (November 16, 1665,) and one who writ after him, in short hand, about a dozen years after published it. But his *last sermon* he preached at Roxbury lecture, for his most worthy son-in-law Mr. Danforth; and after he had read his text, which was in the beginnings and conclusions of sundry of the last psalms, with a seraphical voice, he added, "If I were sure this were the last sermon that ever I should preach, and these the last words that ever I should speak, yet I would still say, *Hallelujah, Hallelujah! praise ye the Lord!*" Thus he *ended* his ministry on earth, thus he *began* his possession of heaven with Hallelujahs.

§ 16. Indeed, if the picture of this *good*, and therein *great* man, were to be exactly given, *great zeal*, with *great love*, would be the two principal strokes that, joined with *orthodoxy*, should make up his pourtraiture. He had the *zeal* of a Phineas, I had almost said of a *seraphim*, in testifying against every thing that he thought offensive unto God. The *opinionists*, which attempted at any time to debase the *Scripture*, or confound the *order*, embraced in our churches, underwent the most pungent animadversions of this his devout *zeal;* whence, when a certain assembly of people, which he approved not, had set up in Boston, he charged all his family that they should never dare so much as once to enter into that assembly; "I charge you," said he, "that you do not once go to hear them; for whatsoever they may pretend, they will rob you of ordinances, rob you of your souls, rob you of your God." But though he were thus like John, a *Son of Thunder* against *seducers*, yet he was like that blessed and beloved apostle also, all made up of *love*. He was full of *affection*, and ready to help and relieve and comfort the *distressed;* his house was renowned for hospitality, and his purse was continually emptying it self into the hands of the needy: from which disposition of love in him, there once happened this passage: when he was beholding a great muster of soldiers, a gentleman then present said unto him, "Sir, I'll tell you a great thing; here's a mighty body of people, and there is not seven of them all but what loves Mr. Wilson;" but that gracious man presently and pleasantly replied, "Sir, I'll tell you as good a thing as that: here's a mighty body of people, and there is not so much as one of them all but Mr. Wilson loves him." Thus he did, by his own example, notably preach that lesson which a gentleman found in the *anagram* of his name, *Wish no one ill:* and thus did he

continue, to *do every one good*, until his death gave the same gentleman occasion thus to elegize upon him:

> Now may celestial spirits sing yet higher,
> Since one more's added to their sacred quire;
> Wilson the holy, whose *good name* doth still,
> In language sweet, bid us [*Wish no ill.*]

§ 17. He was one that, consulting not only his own edification, but the encouragement of the ministry, and of religion, with an indefatigable diligence visited the congregations of the neighbouring towns, at their weekly lectures, until the weaknesses of old age rendered him uncapable. And it was a delightful thing then to see, upon every recurring opportunity, a large company of Christians, and even *magistrates* and *ministers* among them, and Mr. Wilson in the head of them, visiting the lectures in all the vicinage, with such heavenly discourses on the road, as caused the hearts of the disciples to *burn within them:* and indeed it was remarked, that though the Christians *then* spent less time in the *shop*, or *field*, than they do *now*, yet they did in *both* prosper more. But for Mr. Wilson, I am saying, that a *lecture* was a *treasure* unto him; he prized it, he sought it, until *old age* at length brought with it a *sickness*, which a long while confined him. In this illness he took a solemn farewel of the ministers, who had their weekly meetings at his hospitable house, and were now come together from all parts, at the anniversary *election* for the government of the colony. They asked him to declare solemnly what he thought might be the sins which provoked the displeasure of God against the country. Whereto his answer was, "I have long feared several sins;" whereof, one, he said, was *Corahism;* "That is, when people rise up as Corah against their ministers, as if they took too much upon them, when indeed they do but rule for Christ, and according to Christ; yet it is nothing for a brother to stand up and oppose, without Scripture or reason, the word of an elder, saying [I am not satisfied!] and hence, if he do not like the administration, (be it baptism or the like,) he will turn his back upon God and his ordinances, and go away. And for our neglect of *baptising* the children of the *church*, those that some call *grand-children*, I think God is provoked by it. Another sin (said he) I take to be the making light of, and not subjecting to the authority of Synods, without which the churches cannot long subsist."

§ 18. Afterwards, having solemnly with prayer, and *particularly* and very *prophetically* blessed his relations and attendants, he now thus comforted himself, "I shall ere long be with my old friends, Dr. Preston, Dr. Sibs, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Gouge, Dr. Ames, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Norton, my Inns of Court friends, and my consort, children, grand-children in the kingdom of God." And when some then present magnified God, for making him a man of such *use*, and lamented themselves in their own *loss* of him, he

replied, "Alas, alas! use no such words concerning me; for I have been an unprofitable servant, not worthy to be called a servant of the Lord: but I must say, 'The Lord be merciful to me a sinner!' and I must say, 'Let thy tender mercies come unto me, O Lord, even thy salvation according to thy word.'" The evening before he died, his daughter asked him, "Sir, how do you do?" He held up his hand, and said, "Vanishing things! vanishing things!" but he then made a most affectionate prayer, with and for his friends; and so quietly *fell asleep* on August 7, 1667, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. Thus expired that reverend old man: of whom, when he left England, an eminent personage said, "New-England shall flourish, free from all general desolations, as long as that good man liveth in it!" which was comfortably accomplished. He was *interred* with more than ordinary solemnity; and his neighbour Mr. Richard Mather of Dorchester, thereat lamented the publick loss in his departure, with a sermon upon Zech. i. 5: "Your fathers, where are they, and the prophets, do they live for ever?"

§ 19. Being a *man of prayer*, he was very much a *man of God;* and a certain prophetical *afflatus*, which often directs the *speeches* of such *men*, did sometimes remarkably appear in the speeches of this holy man. Instances thereof have been already given. A few more shall now be added. Beholding a young man extraordinarily *dutiful*, in all possible ways of being serviceable, unto his aged *mother*, then *weak* in body, and *poor* in estate, *he* declared unto some of his family what he had beheld; adding therewithal, "I charge you to take notice of what I say; God will certainly bless that young man; John Hull (for that was his name) shall grow rich, and live to do God good service in his generation!" It came to pass accordingly that this exemplary person became a very *rich*, as well as emphatically a *good* man, and afterwards died a *magistrate* of the colony.

When one Mr. Adams, who waited on him from Hartford unto Weathersfield, was followed with the news of his daughter's being fallen suddenly and doubtfully sick, Mr. Wilson, looking up to heaven, began mightily to wrestle with God for the life of the young woman: "Lord," said he, "wilt thou now take away thy servant's child, when thou seest he is attending on thy poor unworthy servant in most Christian kindness? Oh! do it not!" And then, turning himself about unto Mr. Adams, "Brother," said he, "I trust your daughter shall live; I believe in God she shall recover of this sickness!" And so it marvellously came to pass, and she is now the fruitful mother of several desirable children.

A Pequot-Indian, in a canoo, was espied by the English, within gunshot, carrying away an English maid, with a design to *destroy* her or *abuse* her. The soldiers fearing to kill the maid if they shot at the Indian, asked Mr. Wilson's counsel, who forbad them to fear, and assured them "God will direct the bullet!" They shot accordingly; and killed the Indian, though then moving swiftly upon the water, and saved the maid free from all harm whatever.

Upon the death of the first and only child (being an infant) of his daughter Mrs. Danforth, he made a poem, wherein there were these lines among the rest:

What if they part with their beloved one,
Their first begotten and their *only son?*
What 's this to that which Father Abram suffer'd,
When his own hands his *only darling* offer'd?
In whom was bound up all his joy in this
Life present, and his hope of future bliss?
And what if God their *other children* call—
Second, third, fourth—suppose it should be all?
What 's this to holy Job, his trials sad,
Who neither *these* nor *t'other* comforts had?
His *life* was only given him for a prey,
Yet all his troubles were to heaven the way;
Yea, to far *greater blessings* on the earth,
The Lord rewarding all his *tears* with *mirth.*

And behold, as if that he had been a Vates, in both senses of it, a *poet* and a *prophet*, it pleased God afterwards to give his daughter a *second* a *third*, and a *fourth* child, and then to take them all away at once, even in one fortnight's time; but afterwards happily to make up the loss.

Once passing over the ferry unto a lecture, on the other side of the water, he took notice of a young man in the boat, that worded it very unhandsomely unto his aged father: whereat this faithful seer, being much troubled, said unto him, "Young man, I advise you to repent of your undutiful, rebellious carriage towards your father; I expect else to hear that God has cut you off before a twelve-month come to an end!" And before this time expired, it came to pass that this unhappy youth, going to the southward, was there hacked in pieces by the Pequod Indians.

A company of people in this country, were mighty hot upon a project of removing to Providence, an island in the West-Indies; and a venerable assembly of the chief magistrates and ministers in the colony was addressed for their *council* about this undertaking; which assembly laid before the company very weighty reasons to disswade them from it. A prime ring-leader in that business was one Venner, a cooper of Salem, the mad blade that afterwards perished in a nonsensical uproar which he, with a crew of Bedlamites, possessed like himself, made in London. This Venner, with some others, now stood up and said, "That notwithstanding what had been offered, they were clear in their call to remove:" whereupon Mr. Wilson stood up, and answered, "Ay, do you come to ask council in so weighty a matter as this, and to have help from an ordinance of God in it? and are you aforehand resolved that you will go on? Well, you may go, if you will; but you shall not prosper, What! do you make a mock of God's ordinance?" And it came to pass accordingly; the enterprize was not long after dashed in pieces; and Venner's precipitating *impulses*, afterwards carried him to a miserable end.

A *council* sitting at a town, where some ecclesiastical differences called for the assistances of the neighbours to compose them, there was one man observed by Mr. Wilson, to be extreamly perverse, and most unreasonably troublesome and mischievous to the peace of the church there; whereupon Mr. Wilson told the council he was confident, "That the jealousy of God would set a mark upon that man, and that the ordinary death of men

should not befal him." It happened shortly after that the man was barbarously butchered by the salvages!

While Mr. Wilson was minister of Sudbury in England, there was a noted person who had been absent for some while among the Papists. This man returning home, offered himself to the *communion;* whereat Mr. Wilson, in the open assembly, spoke unto him after this manner: "Brother, you here present yourself, as if you would partake in the Holy Supper of the Lord. You cannot be ignorant of what you have done in withdrawing your self from our communion, and how you have been much conversant for a considerable while with the Papists, whose religion is antichristian. Therefore, though we cannot so absolutely charge you, God knows, who is the searcher of all hearts; and if you have defiled your self with their worship and way, and not repented of it, by offering to partake at this time in the Holy Supper with us, you will eat and drink your own damnation; but if you are clear, and have nothing wherewith to charge your self, you your self know, upon this account you may receive." The man did then partake at the Lord's table, professing his innocency. But, as if the *devil had entered into him*, he soon went and *hanged* himself.

In the circumstances of his own children, he saw many effects of an *extraordinary faith.*

His eldest son, Edmund, while travelling into the countries which the bloody Popish inquisition has made a clime too *torrid* for a Protestant, was extreamly exposed: but the prayers of the young gentleman's continually distressed father, for him, were answered with signal preservations. When he was under examination by the inquisitors, a friend of the chief among them suddenly arrived; and the inquisitor not having seen this friend for many years before, was hereby so diverted and mollified, that he carried the young Mr. Wilson to dinner with him; and, though he had passed hitherto *unknown* by his true name, yet this inquisitor could now call him, to his great surprize, by the name of Mr. Wilson, and report unto him the character of his *father,* and his *father's* industry in serving the hereticks of New-England. But that which I here most of all design, is an account of a thing yet more memorable and unaccountable. For, at another time, his father dream't himself transported into Italy, where he saw a beautiful person in the son's chamber, endeavouring with a thousand *enchantments* to debauch him; whereupon the *old* gentleman made, and was by his bed-fellow overheard making, first, *prayers* to God full of agony, and then *warnings* unto his tempted son, to beware of defiling himself with the "daughter of a strange god." Now, some considerable while after this, the *young* gentleman writes to his father, that on such a night (which was upon enquiry found the very same night) a gentlewoman had caressed him, thus and so, (just according to the vision,) and that his chastity had been conquered, if he had not been strongly possessed with a sense of

his father's *prayers* over him, and *warnings* unto him, for his escape from the pits, whereinto do fall the "abhorred of the Lord."

His other son, John, when a child, fell upon his head from a loft four stories high, into the street; from whence he was taken up for dead, and so battered and bruised and bloody with his fall, that it struck horror into the beholders; but Mr. Wilson had a wonderful return of his *prayers* in the recovery of the child, both unto *life* and unto *sense;* insomuch, that he continued unto old age, a faithful, painful, useful minister of the gospel; and but lately went from the service of the church in Medfield, unto the glory of the church triumphant.

After Mr. Wilson's arrival at New-England, his wife, who had left off bearing of children for many years, brought him another daughter; which *lamb* was indeed unto him *as a daughter;* and he would present her unto other ministers, for their blessing, with great affection, saying, "This is my New-England token!" But this child fell sick of a malignant fever, wherein she was gone so far, that every one despaired of her life; except her father, who called in several ministers, with other Christians, unto a *fast* on that occasion; and hearing the prayers of Mr. Cotton for her, found his heart so raised, that he confidently declared, "While I heard Mr. Cotton at prayer, I was confident the child should live!" And the child accordingly *did* live; yea, she is to this day alive, a very "holy woman, adorned like them of old time, with a spirit of great price!"

The *blessings* pronounced by Mr. Wilson, upon many persons and affairs, were observed so *prophetical*, and especially his death-bed blessings upon his children and grand-children were *so*, that the most considerable persons in the country thought it not much to come from far, and bring their children with them, for the enjoyment of his *patriarchal benedictions.* For which cause, Mr. Thomas Shepard, in an elegy upon him at his death, pathetically thus expressed it:

Whose of Abraham, Moses, Samuel, reads,
Or of Elijah's or Elisha's deeds,
Would surely say, their *spirit* and *power* was his,
And think there were a *Metempsychosis.*

As aged *John* th' apostle used to *bless*
The people, which they judged their happiness,
So did we count it worth our *pilgrimage*
Unto him for his *blessing*, in his age.

These were *extraordinary passages;* many of them are things which *ordinary Christians* may more safely *ponder* and *wonder*, than *expect* in *our* days! though sometimes great *reformers*, and great *sufferers*, must be signalized with them. I know very well what Livy says, *Datur hæc Venia Antiquitatis, ut miscendo Humana Divinis, Primordia Urbium Augustiora faciat:** but I have been far from imposing the least *fable* upon the world in reporting such extraordinary passages of Mr. Wilson, or any other great *confessor*, by whom the *beginnings* of this country were made illustrious; there are witnesses enough yet living of them.

* It is the privilege of antiquity to throw an air of grandeur around the origin of States, by introducing mythic traditions about the gods among the real facts of history.

§ 20. There is a certain little *sport of wit*, in *anagrammatizing* the *names* of men; which was used as long ago at least as the days of old Lycophron: and which sometimes has afforded reflections very *monitory*, as *Alstedius* by his just admirers changed into *Sedulitas*;* or very *characterising*, as *Renatus Cartesius*, by his disciples turned into, *Tu scis res Naturæ*;† or very *satyrical*, as when *Satan ruleth me*, was found in the transposed name of a certain active persecutor: and when, *Lo, a damned crew*, was found in the name of one that made a figure among the Popish plotters against the nation. Yea, 'tis possible that they who affect such *grammatical curiosities*, will be willing to plead a *prescription* of much higher and elder antiquity for them; even the *temurah*, or *mutation*, with which the Jews do criticise upon the oracles of the Old Testament. "There," they say, "you'll find the anagram of our *first father's* name *Haadam*, to express *Adamah*, the name of the *earth*, whence he had his original." An anagram of a *good* signification, they'll show you [Gen. vi. 8,] and of a *bad* one [Gen. xxxviii. 7,] in those glorious oracles; and they will endeavour to perswade you, that *Maleachi* in Exodus is anagrammatically expounded *Michael*, in Daniel. But of all the anagrammatizers that have been trying their *fancies*, for the two thousand years which have run out, since the days of Lycophron—yea, or for the more than five thousand, since the days of our first father—I believe there never was man that made so *many*, or so *nimbly*, as our Mr. Wilson; who, together with his *quick turns*, upon the names of his friends, would ordinarily *fetch*, and rather than *lose*, would even *force* devout instructions out of his anagrams. As once, upon hearing my father preach a sermon about "the glories of our Lord Jesus Christ," Mr. Wilson immediately gave him that anagram upon his name, *Crescentius Matherus*,‡ anagr. *En! Christus Merces tua*:§ so there could scarcely occur the name of *any* remarkable *person*, at least, on *any* remarkable *occasion* unto him, without an anagram raised thereupon; and he made this *poetical* and *peculiar* disposition of his ingenuity a subject whereon he grafted *thoughts* far more solid, and solemn, and useful, than the *stock* it self. Wherefore methoughts, it looked like a piece of *injustice* that his own funeral produced (among the many poems afterwards printed) no more anagrams upon his name, who had so often thus handled the names of others; and some thought the Muses looked very much dissatisfied, when they saw these lines upon his hearse:

JOHN WILSON.

Anagr.—JOHN WILSON.

Oh! change it not: no sweeter name or thing,
Throughout the world, within our ears shall ring.

There was a little more of humour in the fancy of Mr. Ward, the well-known "simple cobler of Agawam," as that witty writer stiled himself,

* Assiduity. † Thou dost understand the things of nature. ‡ Increase Mather. § Go, Christ is thy reward.

who, observing the great *hospitality* of Mr. Wilson, in conjunction with his *meta-grammatising* temper, said, "That the anagram of JOHN WILSON was, I PRAY, COME IN: YOU ARE HEARTILY WELCOME."

To make up this want, I might conclude the *life* of this good man with an anagram which he left on and for himself:

Johannes Wilsonus.
ANAGR.—*In uno Jesu, nos Salvi.*
VEL
Non in uno Jesu Salus?
An non in Jesu, *Credentum, figitur,* uno,
Tota Salus? *Hic est, hic Sita Tota Salus.**

§ 21. But it is to the *last place* in our history of this worthy man, that I reserve that part of his character which lay in his disposition to allot unto himself the last place among all worthy men; for his low opinion of himself, was the *top* of all his other excellencies. His humility not only caused him to prefer the meanest of his brethren above himself, but also to comply with the meanest opportunities of being serviceable. He might justly be reckoned the name's sake of that John, the Bishop of Alexandria, who was called not only *Johannes Eleemosynarius,*† but also *Humilis Johannes.*‡ Hence 'twas, that when his voice in his age did so fail him, that his great congregation could be no longer edified by his *publick labours*, he cheerfully and painfully set himself to do all the good that he could by his *private visits;* and such also as he could not reach with sermons, he often found with verses: hence 'twas that when that plea was used with the church of Ipswich, to resign Mr. Norton unto the church of Boston, after the death of Mr. Cotton; because it was said, "Let him that hath two coats, give to him that hath none:" and a person of quality replied, "Boston hath one," [meaning Mr. Wilson:] this good man answered, "Who? me! I am nothing!" Yea, hence 'twas, that when malefactors had been openly scourged upon the just sentence of authority, he would presently send for them to his house, and having first expressed his bounty to them, he would then bestow upon them such gracious admonitions and exhortations, as made them to become, instead of desperate, remarkably penitent. Indeed, I know not whether his humility might not have some excess, in some instances, charged upon it; at least once, when he had promised unto a neighbouring minister to preach a sermon for him, and after his promise came in season to that minister, saying, "Sir, I told you that I would preach for you, but it was rashly done of me; I have on my knees begged the pardon of it from the Lord; that I should offer thus to deprive his people of your labours, which are so much better than any of mine can be: wherefore, sir, I now come seasonably to tell you that I shall fail you!" And accordingly, there was no perswading of him to the contrary.

* John Wilson. *Anagram:* "In Jesus alone are we saved;" *or,* "Is there not salvation in Jesus alone?"

What other name in earth or heaven is known,
Whereby we may be saved, save Christ's alone?

† John the Compassionate. ‡ John the Humble.

But from the like humility it was, that a good kinsman of his, who deserves to live in the same story, as he now lives in the same heaven with him—namely, Mr. Edward Rawson, the honoured secretary of the Massachuset colony—could not by all his entreaties perswade him to let his picture be drawn; but still refusing it, he would reply, "What! such a poor vile creature as I am! shall my picture be drawn? I say, no; it never shall!" And when that gentleman introduced the limner, with all things ready, vehemently importuning him to gratifie so far the desires of his friends, as to sit a while, for the taking of his *effigies*, no importunity could ever obtain it from him. However, being bound in justice to employ my hand for the memory of that person by whose hand I was myself baptised, I have made an essay to draw his picture, by this account of his life; wherein if I have missed of doing to the life, it might be made up with several expressive passages, which I find in elegies written and printed upon his death: whereof there were many composed, by those whose opinion was well signified by one of them:

> Sure *verseless* he does mean to's grave to go,
> And well deserves that now no *verse can show*.

But waving the rest, let the following poem, never before printed, offer some odours for the reader's further entertainment:

SOME OFFERS TO EMBALM THE MEMORY OF THE TRULY REV'D. AND RENOWNED JOHN WILSON, THE FIRST PASTOR OF BOSTON, IN NEW-ENGLAND:

Interred (and a great part of his country's glory with him) August 11, 1667, aged 79.

MIGHT Aaron's rod (such *funerals* mayn't be dry)
But broach the *rock*, 'twould gush pure *elegy*,
To round the wilderness with purling *lays*,
And tell the world the great Saint Wilson's praise.

Here's one—*pearls* are not in great clusters found—
Here's one, the *skill* of *tongues* and *arts* had crown'd;
Here's one (by frequent *martyrdom* was try'd)
That could forego *skill*, *pelf*, and *life* beside,
For Christ: both Englands' *darling*, whom in swarms
They press'd to see, and hear, and felt his *charms*.
'Tis one (when will it rise to number two?—
The world at once can but one Phœnix show:)
For *truth* a Paul, Cephas for *zeal*, for *love*
A John, inspir'd by the cœlestial dove.
Abram's true son for *faith*; and in his *tent*
Angels oft had their *table* and *content*.

So *humble*, that alike on 's *charity*,
Wrought *extract gent*; with *extract rudii*
Pardon this *fault*; his great excess lay *there*,
He'd trade, for *heaven*, with all he came a near;
His *meat*, *clothes*, *cash*, he'd still for *ventures* send
Consign'd, *per* Brother Lazarus, his friend.

Mighty in prayer, his hands uplifted reach'd
Mercy's high throne, and thence strange bounties fetch'd
Once and again, and oft: so felt by all,
Who weep his death, as a departing Paul.
All—yea, baptiz'd with tears, lo! *children* come
(*Their* baptism *he* maintain'd!) unto his *tomb*.

'Twixt an *apostle* and *evangelist*,
Let stand his order in the heavenly *list*.

Had we the costly *alabaster box*,
What's left we'd spend on this New-English Knox;
True Knox, fill'd with that great *reformer's* grace,
In *truth's* just cause "fearing no mortal's face."

Christ's *word*, it was his *life*—Christ's *church*, his *care*;
And so *great* with him his *least* brethren were,
Not heat nor cold—not rain, or frost, or snow—
Could hinder, but he'd to their *sermons* go;
Aaron's bells chimed from far, he'd run, and then
His ravish'd soul *echo'd Amen*, *Amen!*

He travers'd oft the fierce Atlantick sea,
But, *Patmos of confessors*, 'twas for thee.
This voyage lands him on the wished shore,
From whence this *father* will return no more,
To sit the *moderator* of thy sages.
But tell his *zeal* for thee to after ages,
His care to guide his *flock* and feed his *lambs*,
By *words*, *works*, *prayers*, *psalms*, *alms*, and *anagrams*:
Those *anagrams*, in which he made to start
Out of meer *nothings*, by *creating art*,
Whole *words* of counsel; did to *motes* unfold
Names, till they lessons gave richer than gold,
And every *angle* so exactly fay,
It should out-shine the brightest *solar ray*.

Sacred his *verse*, writ with a *cherub's* quill;
But those wing'd choristers of Zion-hill,
Pleased with the *notes*, call'd him a part to bear
With *them*, where he his *anagram* did hear,
"*I pray come in: heartily welcome, sir!*"

REV. JOHN DAVENPORT.

EPITAPHIUM.

Thinking what epitaph I should offer unto the grave of this worthy man, I called unto mind the fittest in the world, which was directed for him, immediately upon his death by an honourable person, who still continues the same lover, as well as instance, of learning and vertue, that he was when he then advised them to give Mr. Wilson this

EPITAPH.

And now abides *faith, hope,* and *charity,*
But *charity*'s the greatest of the three.

To which this might be added, from another hand:

Aurea, quæ (obstupeo referens!) Primæva Vetustas
Condidit Arcano, Sæcula Apostolica,
Officiis Donisque itidem Sanctissimus Heros,
Wilsonus *tacitis Protulit ex Tenebris.**

CHAPTER IV.

PURITANISMUS NOV-ANGLICANUS;† THE LIFE OF MR. JOHN DAVENPORT.

§ 1. A noted author of more than twice seven treatises, and chaplain to two successive Queens of England, was that Christopher Davenport, whose assumed name was, *Franciscus à Sancta Clara.*‡ And in Mr. Rushworth's collection of speeches, made in the celebrated parliament, 1640, I find Sir Benjamin Rudyard using these words: "Sancta Clara hath published, that if a Synod were held, *Non intermixtis Puritanis*—'setting Puritans aside'—our *articles* and their *religion* would soon be agreed. They have so brought it to pass, that under the name of *Puritans*, all our religion is branded. Whosoever squares his actions by any *rule*, either divine or humane, he is a *Puritan;*—whosoever would be governed by the King's laws, he is a *Puritan.*" Whether this account of matters be allowed or no, there was, though not a brother, (as a certain *woodden* historian, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses,*§ has reported,) yet a kinsman of that Sancta Clara, who was among the most eminent Puritans of those days: and this was our *holy* and *famous* Mr. John Davenport: one of whom I may, on many accounts, use the eulogy, with which the learned still mention Salmasius, *Vir nunquam satis Laudatus, nec Temere sine Laude nominandus.*‖

§ 2. Mr. John Davenport was born at Coventry, in the year 1597, of

* The ancient apostolic Age of Gold,
Obscured so sadly in the mists of Time,
Our Wilson, cast in apostolic mould,
Seems to restore in all its pristine prime.

† New-England Puritanism. ‡ Francis of St. Clair. § Oxford Athens.

‖ A man never yet praised enough, and never to be named without praise.

worthy parents; a father who was mayor of the city, and a pious mother, who, having lived just long enough to devote him, as Hannah did, her Samuel, unto the service of the sanctuary, left him under the more immediate care of Heaven to fit him for that service. The grace of God sanctified him with *good principles*, while he had not yet seen two sevens of years in an *evil world;* and by that age he had also made such attainments in learning, as to be admitted into Brasen-Nose Colledge, in Oxford. From thence, when he was but nineteen years old, he was called unto publick and constant preaching in the city of London, as an assistant unto another divine; where his notable accomplishments for a minister, and his courageous *residence* with, and *visiting* of his flock, in a dreadful *plague-time*, caused much notice to be quickly taken of him. His degree of Master of Arts he took not, until, in course, he was to proceed Batchellor of Divinity: and then with universal approbation, he received both of these laurels together.

§ 3. This pious man was both an hard student and a great preacher. His custom was to sit up very late at his lucubrations; whereby, though he found no sensible damage himself, and never felt his head ach, yet his counsel was, that other students would not follow his example. But the effects of his *industry* were seen by all men, in his approving himself upon all occasions, *an universal scholar*. As for the *sermons* wherewith he fed the church of God, he *wrote* them for the most part more largely than the most of ministers; and he spoke them with a gravity, an energy, an acceptableness, whereto few ministers ever have arrived: indeed, his greatest enemies, when they heard him, would acknowledge him to be among "the best of preachers." The *ablest men* about London were his *nearest friends;* among whom he held a very particular correspondence with Dr. Preston: he, when he dyed, left his notes with Mr. Davenport, by him to be published; and accordingly, with Dr. Sibs, you'll find Mr. Davenport signing some of their dedications.

§ 4. About the year 1626, there were several eminent persons, among whom were two *Doctors* of Divinity, with two other divines, and four *lawyers*, whereof one the King's Serjeant at law, and four *citizens*, whereof one the Lord Mayor of London, engaged in a design to procure a purchase of *impropriations*, and with the profits thereof to maintain a constant, able, and painful ministry in those parts of the kingdom where there was most want of such a ministry. The divines concerned in this design, were Dr. Gouge, Dr. Sibs, Mr. Offspring, and our Mr. Davenport; and such an incredible progress was made in it, that it is judged all the *impropriations* in England would have been honestly and easily recovered unto the immediate service of the *reformed religion*. But Bishop Laud, looking with a jealous eye on this undertaking, least it might in time give a secret growth to *non-conformity*, he obtained a bill to be exhibited in the Exchequer Chamber, by the King's Attorney-General, against the Feoffees that had

the management of it. Upon this occasion, I find this great man writing in his great Bible the ensuing passages:

"Feb. 11, 1632. The business of the feoffees being to be heard the third time at the Exchequer, I prayed earnestly that God would assist our counsellors in opening the case, and be pleased to grant, that they might get no advantage against us, to punish us as evil doers; promising to observe what answer he gave. Which seeing he hath graciously done, and delivered me from the thing I feared, I record to these ends:

"1. To be more industrious in my family.
"2. To check my unthankfulness.
"3. To quicken my self to thankfulness.
"4. To awaken my self to more watchfulness for the time to come, in 'remembrance of his mercy.'

"Which I beseech the Lord to grant; upon whose faithfulness in his covenant I cast my self, to be made faithful in my covenant. JOHN DAVENPORT."

The issue of the business was *this:* the court condemned their proceedings as dangerous to the church and state; pronouncing the *gifts*, *feoffments*, and *contrivances*, made to the uses aforesaid, to be illegal, and so dissolved the same, confiscating their money unto the King's use. Yet the *criminal part* referred unto, was never prosecuted in the *star-chamber;* because the design was generally approved, and multitudes of discreet and devout men extreamly resented the ruine of it.

§ 5. It happened that soon after this, the famous Mr. John Cotton was fallen under such a storm of persecution for his non-conformity, as made it necessary for him to propose and purpose a removal out of the land; whereupon Mr. Davenport, with several other great and good men, considering the eminent learning, prudence, and holiness of that excellent person, could be at no rest until they had by a solemn *conference* informed themselves of what might move him to such a resolution. The issue of the conference was, that instead of their disswading him from exposing himself to such sufferings as were now before him, he convinced *them* of the truth in the *cause* for which he suffered; and they became satisfied both of the *evil* in sundry *matters* of *worship* and *order* imposed upon them, and of the *duty* which lay upon them, in their places to endeavour the *reformation* of things in the church, according to the word of God. Mr. Davenport's inclination to non-conformity, from this time, fell under the notice and anger of his diocesan; who presently determined the marks of his vengeance for him: of which being seasonably and sufficiently advertised, he convened the principal persons under his pastoral charge in Coleman-street, at a general vestry, desiring them on this occasion to declare what they would advise; for acknowledging the right which they had in him as their pastor, he would not by any danger be driven from any service which they should expect or demand at his hands; but he would imitate the example of Luther, who, upon letters from the church of Wittenberg, from whence he had withdrawn for his security, upon the direction of the

Duke of Saxony, returned unto the couragious exercise of his ministry. Upon a serious deliberation, they discharged his *conscientious obligation*, by agreeing with him that it would be best for him to resign; but although he now hoped for something of a quiet life, his hope was disappointed; for he was continually dogged by raging busie pursuivants, from whom he had no safety but by retiring into Holland.

§ 6. Over to Holland he went, in the latter end of the year 1633, where the messengers of the church, under the charge of Mr. Paget, met him in his way to Amsterdam, inviting him to become the colleague of their aged pastor. But Mr. Davenport had not been long there, before his indisposition to the promiscuous baptising of *children*, concerning whom there was no *charitable* or *tolerable* testimony of their belonging to *Christian parents*, was by Mr. Paget so improved against him, as to procure him the displeasure of the Dutch classes in the neighbourhood. The *contention* on this occasion proceeded so far, that though the Dutch ministers had under their hands declared:—"We desire nothing more, than that Mr. Davenport, whose eminent learning and singular piety is much approved and commended of all the English our brethren, may be lawfully promoted unto the ministry of the English church: we do also greatly approve of his good zeal and care, of his having some precedent private examination of the parents and sureties of children to be baptised in the Christian religion." Yet the matter could not be accommodated; Mr. Davenport could not be allowed, except he would promise to baptise the *children* of such whose *parents* and *sureties* were, upon examination, found never so much *unchristianized*, ignorant, or scandalous. He therefore desisted from his publick ministry in Amsterdam about the beginning of the year 1635, contenting himself to set up a *catechetical exercise* in the family, where he sojourned on the afternoon of the Lord's days, an hour after the publick sermons were over. But some considerable number of people, at length, resorting to this exercise, a jealousie was pretended by his adversary, that the design of it was to promote such *sects* as, indeed, the chief design of it was to prevent; and upon this pretence he was hindered, even from this lesser opportunity of doing service also. The fuller story of these uncomfortable and unreasonable brangles, the reader may find in an *Apologetical Discourse* of Mr. Davenport's, published for his own vindication; wherein he does with a learned pen handle several points much controverted in the *reformed churches*, and shew himself a divine well studied in the controversies of the present and the former ages. But the upshot of all was, that he returned back to London; where he told his friends, "That he thought God carried him over into Holland, on purpose to bear witness against that *promiscuous baptism*, which at least bordered very near upon a profanation of the holy institution."

§ 7. He observed, that when a *reformation* of the church has been brought about in any part of the world, it has rarely been *afterwards* carried on

any one step further than the *first reformers* did succeed in their *first endeavours;* he observed that as easily might the ark have been removed from the mountains of Ararat, where it first grounded, as a people get any ground in reformation, after and beyond the *first remove* of the *reformers.* And this observation quickned him to embark in a design of reformation, wherein he might have opportunity to drive things in the first essay, as near to the precept and pattern of *Scripture*, as they could be driven. The plantation of New-England afforded him this opportunity, with the chief undertakers whereof he had many consultations, before he had ever taken up any purpose of going himself into that part of the world; and he had, indeed, a very great stroke in the encouraging and enlivening of that noble undertaking. He was one of those by whom the patent for the Massachuset colony was procured; and though his *name* were not among the *patentees*, because he himself desired it might be omitted, lest his enemy, the Bishop of London, then of the King's privy council, should upon his account appear the more fiercely against it; yet his *purse* was in it, his *time* was in it, and he contributed unto it all manner of assistances: this he did before his going to Holland. And while he was in Holland, he received letters of Mr. Cotton from the country whereto he had thus been a *father;* telling him, "That the order of the churches and the commonwealth was now so settled in New-England, by common consent, that it brought into his mind the new heaven and the new earth, wherein dwells righteousness." Wherefore, soon after his return for London, he shipped himself, with several eminent Christians, and their families, for New-England; where, by the good hand of GOD upon them, they arrived in the summer of the year 1637.

§ 8. Mr. Cotton welcomed Mr. Davenport, as Moses did Jethro, hoping that he would be "as eyes unto them in the wilderness." For by the cunning and malice of Satan, all things in this New-English wilderness were then *surprised* into a deal of confusion, on the occasion of the Antinomian opinions then spread abroad; but the learning and wisdom of this worthy man in the Synod then assembled at Cambridge, did contribute more than a little to dispel the *fascinating mists* which had suddenly disordered all our affairs. Having done his part in that *blessed work*, (as we have elsewhere more fully related) *he*, with his friends, who were more fit for Zebulon's ports than for Issachar's tents, chose to go farther westward; where they began a plantation and a colony, since distinguished by the name of New-Haven; and endeavoured, according to his understanding, a yet stricter conformity to the *word of God*, in settling of all matters, both *civil* and *sacred*, than he had yet seen exemplified in any other part of the world. There the famous church of New-Haven, as well as the other neighbouring towns, enjoyed his *ministry*, his *discipline*, his *government*, and his universal *direction* for many years together: even till after the restoration of King Charles II. Connecticut and New-Haven were by *one*

charter incorporated. And here, with what *holiness*, with what *watchfulness*, with what *usefulness* he discharged his ministry, it is worthy of a remembrance among all that would propose unto themselves a worthy *example*. Nevertheless, all that I shall here preserve of it, is this one article: A young minister once receiving of wise and good councils from this good and wise and great man, he received *this* among the rest, "That he should be much in *ejaculatory prayer;* for, indeed, ejaculatory prayers, as arrows in the hand of a mighty man, so are *they*, happy is the man that has his quiver full of them!" And it was believed, by some curious observers, that Mr. Davenport himself was well used unto that sacred skill of "walking with God," and "having his eyes ever towards the Lord," and "being in the fear of the Lord all the day long," by the use of *ejaculatory prayers*, on the innumerable occasions which every *turn* of our lives does bring for those devotions. He was not only constant in more *settled*, whether *social* or *secret* prayers, but also in the midst of all besieging incumbrances, tying the wishes of his devout soul unto the *arrows* of *ejaculatory prayers*, he would shoot them away unto the *heavens*, from whence he still expected all his *help*. With such a *glory*, with such a *defence*, was New-Haven blessed!

§ 9. But his influences were not confined unto his own *colony* of New-Haven; they were extended as far as his general and generous *care of all the churches* could carry him. And hence, I find him in a particular manner, expressing his good affections unto the *Irenio* designs and studies, which were in those days managing by some great men, for the restoring of *communion* among the divided churches of the *reformation*. Perhaps I cannot give an exacter character of this eminent person's disposition, than by my transcribing and my translating of a few passages in a letter to the famous Dury, by him composed, and by the rest of the ministers in his colony subscribed:

"*Flagrante* Schismatis *Incendio, Ecclesias, quas oportebat Arctissimo Pacis et Unitatis Vinculo Colligari, miseras in sectas* Invisa Deo Lacerabat Erinnys; *usque adeo ut qui mutuam contra communes Hostes opem conferrent, proh dolor! concertationes* Midianiticas *invicem agunt; Sicut enim Juvenes, quos ad Dimicandum Abnerus Provocabat, se mutuis Vulneribus Confecerunt; sic, quorundam Vitio, qui partes potius agunt male* Disputantium, *quam bene* Evangelizantium, *Jurgia, Lites, Animorum Divortia, Schismata et Scandala, in Ecclesiis Evangelicis Suboriuntur, non sine gravi Infirmorum Offendiculo, nec sine summo bonorum omnium Mœrore, ac Inimicorum Evangelicæ Veritatis Oblectamento.*"——

"While the fire of *schism* has been raging, the *hateful fury* has miserably torn to pieces the churches that should have been held together in the strictest bonds of love and unity; insomuch that they who should have united for mutual help against the common enemy, alas, have even fallen upon one another, *as in the day of Midian.* As the young men, upon the provocation of Abner, wounded one another to death; thus, by the fault of some, who do the part rather of *bad wranglers* than of *good preachers*, there do arise in the reformed churches those *broils*, and *strifes*, and animosities, and *schisms*, and scandals, which offend the *weak* and afflict the *good*, and are no little satisfaction to the enemies of *gospel-truth*."

"*Nunc Vero, Postquam* Custos Israelis, Deus Pacis, *dedit in Corda tot Ecclesiarum et Magistratuum, ut Vulneribus istis Medicinam faciendam esse, Necessarium Judicârint, En! Bonorum omnium Animi, in Spem erecti, Malorum istorum Salutarem Clausulam Expectant, et Votis intimis, Patrem Misericordiarum Vobiscum invocant, ut Spiritus sui Gratia, Secundum Verbum Suum, Consilia et actiones Servorum Suorum dirigere, ad Sancti Nominis Sui Gloriam dignetur.*"——

"But now that the 'Keeper of Israel,' the 'God of peace,' hath put it into the hearts of many churches and rulers, to apprehend it necessary that a cure should be sought for these wounds, behold! the minds of all good men do with a raised hope expect an happy close of these mischiefs; and with most hearty prayers do beseech the Father of Mercies, that he would, by the grace of his Spirit, according to his word, please to direct the counsels and actions of his servants, for the glory of his own holy name."

"*Recte quidem fecisti, Reverende Frater* Duræe, *quod nos etiam in eodem Vobiscum Corpore, Sub eodem Capite Jesu Christo, Constitutos, ad Negotium hoc, in Sanctorum Communione Promovendum, fraterne invitâsti.*"——

"You have done right well, reverend *brother*, in that you have, after a brotherly manner, unto the promoting of this affair, in the *communion of saints* invited us, who belong to the same mystical body with your selves, under one head, our Lord Jesus Christ."

"*Dica Vero non est* Orthodoxis *impingenda, quasi Optatissimæ illi* Paci, *quæ inter Scissas* Evangelicas Ecclesias *quæritur, Offendiculum posuerint et remoram, qui, Necessitate Postulante, ea utuntur Libertate Refutandi Errores, quam Pax non debet impedire: adeoque suo Exemplo futuram pacem præmuniunt, à Vitiis in Excessu positis.*"——"*Quippe quod sincere de Erroribus Judicare, et Errores tamen in Fratribus Infirmis Tolerare, Utrumque Judicamus esse Apostolicæ Doctrinæ Consonum.* Toleratio *Vero Fratrum Infirmorum, non debet esse adsque* Redargutione, *Sed tantum absque* Rejectione."

"Nevertheless, 'tis not to be made an article of complaint against the *orthodox*, as if they would hinder or delay the *peace* desired so much among the *reformed churches*, because they do, as necessity shall call for it, use that *liberty* of *refuting errors*, which peace ought to be no bar unto; and by their example, would rescue the future peace from the extremes wherewith it would be rendred faulty."——"For we reckon that as well to *judge* what things are *errors*, as to *bear* with such errors in weaker brethren, are *both* of them agreeable to what we have been taught by the apostles. The *toleration* of our erroneous brethren should not be without *rebuking*, but it should be without *rejecting* of those brethren."

§ 10. It is a notable expression, and a wonderful concession of that great Cardinal Bellermine, the last Goliah of the Romish Philistines: *Ecclesia ex Intentione Fideles tantum Colligit, et si nosset Impios et incredulos, eos aut nunquam admitteret, aut casu Admissos Excluderet:* "The church" (he says) "*intentionally* gathers only *true believers*, and if she knew who were *wicked* and *faithless*, either she would not admit them at all, or, if they were *accidentally* admitted, she would exclude them." Our Davenport, conceiving it a shame that any Protestant should *protest* for less *church purity* than what the confessions of a learned Papist allowed, ere he was aware, to be contended for, did now at New-Haven make *church purity* to be one of his greatest concernments and endeavours. It was his declared principle, that more is required of men, in order to their being members of an *instituted*

church, than that they profess the Christian *faith*, and ask the *visible seals* of the covenant in the fellowship of the church; all which may be done by persons notoriously scandalous in their lives, from whom the command is, "turn away;" but only such persons may be received as members of a *particular* church, who (according to Matt. xvi. 18, 19,) make such a publick profession of their *faith*, as the church may, in charitable discretion, judge has blessedness annexed unto it, and such as flech and blood hath not revealed. In pursuance of this principle, he was, like his dear friend, that great man, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, perswaded, "that (as he speaks) there are many rules in the word, whereby it is meet for us to judge who are saints; by which rules those who are betrusted to receive men unto ordinances in churches, are to be guided, and so to separate between the precious and the unclean, as the priests of old were enabled and commanded by ceremonial differences, which God then made to typifie the like discrimination of persons." And, therefore, making the marks of a repenting and a believing *soul*, given in the word of God, the rules of his tryals, he used a more than ordinary exactness in trying those that were admitted unto the communion of the church: indeed, so very thoroughly, and, I had almost said, severely strict, were the terms of his communion, and so much, I had well nigh said, overmuch, were the golden snuffers of the sanctuary employed by him in his exercise of discipline towards those that were admitted, that he did all that was possible to render the renowned church of New-Haven like the New-Jerusalem; and yet, after all, the Lord gave him to see that in this world it was impossible to see a *church state*, whereinto there "enters nothing which defiles." This great man hath himself, in one of his own treatises, observed it: "The officers and brethren of the church are but men, who judge by the outward appearance. Therefore their judgment is fallible, and hath deceived; as we see in the judgment of the apostles, and the church at Jerusalem, concerning Ananias and Sapphira; and in that of Philip and the church in Samaria, concerning Simon Magus. Their duty is to proceed as far as men may, by rule, with due moderation and gentleness, to try them who offer themselves to fellowship, whether they be believers or not; refusing known hypocrites: though when they have done all they can, close hypocrites will creep in." And now I might entertain my reader, I hope, with a profitable, I am sure with a very prodigious history: I will on this occasion relate most "horrible things done in the land;" which this good man saw, to confirm his own observation: but I will take a fitter occasion for it.

§ 11. After this, the remaining days of this eminent person were worn away under the unhappy temptations of a wilderness. It so happened that the most part of the first church in Boston, the metropolis of the colony, out of respect unto his vast abilities, had applied themselves unto him, to succeed those famous lights, Cotton, and Norton, and Wilson, who having from that "golden candlestick" illuminated the whole country, were now gone to shine in an higher orb. His removal from New-Haven

was clogged with many temptatious difficulties: (for, *Miraculi instar, vitæ Iter si longum, sine Offensione Percurrere:**) but he broke through them all, in expectation to do what he judged would be a more comprehensive service unto the churches of New-England, than could have been done by him in his now undistinguished colony. On this occasion, if I should mention that lamentable observation of old Epiphanius, who says, "I have known some confessors, who delivered up their body and their spirit for the Lord, and, persevering in confession and charity, obtained great proof of the sincerity of their faith, and excelled in piety, humanity, and religion, and were continual in fastings, and in a word, flourished in vertue: and these very men were blemished with some vice, as either they were prone to reproach men, or would swear profanely, or were over talkative, or were prone to anger, or got gold and silver, or were defiled with some such filth: which nevertheless detract not from the just praises of their vertue."— I must add upon it, that Mr. Davenport was a confessor flourishing in vertue, upon whom they that, upon the score of his removal, were most of all dissatisfied at him, would not yet charge those unhappy blemishes: and if any good men, in the *sifting times*, did count him either too straight, or too high, in some of his apprehensions; nevertheless, these things also detract not from the just praises of his vertue.

§ 12. So rich a treasure of the best gifts as was in our Davenport, was well worth coveting by the considerablest church of the land. He was a most incomparable preacher, and a man of more than ordinary accomplishments; a prince of preachers, and worthy to have been a preacher to princes: he had been acquainted with great men, and great things, and was great himself, and had a great fame abroad in the world; yea, now he was grown old, like Moses his "force was not abated." And the character which I remember that old pagan historian, Diodorus the Sicilian, gave of our Moses, every body was ready to give of our Davenport, "He was a man of a great soul, and very powerful in his life." But his removal did seem too much to verifie an observation, by the famous Dr. Tuckney thus expressed; "It is ill transplanting a tree that thrives in the soil;" for accepting the call of Boston-Church, in the year 1667, that church, and the world, must enjoy him no longer than till the year 1670: when on March 15, aged seventy two years, he was by apoplexy fetched away to that glorious world, where the spirits of Cotton and Davenport are together in heaven, as their bodies are now in one tomb on earth.

§ 13. His constant and various employments otherwise, would not permit him to leave many printed effects of his judicious industry, besides those few already mentioned: although he were so close and bent a student, that the rude Pagans themselves took much notice of it, and the Indian salvages in the neigbourhood would call him, "So big study man." Only there is in the hands of the faithful a savoury treatise of his, entituled, "*The Saints' Anchor-Hold;*" in the preface whereof, a *Duumvirate* of renowned

* It would be a miracle if one should make so long a journey of life without encountering some stumbling-stone.

men; to wit, Mr. Hook, and Mr. Caryl, give this attestation: "As touching the author of this Treatise, in whose heart the text was written by the finger of God, before the discourse was penned by his own hand; his piety, learning, gravity, experience, judgment, do not more commend him to all that know him, than this work of his may commend it self to them that read it." The *Christian faith* has also been solidly and learnedly maintained by him, in a discourse long since published, for the "demonstration of our blessed Jesus, to be the true Messias." Nor would I forget a sermon of his on 2 Sam. xxiii. 3, at the anniversary court of election at Boston, 1669, afterwards published. Among the many which he hath prefixed unto the books of other authors, I know not whether his excellent epistle before Mr. Scudder's "*Daily-walk*," may not, for the worth of it, be reckoned it self a *book*, as the *book* it self was the directory of his own *daily walk*. Moreover, there is published a treatise of his under this title, "*The Power of Congregational Churches;*" in the preface whereof Mr. Nathanael Mather, (at this time the worthy and well-known Pastor of such a church in the city of London,) has these very significant expressions concerning him: "Certain it is, the principles held forth in this treatise cost the reverend author not only many sufferings, but also many, very many sad searchings, and much reading and study, on set purpose, accompanied with manifold prayers and cries to the Father of Lights, for light therein. After all which, he was more confirmed in them, and attained to such comfortable clearness therein, as bore him up with much inward peace and satisfaction, under all his afflictions, on the account of his perswasion in these points. And so perswaded, lived, and so died this grave and serious spirited man." There is likewise published, "*A Discourse about Civil Government, in a New Plantation, whose design is Religion:*" in the title page whereof the name of Mr. Cotton is, by a mistake, put for that of Mr. Davenport. And there was lately transcribed for the press, from his notes, a large volume of accurate and elaborate sermons, on the whole book of Canticles. But the *death* of the gentleman chiefly concerned in the intended impression, proved the *death* of the impression it self.

§ 14. To conclude: there will be but an unjust account given of the things preached and written by this reverend man, if we do not mention one singular favour of Heaven unto him. It is well known that, in the earliest of the primitive times, the faithful did, in a literal sense, believe the "second coming" of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the *rising* and *reigning* of the saints with him, a thousand years before the "rest of the dead live again;" a doctrine which, however, some of later years have counted it *heretical;* yet, in the days of Irenæus, was questioned by none but such as were counted hereticks. 'Tis evident, from Justin Martyr, that this doctrine of the *Chiliad* was in his days embraced among all *orthodox* Christians; nor did this *kingdom* of our Lord begin to be doubted until the kingdom of antichrist began to advance into a considerable figure; and then it fell chiefly under the reproaches of such men as were fain to deny

the divine authority of the book of Revelation, and of the second Epistle of Peter. He is a stranger to antiquity who does not find and own the ancients generally of the perswasion, which is excellently summed up in those words of Lactantius: *Veniet Summi et maximi Dei Filius. Verum ille, cum deleverit injustitiam, Judiciumque maximum fecerit, ac Justos, qui a Principio fuerunt, ad vitam Restauraverit, Mille Annos inter Homines Versabitur, eosque Justissimo Imperio reget.** Nevertheless, at last men came, not only to lay aside the modesty expressed, by one of the first considerable Anti-Millenaries—namely, Jerom—when he said, *Quæ licet non sequamur, tamen condemnare non possumus, eo quod multi Virorum Ecclesiasticorum et Martyrum, ista dixerint;*† but also with violence to persecute the *millenary truth* as an *heretical pravity.* So the *mystery* of our Lord's "appearing in his kingdom," lay buried in Popish darkness, till the light thereof had a fresh *dawn*, since the antichrist entred into the last *half time* of the *period* allotted for him; and now, within the last few sevens of years, as things grow nearer to accomplishment, learned and pious men, in great numbers every where, come to receive, explain, and maintain the *old faith* about it. But here was the special favour of Heaven to our Davenport, that so many years ago, when in both Englands the true notion of the Chiliad was hardly apprehended by as many divines of note as there are mouths of Nilus, yet this worthy man clearly saw into it, and both preached and wrote those very things about the *future state*, and *coming* of the Lord, the *calling* of the Jews, and the first and second *resurrection* of the dead, which do now of late years get more ground against the opposition of the *otherwise minded*, and find a kinder entertainment among them that "search the Scriptures:" and whereof he afterwards, when he was an *old man*, gave the world a little taste, in a judicious preface before a most learned and nervous treatise, composed by one that was then a *young man*, about "the mystery of the salvation of Israel." Even, then, so long ago it was, that he asserted, "A personal, visible, powerful, and glorious coming of the Lord Jesus Christ unto *judgment*, long before the end of the world."

But thus we take our leave of this renowned man, and leave him resting in hope to *stand in his lot* at that end.

EPITAPHIUM.

JOHANNES DAVENPORTUS:

In Portum Delatus.
Vivus, Nov-Angliæ, *ac* Ecclesiæ *Ornamentum*,
ET
Mortuus, Utriusque Triste Desiderium.‡

* The Son of the Most High and Mighty shall come. And He, when he shall have overcome injustice, and established universal righteousness, and shall have raised up from the dead all the saints who have existed from the beginning of the world, shall dwell in person among men for a thousand years, and shall govern them with most righteous sway.

† Though we may not cordially assent to all these doctrines, we cannot condemn them, for they have been affirmed by many of the heroes and martyrs of the Church.

‡ EPITAPH.—JOHN DAVENPORT: Safely in port. In life, the ornament of New-England and the Church: dead, the object of their common regret.

APPENDIX.

THE LIGHT OF THE WESTERN CHURCHES;

OR, THE LIFE OF MR. THOMAS HOOKER,

THE RENOWNED PASTOR OF HARTFORD CHURCH, AND PILLAR OF CONNECTICUT COLONY,

IN NEW-ENGLAND.

ESSAYED BY COTTON MATHER.

Quod si digna Tua minus est mea Pagina Laude,
*At voluisse sat est.**

TO THE CHURCHES IN THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT:

ALTHOUGH the providence of Heaven, whereby the *bounds of people are set*, hath carried you so far westward, that some have pleasantly said, "the last conflict with antichrist must be in your colony;" yet, I believe, you do not reckon your selves removed beyond the reach of *temptation* and *corruption*. 'Tis a great work that you have done, for our Lord Jesus Christ, in forming a colony of evangelical churches for him, where Satan alone had reigned without controul in all former ages; but your incomparable HOOKER, who was one of the greatest in the foundation of that work, was in his day well aware that Satan would make all the haste he could, unhappily to get all buried in the degeneracies of ignorance, worldliness, and profanity. To advise you of your dangers, and uphold the *life* of *religion* among you, I presume humbly to lay before you the life of that excellent man, who, for learning, wisdom, and religion, was a pattern well worthy of perpetual consideration. Having served my own province with the history of no less than four famous Johns, all fetched from one church, I was, for certain special causes, unwilling to have it complained, as once it was of the disciples, "Thomas was not with them:" wherefore I was willing to make this appendix unto that history, confessing that through want of information I have underdone in this, more than in any part of the composure; yet so done, that I hope the good hand of the Lord, whom I have designed therein to glorifie, will make what is done to be neither unacceptable nor unprofitable unto his people.

COTTON MATHER.

Φωστης των 'Εκκλησιῶν ἑσπεριων.† THE LIFE OF MR. THOMAS HOOKER.

§ 1. When Toxaris met with his countryman Anacharsis in Athens, he gave him this invitation, "Come along with me, and I will shew thee at once all the wonders of Greece:" whereupon he shewed him Solon, as the person in whom there centered all the glories of that city or country. I shall now invite my reader to behold at once the "wonders" of New-England, and it is in one Thomas Hooker that he shall behold them: even in

* Worthy of thee my praise may never be:
I would it were!—let that suffice for me.

† The lamp of the Western Churches.

that Hooker, whom a worthy writer would needs call "Saint Hooker," for the same *reason*, (he said) and with the same *freedom* that Latimer would speak of Saint Bilney, in his commemorations. 'Tis that Hooker, of whom I may venture to say, that the famous Romanist, who wrote a book, *De Tribus Thomis;* or, *Of Three Thomas's*—meaning Thomas the Apostle, Thomas Becket, and Sir Thomas More—did not a thousandth part so well sort his Thomas's, as a New-Englander might, if he should write a book, *De Duobus Thomis:* or *Of Two Thomas's;* and with Thomas the Apostle, joyn our celebrious Thomas Hooker: my *one* Thomas, even our apostolical Hooker, would in just balances weigh down two of Stapelton's rebellious Archbishops or bigoted Lord Chancellors. 'Tis he whom I may call, as Theodoret called Irenæus, "The light of the western churches."

§ 2. This our Hooker was born at Marfield, in Leicestershire, about the year 1586, of parents that were neither unable nor unwilling to bestow upon him a liberal education; whereto the early and lively sparkles of wit observed in him did very much encourage them. His natural temper was cheerful and courteous; but it was accompanied with such a sensible *grandeur of mind*, as caused his friends, without the help of astrology, to prognosticate that he was born to be *considerable*. The influence which he had upon the reformation of some growing abuses, when he was one of the proctors in the university, was a thing that more eminently signalized him, when his more publick appearance in the world was coming on: which was attended with an advancement unto a *fellowship* in Emanuel Colledge, in Cambridge; the students whereof were originally designed for the study of *divinity*.

§ 3. With what ability and fidelity he acquitted himself in his *fellowship*, it was a thing sensible unto the whole university. And it was while he was in this employment that the more effectual *grace* of God gave him the experience of a true *regeneration*. It pleased the *spirit* of God very powerfully to break into the soul of this person with such a sense of his being exposed unto the just *wrath* of Heaven, as filled him with most unusual degrees of horror and anguish, which broke not only his *rest*, but his *heart* also, and caused him to cry out, "While I suffer thy terrors, O Lord, I am distracted!" While he long had a soul harassed with such distresses, he had a singular help in the prudent and piteous carriage of Mr. Ash, who was the Sizer that then waited upon him; and attended him with such discreet and proper compassions, as made him afterwards to respect him highly all his days. He afterwards gave this account of himself, "That in the time of his agonies, he could reason himself to the rule, and conclude that there was no way but submission to God, and lying at the foot of his mercy in Christ Jesus, and waiting humbly there, till he should please to perswade the soul of his favour: nevertheless, when he came to apply this rule unto himself in his own condition, his reasoning would fail him, he was able to do nothing." Having been a considerable while thus

troubled with such impressions for the "spirit of bondage," as were to fit him for the great services and enjoyments which God intended him, at length he received the "spirit of adoption," with well-grounded perswasions of his interest in the new covenant. It became his manner, at his lying down for sleep in the evening, to single out some certain *promise* of God, which he would repeat and ponder, and keep his heart close unto it, until he found that satisfaction of soul wherewith he could say, "I will lay me down in peace, and sleep; for thou, O Lord, makest me dwell in assurance." And he would afterwards counsel others to take the same course; telling them, "That the promise was the boat which was to carry a perishing sinner over unto the Lord Jesus Christ.

§ 4. Mr. Hooker being now well got through the *storm* of soul, which had helped him unto a most *experimental acquaintance* with the truths of the gospel, and the way of employing and applying those truths, he was willing to serve the Church of God in the ministry, whereto he was devoted. At his first leaving of the university, he sojourned in the house of Mr. Drake, a gentleman of great note, not far from London; whose worthy consort being visited with such distresses of soul as Mr. Hooker himself had passed through, it proved an unspeakable advantage unto both of them that he had that opportunity of being serviceable; for indeed he now had no *superiour*, and scarce any *equal*, for the skill of treating a troubled soul. When he left Mr. Drake's family, he did more publickly and frequently preach about London; and in a little time he grew famous for his ministerial abilities, but especially for his notable faculty at the wise and fit management of *wounded spirits*. However, he was not ambitious to exercise his ministry among the great ones of the world, from whom the most of preferment might be expected; but in this, imitating the example and character of our blessed Saviour, of whom 'tis noted that, according to the prophesie of Isaiah, by him, "The poor had the gospel preached unto them;" he chose to be where great numbers of *the poor* might receive the gospel from him.

§ 5. About this time it was that Mr. Hooker grew into a most intimate acquaintance with Mr. Rogers of Dedham; who so highly valued him for his multifarious abilities, that he used and gained many endeavours to get him settled at Colchester; whereto Mr. Hooker did very much incline, because of its being so near to Dedham, where he might enjoy the *labours* and *lectures* of Mr. Rogers, whom he would sometimes call, "The prince of all the preachers in England." But the providence of God gave an obstruction to that settlement; and, indeed, it was an observation which Mr. Hooker would sometimes afterwards use unto his friends, "That the providence of God often diverted him from employment in such places as he himself desired, and still directed him to such places as he had no thoughts of." Accordingly, Chelmsford in Essex, a town of great concourse, wanting one to "break the bread of life" unto them, and hearing

the fame of Mr. Hooker's powerful ministry, addressed him to become their lecturer; and he accepted their offer about the year 1626, becoming not only their lecturer, but also on the Lord's days an assistant unto one Mr. Mitchel, the incumbent of the place, who, though he were a *smaller*, yet being a *godly* person, gladly encouraged Mr. Hooker, and lived with him in a most comfortable amity.

§ 6. Here his lecture was exceedingly frequented, and proportionably succeeded; and the light of his ministry shone through the whole county of Essex. There was a rare mixture of *pleasure* and *profit* in his preaching; and his hearers felt those penetrating impressions of his ministry upon their souls which caused them to reverence him, as "a teacher sent from God." He had a most excellent faculty at the applications of his doctrine; and he would therein so touch the *consciences* of his auditors, that a judicious person would say of him, "He was the best at an use that ever he heard." Hereby there was a great reformation wrought, not only in the town, but in the adjacent country, from all parts whereof they came to "hear the wisdom of the Lord Jesus Christ," in his gospel, by this worthy man dispensed: and some of great quality among the rest, would often resort from far to his assembly; particularly the truly noble Earl of Warwick, whose countenance of good ministers procured more prayers to God for him than most noble-men in England.

When he first set up his lecture, there was more *profaneness* than *devotion* in the town; and the multitude of inns and shops in the town produced one particular disorder, of people's filling the streets with unsuitable behaviour, after the publick services of the Lord's day were over. But by the power of his ministry in publick, and by the prudence of his carriage in private, he quickly cleared the streets of this disorder, and the Sabbath came to be very visibly sanctified among the people.

§ 7. The joy of the people in this light was "but for a season." The conscientious non-conformity of Mr. Hooker to some rites of the church of England, then vigorously pressed, especially upon such able and useful ministers as were most likely to be laid aside by their scrupling of those rites, made it necessary for him to lay down his ministry in Chelmsford, when he had been about four years there employed in it. Hereupon, at the request of several eminent persons, he kept a school in *his own hired house*, having one Mr. John Eliot for his usher, at little Baddow, not far from Chelmsford; where he managed his charge with such discretion, with such authority, and such efficacy, that, able to do more with a word or a look than most other men could have done by a severer discipline, he did very great service to the church of God, in the education of such as afterwards proved themselves not a little serviceable. I have in my hands a manuscript, written by the hands of our blessed Eliot, wherein he gives a very great account of the little academy then maintained in the house of Mr. Hooker; and, among other things, he says:

"To this place I was called, through the infinite riches of God's mercy in Christ Jesus to my poor soul: for here the Lord said unto my dead soul, *live;* and through the grace of Christ, I do live, and I shall live for ever! When I came to this blessed family I then saw, and never before, the power of godliness in its lively vigour and efficacy."

§ 8. While he continued thus in the heart of Essex, and in the hearts of the people there, he signalized his usefulness in many other instances.

The godly ministers round about the country would have recourse unto him, to be directed and resolved in their *difficult cases;* and it was by his means that those godly ministers held their *monthly meetings*, for *fasting* and *prayer*, and profitable *conferences.* 'Twas the effect of his *consultations*, also, that such godly ministers came to be here and there settled in several parts of the country; and many others came to be better established in some great points of Christianity, by being in his neighbourhood and acquaintance. He was indeed a general blessing to the church of God! But that which hindred his taking his degree of *Batchellor in Divinity*, must also, it seems, hinder his being a *preacher* of Divinity; namely, his being a *non-conformist* unto some things, whereof true divinity could not approve. And indeed that which made the silencing of Mr. Hooker more unaccountable, was, that no less than seven-and-forty conformable ministers of the neighbouring towns, understanding that the Bishop of London pretended Mr. Hooker's ministry to be injurious or offensive to them, subscribed a petition to the Bishop for his continuance in the ministry at Chelmsford; in which petition, though he was of a perswasion so different from them, yet they testifie, in so many words, "That they esteem and know the said Mr. Thomas Hooker to be for doctrine, orthodox; for life and conversation, honest; for disposition, peaceable, and in no wise turbulent or factious." And yet all would not avail: *Bonus vir* Hookerus, *sed ideo malus, quia Puritanus.**

§ 9. The ground-work of his knowledge and study of the arts, was in the *tables* of Mr. Alexander Richardson, whom he closely followed, admiring him for a man of transcendent ability, and a most exalted piety; and would say of him, "That he was a master of so much understanding, that, like the great army of Gideon, he was too many to be employed in doing what was to be done for the church of God." This most eminent Richardson leaving the university, lived a private life in Essex, whither many students in Cambridge resorted unto him, to be illuminated in the abstruser parts of learning; and from him it was that the incomparable Doctor Ames imbibed those principles, both in *philosophy* and in *divinity*, which afterwards not only gave clearer methods and measures to all the liberal arts, but also fed the whole church of God with the choicest *marrow.* Nevertheless, this excellent man, as he lived, so he died in a most retired obscurity; but so far as a *metempsychosis* was attainable, the

* Hooker is a good man, but, in being a Puritan, is a bad man.

soul of him—I mean the notions, the accomplishments, the dispositions of that great soul—transmigrated into our most *Richardsonian Hooker.*

§ 10. As his *person* was thus adorned with a well-grounded learning, so his *preaching* was notably set off with a *liveliness* extraordinary: insomuch that I cannot give a *fuller*, and yet *briefer* description of him, than that which I find given of Bucholtzer, that pattern of *preachers*, before him: *Vivida in eo omnia fuerunt, vivida vox, vividi oculi, vividæ manus, gestus omnes vividi:** he *was* all that he was, and he *did* all that he did, *unto the life!* He not only had that which Quintilian calls, "A natural moveableness of soul," whereby the distinct *images* of things would come so *nimbly,* and yet so *fitly* into his mind, that he could utter them with fluent expressions, as the old orators would usually ascribe unto a *special assistance* of Heaven, [*Deum tunc Adfuisse, veteres Oratores aiebant*]† and counted that men did therein THEIOS LEGEIN, or *speak divinely;* but the rise of this fluency in him, was the *divine relish* which he had of the things to be spoken, the *sacred panting* of his holy soul after the glorious objects of the invisible world, and the true *zeal* of *religion* giving *fire* to his discourses. Whence, though the *ready* and *noisy* performances of many preachers, when they are, as Plato speaks, THEATROU MESTOI, or *full of the theatre,* acting to the height in the publick for their applause, may be ascribed unto very *mechanical principles;* yet the *vigour* in the ministry of our Hooker, being raised by a "coal from the altar" of a most real devotion, touching his *heart,* it would be a wrong unto the good Spirit of our God, if he should not be acknowledged the author of it. That Spirit accordingly gave a wonderful and unusual success unto the ministry wherein he *breathed* so remarkably. Of that *success* there were many instances; but one particularly I find mentioned in Clark's examples, to this purpose: A profane person, designing therein only an ungodly diversion and merriment, said unto his companions, "Come, let us go hear what that bawling Hooker will say to us;" and thereupon, with an intention to make sport, unto Chelmsford lecture they came. The man had not been long in the church, before the *quick and powerful word* of God, in the mouth of his faithful Hooker, pierced the soul of him; he came out with an awakened and a distressed soul, and by the further blessing of God upon Mr. Hooker's ministry, he arrived unto a true *conversion;* for which cause he would not afterwards leave that blessed ministry, but went a *thousand leagues* to attend it and enjoy it. Another memorable thing of this kind, was this: it was Mr. Hooker's manner once a year to visit his native county; and in one of those visits, he had an invitation to preach in the great church of Leicester. One of the chief burgesses in the town much opposed his preaching there; and when he could not prevail to hinder

* In him every thing was full of life: there was life in his voice, in his eye, in his hand, in his motions.

† "The Deity animated him," the ancient orators were wont to say.

it, he set certain *fidlers* at work to disturb him in the church-porch or church-yard. But such was the vivacity of Mr. Hooker, as to proceed in what he was about, without either the damping of his mind, or the drowning of his *voice;* whereupon the man himself went unto the church-door to over-hear what he said. It pleased God so to accompany some words uttered by Mr. Hooker, as thereby to procure, first the *attention* and then the *conviction* of that wretched man; who then came to Mr. Hooker with a penitent confession of his wickedness, and became indeed so penitent a convert, as to be at length a sincere *professor* and *practiser* of the godliness whereof he had been a *persecutor.*

§ 11. The *spiritual court* sitting at Chelmsford, about the year 1630, had not only silenced Mr. Hooker, but also bound him over in a bond of fifty pound to appear before the *high commission*, which he could not now attend, because of an ague then upon him. One of his hearers—namely, Mr. Nash, a very honest yeoman, that rented a great farm of the Earl of Warwick at Much-Waltham—was bound in that sum for his appearance; but as Paul was advised by his friends that he would not venture into the theatre at Ephesus, thus Mr. Hooker's friends advised him to forfeit his bonds, rather than to throw him self any further into the hands of his enemies. Wherefore, when the day for his appearance came, his honest surety being reimbursed by several good people in and near Chelmsford, sent in the forfeited sum into the court; and Mr. Hooker having, by the Earl of Warwick, a courteous and private recess provided for his family at a place called Old Park, for which I find the thanks of Dr. Hill afterwards publickly given in his dedication of Mr. Fenner's treatise about *impenitency*, he went over to Holland. In his passage thither, he quickly had occasion to discover himself, when they were in eminent hazard of shipwreck upon a shelf of sand, whereon they ran in the night; but Mr. Hooker, like Paul, with a remarkable confidence, assured them that they should be preserved; and they had as remarkable a deliverance. I have also heard that when he fled from the pursevants, to take his passage for the Low-Countries, at his last parting with some of his friends, one of them said, "Sir, what if the wind should not be fair, when you come to the vessel?" Whereto he instantly replied, "Brother, let us leave that with Him who keeps the wind in the hollow of his hand:" and it was observed that, although the wind was cross until he came aboard, yet it immediately then came about fair and fresh, and he was no sooner under sail, but the officer arrived at the sea-side, happily too late now to come at him; which minds me of what befel Dr. Goodwin, not long after. That great man lay wind-bound in hourly suspicions that the pursevants would stop his voyage, and seize his person before the wind would favour his getting away for Holland. In this distress, humbly praying to the Lord Jesus Christ for a more propitious wind, he yet said, "Lord, if thou hast at this time, any poor servant of thine that wants this wind more than I do another, I do not ask for the changing of it; I sub-

mit unto it." And immediately the wind came about unto the right point, and carried him clear from his pursuers.

§ 12. Arriving in Holland, he was invited unto a settlement with old Mr. Paget; but the old man being secretly willing that Mr. Hooker should not accept of this invitation, he contrived many ways to render him suspected unto the *classis* on a suspicion that he favoured the Brownists; unto whom he had, indeed, an extream aversion. The misunderstandings operated so far as to occasion Mr. Hooker's removal from Amsterdam; notwithstanding he had so fully expressed himself when, in his answer to one of Mr. Paget's questions, he declared in these words, "To separate from the faithful assemblies and churches in England, as no churches, is an error in judgment, and sin in practice, held and maintained by the Brownists; and therefore to communicate with them in their opinion or practice is sinful and utterly unlawful; and care should be taken to prevent offence, either by encouraging them in their way, or by drawing others to a further approbation of that way than is meet." Going from Amsterdam, he went unto Delft; where he was most kindly received by Mr. Forbs, an aged and holy Scotch minister, under whose ministry many English merchants were then settled. The text whereon he first preached at his coming thither, was Phil. i. 29, "To you it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer;" and after that sermon Mr. Forbs manifested a strong desire to enjoy the fellowship of Mr. Hooker in the work of the gospel; which he did for about the space of two years; in all which time they lived so like brethren, that an observer might say of them, as they said of Basil and Nazianzen, "They were but one soul in two bodies;" and if they had been for any little while asunder, they still met with such friendly and joyful congratulations, as testified a most affectionate satisfaction in each other's company.

§ 13. At the end of two years, he had a call to Rotterdam; which he the more heartily and readily accepted, because it renewed his acquaintance with his invaluable Dr. Ames, who had newly left his place in the Frisian University. With him he spent the residue of his time in Holland, and assisted him in composing some of his discourses, which are, "*His Fresh Suit against the Ceremonies*:" for such was the regard which Dr. Ames had for him, that notwithstanding his vast ability and experience, yet, when it came to the *narrow* of any question about the *instituted worship of God*, he would still profess himself conquered by Mr. Hooker's reason; declaring that, "though he had been acquainted with many scholars of divers nations, yet he never met with Mr. Hooker's equal, either for preaching or for disputing." And such was the regard which, on the other side, he had for Dr. Ames, that he would say, "If a scholar was but well studied in Dr. Ames his *Medulla Theologiæ*,* and *Casus Conscientiæ*,† so as to understand them thoroughly, they would make him (supposing him versed in the Scriptures) a *good divine*, though he had no more books in the

* Marrow of Theology. † Cases of Conscience.

world." But having tarried in Holland long enough to see the state of religion in the churches there, he became satisfied that it was neither eligible for *him* to tarry in that country, nor convenient for *his friends* to be invited thither after him. I have at this time in my hands his letter from Rotterdam to Mr. Cotton, wherein are these words:

"The state of these provinces, to my weak eye, seems wonderfully ticklish and miserable. For the better part, heart religion, they content themselves with very forms, though much blemished; but the power of godliness, for ought I can see or hear, they know not; and if it were thoroughly pressed, I fear least it will be fiercely opposed. My ague yet holds me; the ways of God's providence, wherein he has walked towards me, in this long time of my sickness, and wherein I have drawn forth many wearyish hours, under his Almighty hand (blessed be his name) together with pursuits and banishment, which have waited upon me, as one wave follows another, have driven me to an amazement: his paths being too secret and past finding out by such an ignorant, worthless worm as my self. I have looked over my heart, and life, according to my measure; aimed and guessed as well as I could: and entreated his Majesty to make known his mind, wherein I missed; and yet methinks I cannot spell out readily the purpose of his proceedings; which I confess have been wonderful in miseries, and more than wonderful in mercies to me and mine."

Wherefore, about this time, understanding that many of his friends in Essex were upon the *wing* for a *wilderness* in America, where they hoped for an opportunity to enjoy and practise the *pure worship* of the Lord Jesus Christ, in churches gathered according to his direction, he readily answered their invitation to accompany them in this undertaking. Dr. Ames had a design to follow Mr. Hooker; but he died soon after Mr. Hooker's removal from Rotterdam. However, his widow and children afterwards came to New-England; where, having her house burnt, and being reduced unto much poverty and affliction, the charitable heart of Mr. Hooker (and others that joined with him) upon advice thereof, comfortably provided for them.

§.14. Returning into England in order to a further voyage, he was quickly scented by the pursevants, who at length got so far up with him as to knock at the door of that very chamber where he was now discoursing with Mr. Stone, who was now become his designed companion and assistant for the New-English enterprize. Mr. Stone was at that instant smoking of *tobacco*, for which Mr. Hooker had been reproving him, as being then used by few persons of sobriety; being also of a sudden and pleasant wit, he stept unto the door, with his pipe in his mouth, and such an air of speech and look, as gave him some credit with the officer. The officer demanded, Whether Mr. Hooker were not there? Mr. Stone replied with a braving sort of confidence, "What Hooker? Do you mean Hooker that lived once at Chelmsford!" The officer answered, "Yes, he!" Mr. Stone immediately, with a diversion like that which once helped Athanasius, made this true answer, "If it be he you look for, I saw him about an hour ago, at such an house in the town; you had best hasten thither after him." The officer took this for a sufficient account, and went his

way; but Mr. Hooker, upon this intimation, concealed himself more carefully and securely, till he went on board at the Downs, in the year 1633, the ship which brought him, and Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Stone to New-England: where none but Mr. Stone was owned for a preacher, at their first coming aboard; the other two delaying to take their turns in the publick worship of the ship, till they were got so far into the main ocean, that they might with safety discover who they were.

§ 15. Amongst Mr. Fenner's works, I find some imperfect and shattered, and I believe, injurious notes of a farewel sermon upon Jer. xiv. 9, "We are called by thy name, leave us not:" which *farewel sermon* was indeed Mr. Hooker's, at his leaving of England. There are in those *fragments* of a sermon, some very *pathetical* and most *prophetical* passages, where some are these:

"It is not gold and prosperity which makes God to be our God; there is more gold in the West-Indies than there is in all Christendom; but it is God's ordinances in the vertue of them, that show the presence of God."

Again, "Is not England ripe? Is she not weary of God? Nay, she is fed fat for the slaughter."

Once more, "England hath seen her best days, and now evil days are befalling us."

"And, thou, England, which hast been lifted up to heaven with means, shall be abased and brought down to hell; for if the mighty works which have been done in thee, had been done in India or Turkey, they would have repented ere this."

These passages I quote, that I may the more effectually describe the apprehensions with which this worthy man took his *farewel* of his native country.

But there is one strange passage in that sermon, that I know not what well to *think* of; and yet it is to be *thought* of. I remember, 'tis a passage in the life of the reverend old Blackerby, who died in the year 1648, "That he would often say it was very probable the English nation would be sorely punished by the French: and that he believed Popery would come in, but it would not last, nor could it recover its former strength." The notable fulfilment which that passage hath seen, would carry one to consider the unaccountable words which our Hooker uttered in his *farewel sermon*. 'Tis very likely that the scribe has all along wronged the sermon; but the words now referred unto, are of this purport, "That it had been told him from God, that God will destroy England, and lay it waste; and that the people should be put unto the sword, and the temples burnt, and many houses laid in ashes." Long after this, when he lived at Hartford in New-England, his friends that heard that sermon, having the news of the miseries upon England, by the civil wars, brought unto them, enquired of him, "Whether this were not the time of God's destroying England, whereof he had spoken?" He replied, "No; this is not the time; there will be a time of respite after these wars, and a time wherein God will further try England; and England will further sin against him, and shew an

antipathy against the government of the Lord Jesus Christ in his church; his royal power in the governing thereof will be denied and rejected. There will therefore a time come, when the Lord Jesus Christ will plead his own, and his own cause, and the cause of them who have suffered for their fidelity to her institutions: he will plead it in a more dreadful way, and break the nation of England in pieces, like a potter's vessel. Then a man shall be precious as the gold of Ophir; but a small remnant shall be left: and afterward God will raise up churches to himself, after his own heart, in his own time and way." God knows what there may be in this prediction.

§ 16. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton were, for their different genius, the *Luther* and *Melancthon* of New-England; at their arrival unto which country, Mr. Cotton settled with the church of Boston, but Mr. Hooker with the church of New-Town, having Mr. Stone for his assistant. Inexpressible now was the joy of Mr. Hooker, to find himself surrounded with his friends, who were come over the year before, to prepare for his reception; with open arms he embraced them, and uttered these words, "Now I live, if you stand fast in the Lord." But such multitudes flocked over to New-England after them, that the plantation of New-Town became too straight for them; and it was Mr. Hooker's advice that they should not incur the danger of a Sitna, or an Esek, where they might have a Rehoboth. Accordingly, in the month of June, 1636, they removed an hundred miles to the westward, with a purpose to settle upon the delightful banks of Connecticut River: and there were about an hundred persons in the first company that made this removal; who not being able to walk above ten miles a day, took up near a fortnight in the journey; having no pillows to take their nightly rest upon, but such as their father Jacob found in the way to Padan-Aram. Here Mr. Hooker was the chief instrument of beginning another colony, as Mr. Cotton, whom he left behind him, was of preserving and perfecting that colony where he left him; for, indeed, each of them were the oracle of their several colonies.

§ 17. Though Mr. Hooker had thus removed from the Massachuset-bay, yet he sometimes came down to visit the churches in that bay: but when ever he came, he was received with an affection like that which Paul found among the Galatians; yea, 'tis thought that once there seemed some intimation from Heaven, as if the good people had overdone in that affection: for on May 26, 1639, Mr. Hooker being here to preach that Lord's day in the afternoon, his great fame had gathered a vast multitude of hearers from several other congregations, and, among the rest, the governour himself, to be made partaker of his ministry. But when he came to preach, he found himself so unaccountably at a loss, that after some shattered and broken attempts to proceed, he made a full stop; saying to the assembly, "That every thing which he would have spoken, was taken both out of his mouth and out of his mind also:" wherefore he desired them to sing a

psalm, while he withdrew about half an hour from them: returning then to the congregation, he preached a most admirable sermon, wherein he held them for two hours together in an extraordinary strain both of pertinency and vivacity.

After sermon, when some of his friends were speaking of the Lord's thus withdrawing his assistance from him, he humbly replied, "We daily confess that we have nothing, and can do nothing, without Christ; and what if Christ will make this manifest in us, and on us, before our congregations? What remains, but that we be humbly contented? and what manner of discouragement is there in all of this?" Thus content was he to be nullified, that the Lord might be magnified!

§ 18. Mr. Hooker, that had been born to serve many, and was of such a publick spirit that I find him occasionally celebrated in the life of Mr. Angier, lately published, for one who would be continually inquisitive how it fared with the church of God, both at home and abroad, on purpose that he might order his prayers and cares accordingly: [which, by the way, makes me think on Mr. Firmin's words: "I look on it (saith he) as an act of a grown Christian, whose interest in Christ is well cleared, and his heart walking close with God, to be really taken up with the publick interest of Christ."] He never took his opportunity to serve himself, but lived a sort of exile all his days, except the last fourteen years of his life, among his own spiritual children at Hartford; however, here also he was an exile. Accordingly, where-ever he came, he lived like a stranger in the world! When at the Land's-end, he took his last sight of England, he said, "Farewel, England! I expect now no more to see that religious zeal, and power of godliness which I have seen among professors in that land!" And he had sagacious and prophetical apprehensions of the declensions which would attend "reforming churches," when they came to enjoy a place of liberty: he said, "That adversity had slain its thousands, but prosperity would slay its ten thousands!" He feared, "That they who had been lively Christians in the fire of persecution, would soon become cold in the midst of universal peace, except some few, whom God by sharp tryals would keep in a faithful, watchful, humble, and praying frame." But under these pre-apprehensions, it was his own endeavour to beware of abating his own first love! and of so watchful, so prayerful, so fruitful a spirit was Mr. Hooker, that the spirit of prophecy it self did seem to grant him some singular afflations. Indeed, every wise man is a prophet; but one so eminently acquainted with Scripture and reason, and church-history, as our Hooker, must needs be a seer, from whom singular prognostications were to be expected. Accordingly, there were many things prognosticated by him, wherein the future state of New-England, particularly of Connecticut, has been so much concerned, that it is pity they should be forgotten. But I will in this history record only two of his predictions. One was, "That God would punish the wanton spirit of

the professors in this country, with a sad want of able men in all orders." Another was, "That in certain places of great light here sinned against, there would break forth such horrible sins, as would be the amazement of the world.

§ 19. He was a man of prayer, which was indeed a ready way to become a man of God. He would say, "That prayer was the principal part of a minister's work; 'twas by this, that he was to carry on the rest. Accordingly, he still devoted one day in a month to private prayer, with fasting, before the Lord, besides the publick fasts, which often occurred unto him. He would say, "That such extraordinary favours, as the life of religion, and the power of godliness, must be preserved by the frequent use of such extraordinary means as *prayer* with *fasting;* and that if professors grow negligent of these means, iniquity will abound, and the love of many wax cold." Nevertheless, in the duty of prayer, he affected strength rather than length; and though he had not so much variety in his publick praying as in his publick preaching, yet he always had a seasonable respect unto present occasions. And it was observed that his prayer was usually like Jacob's ladder, wherein the nearer he came to an end, the nearer he drew towards heaven; and he grew into such rapturous pleadings with God, and praisings of God, as made some to say, "That like the master of the feast, he reserved the best wine until the last." Nor was the wonderful success of his prayer, upon special concerns, unobserved by the whole colony; who reckoned him the Moses, which turned away the wrath of God from them, and obtained a *blast* from heaven upon their Indian Amalekites, by his uplifted hands, in those remarkable deliverances which they sometimes experienced. It was very particularly observed, when there was a battel to be fought between the Narraganset and the Monhegin Indians, in the year 1643. The Narraganset Indians had complotted the ruine of the English, but the Monhegin were confederate with us; and a war now being between those two nations, much notice was taken of the prevailing importunity, wherewith Mr. Hooker urged for the accomplishment of that great promise unto the people of God, "I will bless them that bless thee, but I will curse him that curses thee." And the effect of it was, that the Narragansets received a wonderful overthrow from the Monhegins, though the former did three or four to one for number exceed the latter. Such an Israel at prayer was our Hooker! And this praying *pastor* was blessed; as, indeed, such ministers use to be, with a praying *people:* there fell upon his pious people a double portion of the Spirit which they beheld in him.

§ 20. That reverend and excellent man, Mr. Whitfield, having spent many years in studying of *books,* did at length take two or three years to study *men;* and in pursuance of this design, having acquainted himself with the most considerable divines in England, at last he fell into the acquaintance of Mr. Hooker; concerning whom, he afterwards gave this

testimony: "That he had not thought there had been such a man on earth; a man in whom there shone so many excellencies, as were in this incomparable Hooker; a man in whom learning and wisdom were so tempered with zeal, holiness, and watchfulness." And the same observer having exactly noted Mr. Hooker, made this remark, and gave this report more particularly of him, "That he had the best command of his own spirit which he ever saw in any man whatever." For though he were a man of a cholerick disposition, and had a mighty vigour and fervour of spirit, which as occasion served was wondrous useful unto him, yet he had ordinarily as much government of his choler as a man has of a mastiff dog in a chain; he "could let out his dog, and pull in his dog, as he pleased." And another that observed the heroical spirit and courage with which this great man fulfilled his ministry, gave this account of him, "He was a person who, while doing his Master's work, would put a king in his pocket."

Of this there was an instance, when the Judges were in their circuit present at Chelmsford, on a fast kept throughout the nation, Mr. Hooker then, in the presence of the Judges, and before a vast congregation, declared freely the sins of England, and the plagues that would come for such sins; and in his prayer he besought the God of heaven to set on the heart of the King what his own mouth had spoken, in the second chapter of Malachi, and the eleventh and twelfth verses, [in his prayer he so distinctly quoted it!] "An abomination is committed, Judah hath married the daughter of a strange God, the Lord will cut off the man that doeth this." Though the Judges turned unto the place thus quoted, yet Mr. Hooker came into no trouble; but it was not long before the kingdom did.

§ 21. He was indeed of a very condescending spirit, not only towards his brethren in the ministry, but also towards the meanest of any Christians whatsoever. He was very willing to sacrifice his own apprehensions into the convincing reason of another man; and very ready to acknowledge any mistake, or failing, in himself. I'll give one example: there happened a damage to be done unto a neighbour, immediately whereupon, Mr. Hooker meeting with an unlucky boy, that often had his name up for the doing of such mischiefs, he fell to chiding of that boy as the doer of this. The boy denied it, and Mr. Hooker still went on in an angry manner, charging of him; whereupon said the boy, "Sir, I see you are in a passion, I'll say no more to you:" and so ran away. Mr. Hooker, upon further enquiry, not finding that the boy could be proved guilty, sent for him; and having first by a calm question, given the boy opportunity to renew his denial of the fact, he said unto him: "Since I cannot prove the contrary, I am bound to believe; and I do believe what you say:" and then added: "Indeed, I was in a passion when I spake to you before; it was my sin, and it is my shame, and I am truly sorry for it: and I hope in God I shall be more watchful hereafter." So, giving the boy some

good counsel, the poor lad went away extreamly affected with such a carriage in so good a man; and it proved an occasion of good unto the soul of the lad all his days.

On this occasion it may be added, that Mr. Hooker did much abound in acts of charity. It was no rare thing for him to give sometimes five pound, sometimes ten pound at a time, towards the support of widows and orphans, especially those of deceased ministers.

Thus also, when the people at Southampton, twenty leagues from Hartford, wanted corn, Mr. Hooker, and some few that joined with them, sent them freely a whole bark's load of corn of many hundred bushels, to relieve them. Thus he had those that Chrysostom calls Συλλογισμους ἀναντιῤῥητους, *unanswerable sylogisms*, to demonstrate Christianity.

§ 22. He had a singular ability at giving answers to cases of conscience; whereof happy was the experience of some thousands: and for this work he usually set apart the second day of the week; wherein he admitted all sorts of persons, in their discourses with him, to reap the benefit of the extraordinary experience which himself had found of Satan's devices. Once, particularly, Mr. Hooker was addressed by a student in divinity, who entring upon his ministry, was, as the most useful ministers at their entrance thereupon use to be, horridly buffeted with temptations, which were become almost intolerable: repairing to Mr. Hooker in the distresses and anguishes of his mind, and bemoaning his own overwhelming fears, while the lion was thus roaring at him, Mr. Hooker answered, "I can compare with any man living for fears! My advice to you is, that you search out, and analyse the humbling causes of them, and refer them to their proper places; then go and pour them out before the Lord; and they shall prove more profitable to you than any books you can read." But Mr. Hooker, in his dealing with troubled consciences, observed that there were a sort of crafty and guileful souls, which he would find out with an admirable dexterity; and of these he would say, as Paul of the Cretians, "They must be reproved sharply, that they may be found in the faith; sharp rebukes make sound Christians." Indeed, *of some he had compassion, making a difference; and others he saved with fear, pulling them out of the fire.*

§ 23. Although he had a notable hand at the discussing and adjusting of controversal points, yet he would hardly ever handle any *polemical divinity* in the pulpit; but the very spirit of his ministry lay in the points of the most practical religion, and the grand concerns of a sinner's preparation for, implantation in, and salvation by, the glorious Lord Jesus Christ. And in these discourses he would frequently intermix most affectionate warnings of the declensions which would quickly befal the churches of New-England.

His advice to young ministers may on this occasion be fitly mentioned. It was, that at their entrance on their ministry, they would with careful

study preach over the whole *body of divinity* methodically, (even in the Amesian method,) which would acquaint them with all the more intelligible and agreeable texts of Scripture, and prepare them for a further acquaintance with the more difficult, and furnish them with abilities to preach on whole chapters, and all occasional subjects, which by the providence of God they might be directed unto.

Many volumes of the sermons preached by him were since printed; and this account is to be given of them:

While he was fellow of Emanuel-College, he entertained a special inclination to those principles of divinity which concerned *the application of redemption;* and that which eminently fitted him for the handling of those principles was, that he had been from his youth trained up in the experience of those *humiliations* and *consolations*, and sacred *communions*, which belong to the new creature, and he had most critically compared his own experience with the accounts which the *quick and powerful word of God* gives of those glorious things. Accordingly, he preached first more briefly on these points, while he was a catechist in Emanuel-College, in a more scholastick way; which was most agreeable to his present station; and the notes of what he then delivered were so esteemed, that many copies thereof were transcribed and preserved. Afterwards he preached more largely on those points, in a more popular way, at Chelmsford, the product of which were those books of *preparation for Christ, contrition, humiliation, vocation, union with Christ, and communion*, and the rest, which go under his name; for many wrote after him in short-hand; and some were so bold as to publish many of them without his consent or knowledge; whereby his notions came to be deformedly misrepresented in multitudes of passages; among which I will suppose that crude passage which Mr. Giles Firmin, in his "*Real Christian*," so well confutes, "That if the soul be rightly humbled, it is content to bear the state of damnation." But when he came to New-England, many of his church, which had been his old Essex hearers, desired him once more to go over the points of *God's regenerating works upon the soul of his elect;* until, at last, their desires prevailed with him to resume that pleasant subject. The subject hereby came to have a third concoction in the head and heart of one as able to digest it as most men living in the world; and it was his design to perfect with his own hand his composures for the press, and thereby vindicate both *author* and *matter* from the wrongs done to both, by surreptitious editions heretofore. He did not live to finish what he intended; yet a worthy minister, namely, Mr. John Higginson, one richly able himself to have been an author of a not unlike matter, transcribed from his *manuscripts* near two hundred of these excellent sermons, which were sent over into England, that they might be published; but, by what means I know not, scarce half of them have seen the light unto this day. However, 'tis possible the valuableness of those that are published, may at some

time or other awaken some enquiries after the unknown hands wherein the rest are as yet concealed.

§ 24. But this was not all the service which the pen of Mr. Hooker did for the church of God! It was his opinion that there were *two great reserves of enquiry* for this age of the world; the first, wherein the spiritual rule of our Lord's kingdom does consist, and after what manner it is internally revealed, managed and maintained in the souls of his people? The second, after what order the government of our Lord's kingdom is to be externally managed and maintained in his churches? Accordingly, having done his part for delivering the former subject from *pharisaical formality*, on the one hand, and from *familistical enthusiasm* on the other, he was, by the solicitous importunity of his friends, prevailed withal to compose a treatise on the other subject also. Upon this occasion, he wrote his excellent book, which is entituled, "*A Survey of Church Discipline;*" wherein having, in the name of the other ministers in the country, as well as his own, professed his concurrence with holy and learned Mr. Rutherford, as to the number and nature of church-officers; the right of people to call their own officers; the unfitness of scandalous persons to be members of a visible church; the unwarrantableness of separation from churches for certain defective circumstances; the lawfulness, yea, needfulness of a consociation among churches; and calling in the help of such consociations, upon emerging difficulties; and the power of such consociations to proceed against a particular church, pertinaciously offending with a sentence of non-communion; he then proceeds to consider, a *church congregational compleatly constituted with all its officers, having full power in its self to exercise all church discipline, in all the censures thereof;* and the interest which the *consent of the people* is to have in the exercise of this *discipline.* The first fair and full copy of this book was drowned in its passage to England, with many serious and eminent Christians, which were then buried by shipwrack in the ocean: for which cause there was another copy sent afterwards, which, through the pre-mature death of the author, was not so perfect as the former; but it was a reflection which Dr. Goodwin made upon it, "The destiny which hath attended this book, hath visited my thoughts with an apprehension of something like *omen* to the cause it self: that after the overwhelming of it with a flood of obloquies, and disadvantages and misrepresentations, and injurious oppressions cast out after it, it might in the time, which God alone hath put in his own power, be again emergent." He adds, "I have looked for this; that this truth, and all that should be said of it, was ordained as Christ, of whom every truth is a ray, to be as a seed corn, which, unless it fall to the ground and die, and this perhaps together with some of the persons that profess it, it brings yet forth much fruit." However, the ingenious Mr. Stone, who was colleague to Mr. Hooker, accompanied this book with a little epigram, whereof these were the concluding disticks:

If any to this *platform* can reply
With better reason, let this volume die;
But better arguments, if none can give,
Then THOMAS HOOKER's policy shall live.

§ 25. In his administration of church discipline there were several things as imitable as observable. As he was an hearty friend unto the *consociation of churches*—and hence all the time that he lived, the pastors of the neighbouring churches held their frequent meetings for mutual consultation in things of common concernment—so, in his own particular church, he was very careful to have every thing done with a Christian moderation and unanimity. Wherefore he would have nothing publickly propounded unto the brethren of the church, but what had been first privately prepared by the elders; and if he feared the happening of any debate, his way aforehand was, to visit some of the more noted and leading brethren, and having engaged them to second what he should move unto the church, he rarely missed of a full concurrence: to which purpose he would say, "The elders must have a church in a church, if they would preserve the peace of the church:" and he would say, "The debating matters of difference, first before the whole body of the church, will doubtless break any church in pieces, and deliver it up unto loathsome contempt." But if any difficult or divided agitation was raised in the church, about any matter offered, he would ever put a stop to that publick agitation, by delaying the vote until another meeting; before which time, he would ordinarily, by private conferences, gain over such as were unsatisfied. As for the admission of communicants unto the Lord's table, he kept the examination of them unto the elders of the church, as properly belonging unto their *work* and *charge;* and with his elders he would order them to make before the whole church a profession of a repenting faith, as they were able or willing to do it. Some, that could unto edification do it, he put upon thus relating the manner of their conversion to God; but usually they only answered unto certain probatory questions which were tendered them; and so after their names had been for a few weeks before signified unto the congregation, to learn whether any objection or exception could be made against them, of any thing scandalous in their conversations, now consenting unto the covenant, they were admitted into the church communion. As for ecclesiastical censures, he was very watchful to prevent all procedures unto them, as far as was consistent with the rules of our Lord; for which cause (except in grosser abominations) when offences happened, he did his utmost that the notice thereof might be extended no further than it was when they first were laid before him; and having reconciled the offenders with sensible and convenient acknowledgements of their miscarriages, he would let the notice thereof be confined unto such as were aforehand therewith acquainted; and hence there was but one person admonished in, and but one person excommunicated from, the church of Hartford, in all the fourteen years that Mr. Hooker lived there. He was much troubled at the too frequent censures in some

other churches; and he would say, "Church censures are things wherewith neither we nor our fathers have been acquainted in the practice of them; and therefore the utmost circumspection is needful, that we do not spoil the ordinances of God by our management thereof." In this point he was like Beza, who defended the ordinance of excommunication against Erastus; and yet he, with his colleagues, were so cautelous in the use of it, that in eleven years there was but one excommunication passed in all Geneva.

§ 26. He would say, "that he should esteem it a favour from God, if he might live no longer than he should be able to hold up lively in the work of his place; and that when the time of his departure should come, God would shorten the time;" and he had his desire. Some of his most observant hearers observed an astonishing sort of a *cloud* in his congregation, the last Lord's day of his publick ministry, when he also administred the Lord's supper among them; and a most unaccountable heaviness and sleepiness, even in the most *watchful Christians* of the place, not unlike the drowsiness of the disciples when our Lord was going to die; for which one of the elders publickly rebuked them. When those devout people afterwards perceived that this was the last sermon and sacrament wherein they were to have the presence of the *pastor* with them, 'tis inexpressible how much they bewailed their unattentiveness unto his *farewel dispensations;* and some of them could enjoy no peace in their own souls until they had obtained leave of the elders to confess before the whole congregation with many tears, that inadvertency. But as for Mr. Hooker himself, an *epidemical sickness*, which had proved mortal to many, though at first small or no danger appeared in it, arrested him. In the time of his sickness he did not say much to the standers-by; but being asked that he would utter his apprehensions about some important things, especially about the state of New-England, he answered, "I have not that work now to do; I have already declared the counsel of the Lord:" and when one that stood weeping by the bed-side said unto him, "Sir, you are going to receive the reward of all your labours," he replied, "Brother, I am going to receive mercy!" At last he closed his own eyes with his own hands, and gently stroaking his own forehead, with a smile in his countenance, he gave a little groan, and so expired his blessed soul into the arms of his *fellow-servants*, the *holy angels*, on July 7, 1647. In which last hours, the glorious peace of soul, which he had enjoyed without any interruption for near thirty years together, so gloriously accompanied him, that a worthy spectator, then writing to Mr. Cotton a relation thereof, made this reflection, "Truly, sir, the sight of his death will make me have more pleasant thoughts of death, than ever I yet had in my life!"

§ 27. Thus lived and thus died one of the *first three.* He, of whom the great Mr. Cotton gave this character, that he did, *Agmen ducere et dominari in Concionibus, gratia Spiritus Sancti et virtute plenis:** and that he

* Led the Christian band and ruled in the assembly, by the grace of the Holy Spirit and the abundance of his virtues.

was, *Vir Solertis et Acerrimi judicii*;* and at length he uttered his lamentations in a funeral *elegy*, whereof some lines were these:

'Twas of Geneva's heroes said with wonder,
(Those *worthies three*) FAREL was wont to thunder,
VIRET like rain on tender grass to show'r,
But CALVIN lively oracles to pour.

All these in HOOKER'S spirit did remain,
A son of *Thunder* and a show'r of *rain*;
A *pourer forth* of lively oracles,
In saving soul, *the sum of miracles.*

This was *he* of whom his pupil, Mr. Ash, gives this testimony: "For his great abilities and glorious services, both in this and in the other England, he deserves a place in the first rank of them whose lives are of late recorded." And this was *he* of whom his reverend contemporary, Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, tendered this for an epitaph; in every line whereof methinks the writer deserves a reward equal to what Virgil had, when for every line, referring to Marcellus in the end of his sixth *Æneid*, he received a sum not much less than eighty pounds in money, or as ample a requital as Cardinal Richlieu gave to a poet, when he bestowed upon him two thousand sequins for a witty conceit in one verse of but seven words, upon his coat of arms:

America, although she do not boast
Of all the *gold* and *silver* from that coast,
Lent to her sister Europe's need or pride;
(For that repaid her, with much gain beside,

In one *rich pearl*, which Heaven did thence afford,
As pious Herbert gave his honest word;)
Yet thinks, she in the catalogue may come
With Europe, Africk, Asia, for one tomb.

But as Ambrose could say concerning Theodosius, *Non Totus recessit; reliquit nobis Liberos, in quibus cum debemus agnoscere, et in quibus eum Cernimus et Tenemus*;† thus we have to this day among us, our dead Hooker yet living in his worthy son, Mr. Samuel Hooker, an able, faithful, useful minister, at Farmington, in the colony of Connecticut.

EPITAPHIUM.

THOMAS HOOKER.

Heu! Pietas; Heu! prisca Fides.‡

Or, for a more extended epitaph, we may take the abridgement of his Life, as offered in some lines of Mr. Elijah Corlet that memorable old school-master in Cambridge, from whose education our colledge and country has received so many of its *worthy men*, that he is himself *worthy* to have his *name* celebrated in no less a paragraph of our *church history*, than that wherein I may introduce him, endeavouring to celebrate the name of our great Hooker, unto this purpose:

Si mea cum vestris valuissent vota, Nov-Angli,
Hookerus *Tardo viserat Astra Gradu.*
Te, *Reverende Senex, Sic* te *dileximus omnes,*
Ipsa Invisa forent ut tibi Jura poli.
Morte Tua *Infandum Cogor Renovare dolorem,*
Quippe Tua *videat Terra* Nov-Angla *suam.*

Dignus eras, Aquilæ *similis, Renovâsse Juventam,*
Et Fato in Terris Condidiore frui.
Tu Domus Emanuel, *Soror Augustissima, Mater*
Mille Prophetarum, Tu mihi Testis eris.
Te Testem appello, quondam Chelmsfordia *Cœlis*
Proxima; Te præco Sustulit ille Tuus,

* A man of profound and acute judgment.

† He has not altogether departed: he has left us his children, in whom we ought to recognise him, and in whose persons we seem both to see and to possess him.

‡ "Alas! for piety and well-tried faith
Departed."

Non tu hunc: Chalcas, *Arcis Phœbique Sacerdos,*
Non populo Sperni sic sua sacra videt.
Vidit et ex Rostris Genti prædicere vatem
Bella, *quod in Christum Tota* Rebellis *erat.*
Quem Patria exegit, ferus Hostis Episcopus; *Hostis*
Hunc minus, in Batavis, *vexat amara* Febris.
Post varios casus, Quassata Nov-Anglia, *tandem*
Ramifer' inde Tibi Diva Columba *venit.*
Ille Tuos Cœtus *Ornat, pascitque* Fideles,
Laudibus Innumeris addit et ille Tuis.
Dulcis Amicus *erat,* Pastorque *Insignis, et Altus*
Dotibus, Eloquio, Moribus, Ingenio.
Proh Pudor! Ereptum tè vivi vidimus, et non
Excessuræ Animæ Struximus Insidias!
Insidias precibus, Lacrymisque perennibus, unde
Semita Cœlestis sic tibi clausa foret.
Sed Frustra hæc meditor!—
Lustra per Hookerus *ter quinque* Viator *erat; jam*
Cœlestem patriam Possidet *ille suam.*

[Translation of the foregoing, made for this Edition.]

If to our prayers the boon we ask were given,
Our Hooker had not passed so soon to heaven:
We loved so truly, that we fain would stay
His blissful transit to the realms of day.
The thought will come, when o'er him thus we moan,
That in his grave New-England finds her own.
Worthy wert thou to stem the flight of Time,
And, like the eagle, to renew thy prime!
To spread afresh the triumphs of thy worth,
And win a loftier destiny on earth.
Emanuel College! who dost fitly shine,
Mother of thousands of the prophet-line;
And happy Chelmsford! brought most near to heaven,
When Hooker to thy sacred courts was given;
Bear witness to that excellence, which grew
In daily beauty to your raptured view.
Yet did his country spurn his hallowed life;
His sacred office was a theme of strife;
Nor did e'en Chalcas, though a heathen seer,
Find Truth inspire so little wholesome fear
As did our Hooker, who proclaim'd that God
Would make rebellious England feel His rod.
Episcopacy drove him from his home,
Stricken in heart, in foreign climes to roam;
Less kindly than the fever, which o'ercame,
On Holland's coast, his much-enfeebled frame.
And then, New-England! o'er the ocean's breast
He came to thee—a dove of peace and rest.
To thine elect he seemed their joy and crown,
And added honour to thy young renown:
A gentle friend, a pastor true and kind,
Rich in the gifts of heart and tongue and mind.
We saw thee ready, waiting, to depart,
Yet, save with prayers and tears that wrung the heart,
Strove not to stay from its celestial goal
Thy struggling, thine emancipated soul.
For seventy-five long years he lingered here,
A weary pilgrim on this earthly sphere:
Now to his "Father's mansions" is he come,
"The better country," his eternal home.

SEPHER JEREIM; *i. e.* LIBER DEUM TIMENTIUM:*

OR,

DEAD ABELS YET SPEAKING, AND SPOKEN OF,

IN THE HISTORY OF

MR. FRANCIS HIGGINSON, MR. JOHN AVERY, MR. JONATHAN BURR, MR. GEORGE PHILIPS, MR. THOMAS SHEPARD, MR. PETER PRUDDEN, AND SEVERAL OTHERS OF NEW HAVEN COLONY, MR. PETER BULKLY, MR. RALPH PARTRIDGE, MR. HENRY DUNSTER, MR. EZEKIEL ROGERS, MR. NATHANAEL ROGERS, MR. SAMUEL NEWMAN, MR. SAMUEL STONE, MR. WILLIAM THOMPSON, MR. JOHN WARHAM, MR. HENRY FLINT, MR. RICHARD MATHER, MR. ZECHARIAH SYMMES, MR. JOHN ALLIN, MR. CHARLES CHAUNCEY, MR. JOHN FISK, MR. THOMAS PARKER, MR. JAMES NOYES, MR. THOMAS THACHER, MR. PETER HOBART, MR. SAMUEL WHITING, MR. JOHN SHERMAN, MR. THOMAS COBBET, MR. JOHN WARD,

EMINENT MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL IN THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND.

BY COTTON MATHER.

THE SECOND PART.

Solus Honor Merito qui datur, ille datur.†

Thus *shine*, ye *glories* of your age, while we
Wait to fill up your *martyrologie*.

Bono estote Animo. (*Dilecti Fratres,*) *appropinquat Tempus quando erit Nominum æquè ac Corporum Resurrectio.*‡—WILKINSON. Concion. ad Academic.

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN the incomparable Hevelius was preparing for the world his new, and rare, and most accurate "*Selenography*," his design was to advance into the heavens the names of the most meritorious *astronomers*, by naming from them the several distinguishable parts of the *planet* which was to be described by him; so that in the *moon* there would now have been seen, an *Oceanus Coperniceus*, an *Oceanus Tychonicus*, a *Mare Keplerianum*, a *Lacus Galilæi*, a *Palus Mæstlini*, an *Insula Scheiveriana*, a *Peninsula Gassendi*, a *Mons Mersenni*, a *Vallis Bullialdi*, a *Sinus Wendelini*, a *Promontorium Crugerianum*, a *Desertum Linnemanni*,§ and other such denominations. But, upon *second thoughts*, he saw that this could not be done without *envy* and *offence;* for there were certain *places* more *eminent* than others, and he might happen to assign them unto such *persons* as were less *eminent* in the opinions of mankind about their merits: wherefore he chose rather geographical denomnations for the *Maculæ Lunares*,‖ which were now to be distinguished.

Reader, there is a number of divines now before us, demanding their places in our Church-History; their *souls* are in the heavens; their *names* also should be there. I was thinking to have ranked them according to their merits; I would have assigned their places, according

* The History of Men who feared God. † Honour deserved is honour conferred.

‡ Be of good cheer, beloved brethren: the time draws near when your names, like your bodies, shall be raised up in glory.

§ Copernicus Ocean, Tycho Brahe Ocean, the Kepler Sea, Lake Gallileo, the Mæstlins' Marsh, the Scheiver Island, the Peninsula of Gassendi, Mount Mersenni, the Bullialdi Valley, the Gulf of Wendelinus, the Cruger Promontory, the Linnemann Desert. ‖ Spots on the Moon.

to their *eminencies* in the church of God. But finding that this attempt would have been invidious, I will have them to take their places, as in the history of *lives* uses to be done, *secundum annorum emortualim seriem*—according to the *years* wherein they died.

What I write shall be written with all Christian *veracity* and *fidelity*. Heaven forbid that I should indulge my pen in such flourishing flatteries as fill the *lives* of the Lutheran divines, in the collections that Witten has made of the "*Memoriæ Theologorum nostri sæculi Clarissimorum renovatæ*."* Heaven forbid that I should in any one instance deserve to be thought a writer of such *legends*, as they *generally* (and it may be sometimes *unrighteously*) have reproached the *lives* of the ancients, written by Simeon Metaphrastes: for I will now confess to my reader one thing that has encouraged me in my endeavour to preserve the memory of these worthy men.

I read in Prov. x. 7, "The memory of the just is blessed;" or, for a blessing: and I know the common glosses upon it. But I have met with a note of Dr. Jermyn's thereupon, which I will now count as worthy to be *transcribed*, as I have heretofore counted it worthy to be *pondered:*

"The very *remembring* of them [saith he] shall bring a *blessing* to such as do *remember* them. God will bless those that honour the *memory* of his servants: and besides, the *memory* of them will make them *imitated*, which is a *blessing* that will be rewarded with *blessedness*."

I will add, that *examples* do strangely charm us into imitation. When *holiness* is pressed upon us, we are prone to think, that it is a doctrine calculated for *angels* and *spirits*, whose *dwelling is not with flesh*. But when we read the lives of them that excelled in *holiness*, though they were persons of *like passions* with our selves, the conviction is wonderful and powerful. Reader, behold loud calls to holiness from those who said, not, *Ite illuc*;† but, *Venite huc*,‡ when the calls were uttered.

CHAPTER I.

JANUS NOV-ANGLICANUS;§ THE LIFE OF MR. FRANCIS HIGGINSON.

Semper Honor, Nomenque Tuum, Laudesque Manebunt.‖

§ 1. WITHOUT recourse to any fabulous, whether Egyptian or Grecian shams of *antiquity*, we have other intimations enough, that our father Noah, after a *new world* began to be peopled from him, did remove with his eldest son Japhet, from his own, and his old country of Ogyge, or Palestine, into the country which is now called Italy. And it is particularly remarkable that his great grandson Dodanim, removing with a colony of his increasing posterity into Epirus, he built a city, which, with the whole province, was called by the name of Dodona; where he built a temple, in which the people did assemble to worship God, and hear the precepts of the Patriarch preached upon. But it was not long before a fearful degeneracy overtaking the posterity of these planters, they soon left and lost the *religion* of their progenitors; and in that very place where Dodanim had

* New Memoirs of the most distinguished Divines of our era. † Go there. ‡ Come hither.
§ The Janus of New-England. ‖ Immortal shall thy name and praises be.

his church, there succeeded the *Dodonœan oracles.* Now, among the memorable *names*, which in other monuments of antiquity, besides those of Tuscany, exposed by Inghiramius, we find put upon our illustrious father Noah one is that of Janus, which at first they pronounced Janes, from the Hebrew word, יין, *Jajin*, for *wine*, which was the true original of it; and so his famous vineyard was therein commemorated. For which cause Cato also tells us, *Janus primus invenit Far et Vinum, et ob id ductus fuit Priscus Œnotrius:** and Antiochus Syracusanus mentions the *Œnotrii*, which Noah carried with him. Of this Janus, the Thuscians employed a *ship*, as a memorial; they had a *ship* on his *coins*, doubtless with an eye to the *ark* of Noah; but there was also on the reverse, as Ovid relates, *Altera Forma Biceps;*† and this *double face* was ascribed unto Janus, because of the view which he had of the *two* worlds, the *old* and the *new.* The covenant which God established with Noah, was by after-ages referred unto, when they feigned Janus to be the president of all *covenant* and *concord;* and the figure which Noah made among mankind was confessed by them, when they gave Janus the sir-name of *Pater*, as being so to all the heroes who obtained a place among the *gods.* Moreover, the *mythical* writers tell us, that in the reign of this Janus, all the dwellings of men were hedged in with *piety* and *sanctity;* in which tradition the exemplary *righteousness* of Noah seems to have been celebrated: and hence in their old rituals, he was called *Cerus, Manus*, which is as much as to say, *Sanctus et Bonus.*‡ But without pursuing these *curiosities* any further, I will now lay before my reader the story of that worthy man; who, when 'tis considered that he crossed the *sea* with a renowned *colony*, and that having seen an *old world* in Europe, where a flood of iniquity and calamity carried all before it, he also saw a *new world* in America; where he appears the first in a catalogue of heroes, and where he with his people were admitted into the *covenant* of God; whereupon an hedge of *piety* and *sanctity* continued about *that* people as long as *he* lived; may therefore be called the Noah or Janus of New-England. This was Mr. Francis Higginson.

§ 2. If, in the history of the church for more than four thousand years, contained in the Scriptures, there is not recorded either the *birth-day* of any one saint whatever, or the *birth-day* of him that is the *Lord of all saints;* I hope it will be accounted no defect in our history of this worthy man, if neither the *day*, nor the *place* of his *birth* can be recovered. We will therefore begin the history of his life, where we find that he began to *live.*

Mr. Francis Higginson, after he had been educated at Emanuel Colledge, that seminary of Puritans in Cambridge until he was Master of Arts; and after that the true *Emanuel*, our Lord Jesus Christ, had by the work of *regeneration* upon his heart, instructed him in the better and nobler *arts* of *living unto God;* he was, by the special providence of Heaven, made a

* Janus first invented flour and wine, and on that account was called Priscus Œnotrius (the ancient vine-dresser).
† Another figure with two heads. ‡ Holy and good

servant of our Emanuel, in the ministry of the gospel, at one of the five parish-churches in Leicester. The main scope of his ministry was now to promote, first a thorough *conversion*, and then a godly *conversation*, among his people: and besides his *being*, as the famous *preacher in the wilderness* was, *a voice*, and preaching lectures of Christianity by his whole Christian and most courteous and obliging behaviour, he *had* also a most charming *voice*, which rendered him unto his hearers, in all his exercises, another Ezekiel; for "Lo, he was unto them, as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well upon an instrument;" and from all parts in the neighbourhood they flocked unto him. Such was the divine presence with, and blessing on the ministry of this good man, in this place, that the influence thereof, on the whole town, was quickly become a matter of observation; many were turned from "darkness to light, and from Satan to God;" and many were "built up in their most holy faith;" and there was a notable revival of religion among them. And such were his endeavours to *conform* unto the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, our grand Exemplar, in the whole course of his ministry, that we might easily have written a *book of those conformities.*

§ 3. For some years he continued in his *conformity* to the rites then required and practised in the Church of England; but upon his acquaintance with Mr. Arthur Hildersham and Mr. Thomas Hooker, he set himself to study the controversies about the evangelical church-discipline, then agitated in the church of God: and then the more he studied the Scripture, which is the sole and full rule of church-administrations, the more he became dissatisfied with the ceremonies which had crept into the worship of the Lord Jesus Christ, not only without the allowance of Scripture, but also without the countenance of the earliest *antiquity.* From this time he became a conscientious *non-conformist;* and therefore he was deprived of his opportunity to exercise his ministry, in his parish-church: nevertheless, his ministry was generally so desirable unto the people, that they procured for him the liberty to preach a constant lecture, on one part of the Lord's day; and on the other part, as an assistant unto a very aged parson that wanted it. He was now maintained by the voluntary contribution of the inhabitants; and though the rest of the ministers there continued conformists, yet they all freely invited him unto the use of their pulpits, as long as they could avoid any trouble to themselves by their so doing: by which means he preached successively in *three* of the parish-churches, after that he had been by non-conformity made incapable. He preached also at Belgrave, a mile out of the town; but, under God, the chief author of these more easie circumstances unto such a non-conformist was the generous goodness and candour of Dr. Williams, the Bishop of Lincoln, to whose diocess Leicester belonged. It continued until the *fray* between that Bishop, and Laud, the Bishop of London, who set himself

to extirpate and extinguish all the non-conformists, that were Williams' favourites, among whom one was Mr. Higginson.

§ 4. The signal blessing of God, which accompanied the ministry of Mr. Higginson in Leicester, was followed with two very contrary consequences. On the one side, a great multitude of Christians, then called *Puritans*, did not only attend the worship of God more publickly in their *assemblies*, and more secretly in their *families*, but also they frequently had their *private meetings*, for *prayer* (sometimes with *fasting*) and repeating of *sermons*, and maintaining of profitable *conferences*, at all which Mr. Higginson himself was often present: and at these times, if any of their society were scandalous in their conversation, they were personally *admonished*, and means were used with them to bring them unto repentance. On the other side, there was a *profane party*, filled with wolvish rage against the flock of the Lord Jesus Christ, and especially against this good man, who was the pastor of the flock: whose impartial zeal in *reproving* the common sins of the time and place, did more than a little add unto the exasperations of that party; but also divers of them turned *persecutors* hereupon, yet many *remarkable providences* laid a restraint upon them, and the malignants were smitten with a dread upon their minds, "That the judgments of God would pursue those that should go to harm such a follower of him that is good."

§ 5. Even the *Episcopal party* of the English nation, among whose *thirty-nine articles*, one is, "That the visible church is a congregation of *faithful men*, where the word of Christ is duly preached, and the sacraments be rightly administered;" have concluded it, as a *godly discipline* in the *primitive church*, "that notorious sinners were put to open penance." And in the *rubric* before the *communion*, have ordered ministers to advertise all notorious evil livers, and such as have wronged their neighbours by word or deed, or such as have malice and hatred reigning between them, that "they should not presume to come to the Lord's table, till they have openly declared themselves to have truly repented." Under the encouragement hereof, Mr. Higginson, before he became a non-conformist, professed this principle, "That ignorant and scandalous *persons* are not to be admitted unto the Lord's Supper: and as far as he could, he practised what he professed. Wherefore he did *catechise* and *examine* persons about their fitness for the *communion;* and if any persons were notoriously *scandalous*, he not only told them of their sins in private, but also in publick declared that they were not to be admitted unto the Lord's Supper, until the congregation had some testimonies of their serious *repentance*.

It was a good courage of old Cyprian, to declare: "If any think to join themselves unto the church, not by their humiliation and satisfaction, when they have scandalized the brethren, but by their great words and threats, let them know, that the church of God will oppose them, and the tents of Christ will not be conquered by them." And no less was the good metal

in our Higginson. Accordingly, after a sermon on those words of our Saviour, "Give not that which is holy unto dogs," unto this purpose applied, going to administer the Lord's Supper unto the communicants, now come into the chancel, he espied one that was known unto them all to be a common *drunkard* and *swearer*, and a very vicious person; he told that man before them all, "That he was not willing to give the Lord's Supper unto him, until he had professed his repentance, unto the satisfaction of the congregation:" and therefore he desired the man to withdraw. The sinner withdrew, but went out full of such passion and poison against Mr. Higginson, and horror in his own conscience, that he fell sick upon it; and while he lay sick he was visited, as well by good people that endeavoured his conversion, as by bad people that had been his old companions, and now threatned what they would do against Mr. Higginson. The wretch continued in an exorbitant frame for a few days, and at last roared out, "That he was damned, and that he was a dog, and that he was going to the dogs for ever." So he cried, and so he died: and this was *known to all people.*

§ 6. There were many such marvellous judgments of God, which came like *fire* from heaven, to restrain and revenge the wrongs which were offered unto this faithful *witness* of our Lord Jesus Christ. Particularly, there was a pious gentlewoman, the wife of a very *profane* gentleman, dwelling in another parish, who would frequently go to attend upon Mr. Higginson's ministry, both in the publick and private exercises of our holy religion; whereat her husband, after many other expressions of his deep displeasure, vowed, that he would be revenged on Higginson; and accordingly he resolved upon a journey to London, there to exhibit a complaint against this good man, at the High-Commission Court: but when he had got all things ready for his journey, just as he was mounting his horse, he was by an immediate hand of Heaven smitten with an intolerable *torment* of body and *horror* of conscience, and was led into his house, and laid upon his bed; where within a few hours death did his office upon him.

§ 7. And unto the remarkable appearances of Heaven, on the behalf of this *faithful man*, may be enumerated that which befel a famous Doctor of Divinity, prebend of a cathedral, and chaplain to his majesty, who then lived in Leicester: this gentleman preached but very seldom; and when he did at all, it was after that fashion which has been sometimes called gentleman-preaching; after a flaunting manner, and with such a vain ostentation of learning, and affectation of language, as ill became the oracles of God; the people generally flocking more to the more edifying ministry of Mr. Higginson, than to these harangues. Our Doctor so extreamly resented it, that both publickly and privately, on all opportunities, he expressed his indignation against Mr. Higginson, and vowed, "That he would certainly drive him out of the town." Now, it so fell out,

that the Sheriff appointed this Doctor to preach at the General Assizes there, and gave him a quarter of a year's time to provide a sermon for that occasion: but in all this time he could not provide a sermon unto his own satisfaction; insomuch, that a fortnight before the time was expired, he expressed unto some of his friends a despair of being well provided; wherefore his friends perswaded him to try; telling him that if it came to the worst, Mr. Higginson might be procured to preach in his room; he was always ready. The Doctor was wonderfully averse unto this last proposal; and therefore studied with all his might, for an *agreeable sermon;* but he had such a blast from Heaven upon his poor studies, that the very night before the Assizes began, he sent his wife to the devout Lady Cave, who prevailed with Mr. Higginson to supply his place the day ensuing; which he did, with a most suitable, profitable, and acceptable sermon; and unto the great satisfaction of the auditory. When the Lady Cave had let it be known how this thing, which was much wondred at, came about, the common discourse of the town upon it so confounded the Doctor, that he left the town, vowing, "That he would never come into it again." Thus Mr. Higginson was left in the town! but, I pray, *who* was driven out?

§ 8. We lately styled Mr. Higginson a *faithful man;* and innumerable were the instances, wherein he so approved himself, particularly there was a time when many courtiers, lords, and gentlemen coming in a frolick to Leicester, which was counted a *puritanical* town, resolved that they would put a trick upon it. Wherefore, they invited the Mayor and Aldermen, whereof divers were esteemed *puritans*, unto a *collation;* and overcome them to drink a number of *healths*, with the accustomed ceremonies of drinking upon their knees, till they all became shamefully and extreamly *drunk*. This business becoming the common discourse of the town, Mr. Higginson, from a text chosen to the purpose, in the audience of the Mayor and Aldermen themselves, demonstrated the sinfulness of *health-drinking*, and of *drunkenness*, and the aggravation of that sinfulness, when it is found in *magistrates*, whose duty 'tis to punish it in other men: therewithal admonishing *them* to repent seriously of the scandal which they had given. This faithfulness of Mr. Higginson was variously resented; some of the people disliked it very much, and some of the Aldermen were so disturbed and enraged at it that "they breathed out threatnings" till they were *out of breath:* but the better sort of people generally approved it, as a conformity to that rule, "them that sin before all, rebuke before all, that others may fear;" and several of the Aldermen confessed their sin with a very penitent and pertinent ingenuity. The issue was, that Mr. Higginson was brought into no trouble; and the God of heaven so disposed the hearts of the Mayor and Aldermen, that after this, upon the death of old Mr. Sacheverel, they chose Mr. Higginson to be their town-preacher, unto which place there was annexed a large maintainance, to be paid out of the town treasury. In answer hereunto, Mr. Higginson thanked them for

their good will; but he told them, that he could not accept of it, because there were some degrees of conformity therein required which he could not *now* comply withal; nevertheless, there being divers competitors for the place, about whom the votes of the Aldermen were much divided, he prevailed with them to give their votes for a learned and godly conformist, one Mr. Angel; who thereby came to be settled in it. There were also made unto him several offers of some of the greatest and richest livings in the country thereabouts; but the conscientious disposition to non-conformity, now growing upon him, hindred his acceptance of them.

§ 9. While Mr. Higginson continued in Leicester, he was not only a *good man full of faith*, but also a *good man full of work*. He preached constantly in the parish churches; and he was called, while a *conformist*, frequently to preach *visitation* sermons, *assize* sermons, and *funeral* sermons: and as well *then*, as *afterwards*, he was often engaged in *fasts*, both in publick and private, both at home and abroad; and many repaired unto him with *cases of conscience*, and for help about their *interiour state*. Besides all this, he was very serviceable to the education of *scholars*, either going to, or coming from the university; and such as afterwards proved eminently serviceable to the church of God; whereof some were Dr. Seaman, Dr. Brian, Mr. Richardson, and Mr. Howe, all of them Leicestershire men, who would often say how much they owed unto Mr. Higginson. And he was very useful in forwarding and promoting of contributions for the relief of the *Protestant-exiles*, which came over from the ruined Bohemia and the distressed Palatinate in those times; and many other pious designs. But when (as he that writes the life of holy Mr. Bains expresses it) "the hour and power of darkness was come from Lambeth," or when the Bishop of London prevailed, and the Bishop of Lincoln retired, the blades of the Laudian faction about Leicester appeared, informed and articled against Mr. Higginson, so that he lived in continual expectation to be dragged away by the pursevants, unto the High Commission Court, where a sentence of *perpetual imprisonment* was the best thing that could be looked for.

§ 10. Now, behold the interposing and seasonable providence of Heaven! A considerable number of wealthy and worthy merchants, obtaining a charter from King Charles I. whereby they were incorporated by the name of, "The Governour and Company of the Massachuset-Bay in New-England;" and intending to send over ships with passengers for the beginning of a plantation there, in the beginning of the year 1629; and resolving to send none upon their account, but godly and honest men, professing that religion which they declared was the *end* of this plantation; these were informed of the circumstances whereto Mr. Higginson was now reduced; and accordingly they dispatched a couple of messengers unto him, to invite him unto a voyage into New-England, with kind promises to support him in the voyage. These two messengers were ingenious men; and under-

standing that pursevants were expected every hour to fetch Mr. Higginson up to London, they designed for a while to act the parts of pursevants: coming therefore to his door, they knocked roundly and loudly, like fellows equipped with some authority; and said, "Where is Mr. Higginson? we must speak with Mr. Higginson!" insomuch that his affrighted wife ran up to him, telling him that the pursevants were come, and praying him to step aside out of their way; but Mr. Higginson said, "No, I will go down and speak with them; and the will of the Lord be done!" When the messengers were come into the hall, they held out their papers unto him, and with a certain roughness and boldness of address told him, "Sir, we come from London, and our business is to fetch you up to London, as you may see by these papers!" which they then put into his hands; whereat the people in the room were confirmed in their opinion that these blades were pursevants; and Mrs. Higginson her self said, "I thought so:" and fell a weeping. But when Mr. Higginson had lookt upon the papers, he soon perceived that they were letters from the governour and company inviting him to New-England; with a copy of the charter, and propositions for managing their design of establishing and propagating *reformed Christianity* in the new plantation: whereupon he bad them *welcome!* and there ensued a pleasant conversation betwixt him and his now undisguised friends. In answer to this invitation, Mr. Higginson having first consulted Heaven with humble and fervent supplications, for the divine direction about so great a turn of his life, he advised then with several ministers, especially with his dear friend Mr. Hildersham, who told him, "That were he himself a younger man, and under his case and call, he should think he had a plain invitation of Heaven unto the voyage; and so he came unto a resolution to comply therewithal.

§ 11. When Mr. Higginson's resolution came to be known, it made so much noise among the Puritans, that many of them receiving satisfaction unto the many enquiries which they made on this occasion, resolved that they would accompany him. And now it was not long before his *farewel sermon* was to be preached! before he knew any thing about an offer of a voyage to New-England. In his meditations about the state of England, he had strange and strong apprehensions that God would shortly punish England with the calamities of a *war,* and he therefore composed a sermon upon those words of our Saviour, Luke xxi. 20, 21, "When you see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then flee to the mountains." Now, after he was determined for New-England, he did, in a vast assembly, preach *this* for his *farewel sermon;* and therein having mentioned unto them what he took to be the provoking sins of England in general, and of Leicester in particular, he plainly told them, that he was perswaded, God would chastise England with a war, in the sufferings whereof Leicester would have a more than ordinary share. How this *prediction* was afterwards accomplished, is known to mankind; and it was especially

known to Leicester, which being strongly fortified and garrisoned, and having the wealth of all the country about brought into it, was besieged, and at length carried by storm; and the town was horribly plundered, and eleven hundred people were slain in the streets.

But Mr. Higginson having ended his prophetical sermon, he gave thanks to the magistrates and the other Christians of the place, for all the liberty, countenance, and encouragement which they had given unto his ministry: and he told them of his intended removal to New-England, the principal end of which plantation, he then declared, was the propagation of religion; and of the hopes which he had, that New-England might be designed by Heaven as a *refuge* and *shelter* for the non-conformists against the storms that were coming upon the nation, and a region where they might practise the *church-reformation*, which they had been bearing *witness* unto. And so he concluded with a most affectionate prayer for the King, the church, the state, and peculiarly for Leicester, the seat of his former labours. And after this he took his journey, with his family, for London; the streets as he passed along being filled with people of all sorts, who bid him *farewel*, with loud prayers and cries for his *welfare*.

§ 12. When he came to London, he found *three ships* ready to sail for New-England, with *two* more, that were in a month's time to follow after them: filled with godly and honest passengers, among whom there were two other non-conformist ministers. They set sail from the Isle of Wight about the first of May, 1629, and when they came to the Land's End, Mr. Higginson, calling up his children and other passengers unto the stern of the ship, to take their last sight of England, he said, "We will not say, as the separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, 'Farewel, Babylon!' 'farewel, Rome!' but we will say, 'farewel, dear England! farewel, the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there! We do not go to New-England as separatists from the Church of England; though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it: but we go to practise the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the gospel in America.'" And so he concluded with a fervent prayer for the King, and church, and state, in England; and for the presence and blessing of God with themselves, in their present undertaking for New-England. At length, by the good hand of God upon them, they arrived, after a comfortable passage, unto Salem harbour on the twenty-fourth of June ensuing.

§ 13. Mr. Higginson being in this voyage associated with Mr. Skelton, a minister of the like principles with himself, they were no sooner got on shore, but they likewise associated in pursuing their principles and intentions of religion, which were the end of their coming hither. Accordingly, laying before the chief of the people their desires, and their designs of settling a *reformed congregation* in the place, after a frequent converse about the methods of it, they came unto a hearty concurrence to take a day in the following August for it. In order hereunto, Mr. Higginson drew up

a "confession of faith," with a scriptural representation of the "covenant of grace" applied unto their present purpose; whereof *thirty copies* were taken for the *thirty persons* which were to begin the working of *gathering* the *church*. The day was kept as a *fast;* wherein, after the prayers and sermons of the two ministers, these thirty persons did solemnly and severally profess their consent unto the confession and covenant then read unto them; and they proceeded then to chuse Mr. Skelton, Mr. Higginson their teachers, and one Mr. Houghton, for a ruling elder. And after this, many others, joined unto the church thus gathered; but none were admitted, of whose *good conversation in Christ* there was not a satisfactory testimony. By the same token, that at this first *church gathering*, there fell out a remarkable matter which is now to be related. At a time when the church was to be gathered at Salem, there was about thirty miles to the southward of that place a plantation of rude, lewd, mad, English people, who did propose to themselves a gainful trade with the Indians, but quickly came to nothing. A young gentleman belonging to that plantation being at Salem, on the day when the church was gathered, was at what he saw and heard so deeply affected, that he stood up, expressing with much affection his desire to be admitted into their number, which, when they demurred about, he desired that they would at least admit him to make his profession before them. When they allowed *this*, he expressed himself so agreeably, and with so much *ingenuity* and *simplicity*, that they were extreamly pleased with it; and the ministers told him, that they highly approved of his *profession*, but inasmuch as he was a stranger to them, they could not receive him into their communion until they had a further acquaintance with his conversation. However, such was the hold which the grace of God now took of him, that he became an eminent Christian and a worthy and useful person, and not only afterwards joined unto the church of Boston, but also made a great figure in the commonwealth of New-England, as the major-general of all the forces in the colony; it was Major-general Gibbons.

§ 14. The church of Salem now being settled, they enjoyed many *smiles* of Heaven upon them; and yet there were many things that lookt like *frowns;* for they were exercised with many difficulties, and almost an hundred of good people died the first winter of their being here; among whom was Mr. Houghton, an elder of the church. Mr. Higginson also fell into an hectic fever, which much disabled him for the work of his ministry; and the *last sermon* under the incurable growth of this malady upon him, was upon the arrival of many gentlemen and some hundreds of passengers to New-England, in the beginning of the ensuing summer. He then preached on those words of our Saviour, Matth. xi. 7, "What went ye out into the wilderness to see?" From whence, he minded the people of the *design* whereupon this plantation was erected, namely, religion: and of the streights, wants, and various *trials* which in a *wilderness*

they must look to meet withal; and of the need which there was for them to evidence the *uprightness* of their hearts in the end of their coming hither. After this, he was confined unto his bed, and visited by the chief persons of the new-colony, who much bemoaned their loss of so useful a person, but comforted him with the consideration of his faithfulness to the Lord Jesus, in his former sufferings and services, and the honour which the Lord had granted him, to begin a work of *church-reformation* in America.

He replied, "I have been but an unprofitable servant; and all my own doings I count but loss and dung: all my desire is to win Christ, and be found in him, not having my own righteousness!" And he several times declared, "That though the Lord called him away, he was perswaded God would raise up others, to carry on the work that was begun, and that there would yet be many churches of the Lord Jesus Christ in this wilderness." He likewise added, "that though he should leave his desolate wife and eight children, whereof the eldest was but about fourteen years old, in a low condition, yet he left them with his God, and he doubted not, but the faithful God would graciously provide for them." So, in the midst of many prayers, he fell asleep; in the month of August, 1630, and in the forty-third year of his age, and his funeral was attended with all possible solemnity.

§ 15. Reader, prepare to behold and admire and adore the faithfulness of our God, in providing for the children of them that faithfully have served *him*. He moved the hearts of many charitable Christians, who yet were spending on the stocks which they brought out of England with them, to provide as comfortably for the widow and off-spring of this deceased minister as if he had left them some thousands of pounds. And his two sons, who had been brought up at the grammar-school in Leicester, had a particular taste of this liberality, in the provision which was thus made for their having such a learned education as might fit them for the service of the church in the ministry of the gospel.

One of these, Francis by name, was for a time a school-master at our Cambridge; but having attained as much learning as New-England could then afford, he was desirous to visit some European university; and being recommended unto Rotterdam, some Dutch merchants, out of respect unto an hopeful scholar of New-England, contributed fourscore pounds in money to assist his juvenile studies at Leyden. Afterwards having visited some other universities in those parts, he returned into England; where he declined a settlement in some other, which he thought more opinionative, and so more contentious and undesireable places, to which he was invited, and settled at Kerby-Steven in Westmoreland, hoping to do most good among the ignorant people there. But it pleased the God of heaven to permit the first out-breaking of that prodigious and comprehensive heresy, Quakerism, in that very place; and a multitude of people being *bewitched* thereinto, it was a great affliction unto this worthy man; but it occasioned his writing the first book that ever was written against that sink of blas-

phemies, entituled, "*The Irreligion of Northern Quakers.*" This learned person was the author of a Latin treatise, *De quinq, maximis Luminibus: De Luce Increata; De Luce creata; De Lumine Naturæ, Gratiæ et Gloriæ;** and having *illuminated* the house of God in that part of it where our Lord had set him to *shine*, he went away to the *light of glory*, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

The other, named John, has been on some laudable accounts another Origen; for the father of Origen would kiss the uncovered breast of that excellent youth, whilst he lay asleep, as being the temple where the spirit of God was resident, and as Origen, after the untimely death of his father, had his poor mother with six other children to look after; whereupon he taught first a grammar-school, and then betook himself unto the study of divinity; thus this other Higginson, after a pious childhood, having been a school-master at Hartford, and a minister at Saybrook, and afterwards at Guilford, became at length, in the year 1659, a pastor, and a rich and long *blessing*, succeeding his father in his church at Salem. This reverend person, has been always valued for his useful *preaching* and his holy *living;* and besides his constant labours in the *pulpit*, whereby his own flock has been edified the whole country has, by the *press*, enjoyed some of his composures, and by his hand, the composures of some others also, passing the *press*, have been accompanied. Having formerly born his testimony to "*The Cause of God, and his People in New-England,*" in a sermon so entituled, which he preached on the greatest anniversary *solemnity* which occurred in the land, namely, the anniversary election; when he thought, that the advances of old age upon him directed him to *live* in the hourly expectation of *death*, he published a most savoury book, on "*Our dying Saviour's Legacy of Peace to his Disciples in a troublesome world; with a Discourse on the Duty of Christians, to be Witnesses unto Christ; unto which is added, some Help to Self-Examination.*"

Nevertheless, this true Simeon is yet "waiting for the consolation of Israel." This good old man is yet alive; (in the year 1696) arrived unto the eightieth year of his devout age, and about the sixtieth year of his publick work, and he that "from a child knew the holy Scriptures," does, at those years wherein men use to be *twice children*, continue *preaching* them with such a manly, pertinent, judicious vigour, and with so little decay of his intellectual abilities, as is indeed a matter of just admiration. But there was a famous divine in Germany, who on his death bed, when some of his friends took occasion to commend his past painful, faithful, and fruitful ministry, cried out unto them [*Auferte Ignem adhuc enim puleus habeo!*] "Oh! bring not the sparks of your praises near me, as long as I have any chaff left in me!" And I am sensible that I shall receive the like check from this my reverend father, if I presume to do him the *justice* which a few months hence will be done him, in all the churches; nor

* The five Great Lights: Light Uncreated; Light Created; the Light of Nature, of Grace, and of Glory.

would I deserve at his hands the blow which Constantine gave to him, who *Imperatorem ausus est, in Os Beatum dicere.**

§ 16. At the same time that Mr. Francis Higginson was persecuted for his non-conformity in Leicestershire, there was one Mr. Samuel Skelton, who underwent the like persecution in Lincolnshire; and by means hereof they became *fellow-travellers* in their voyage to New-England, and *fellow-labourers* in their service here. All the remembrance that I can recover of this worthy man is, that he survived his colleague, "a good and faithful servant of our Lord, well doing," until August 2, 1634, and retired from an evil world, then to partake with him in the "joy of their Lord."

EPITAPHIUM.

Jacet sub hoc Tumulo, Mortuus,

FRANCISCUS HIGGINSONUS:

Jaceret et ipsa Virtus, si mori posset.
Abi Viator,
Et sis hujus Ordinis Franciscanus.†

CHAPTER II.

THE DEATH OF MR. JOHN AVERY.

THE divine oracles have told us, "That the judgments of God are a great deep:" and indeed it is *in the deep*, that we have seen some of those *judgments* executed.

It has been remarked, that there miscarried but *one vessel* of all those great fleets which brought passengers unto New-England upon the pious and holy designs of the first settlement; which vessel also was but a *pinnace;* nevertheless richly laden, as having in it Mr. Avery.

Mr. Avery, a worthy minister, coming into New-England, was invited unto Marble-head; but there being no *church* there, and the *fishermen* being there generally too remiss to form a church, he went rather to Newberry, intending there to settle.

Nevertheless, both the magistrates and the ministers of the country, urging the common good that would arise from his being at Marble-head, he embarked in a pinnace, with two families, his own and his cousin Mr. Anthony Thacher's, which, with some others then aboard, made in all twenty-three souls; designing in a few hours to have reached the port.

But on August 14, 1635, in the night, there came on as mighty a storm as perhaps was ever known in these parts of the world; a storm which

* Dared to call him Blessed Emperor to his face.

† EPITAPH: Dead beneath this tombstone lies FRANCIS HIGGINSON: and Virtue, if she could die, could lie buried here with him. Away, traveller, and henceforth be a *Franciscan* of his order.

drove the vessel upon a rock, and so tore it, that the poor people sat presently up to the middle in water, expecting every moment the *waves of death* to be rolling over them.

The vessel was quickly broken all to pieces, and almost the whole company drowned, by being successively washed off the rock; only Mr. Thacher, having been a considerable while tossed hither and thither by the violent seas, was at last very strangely cast alive upon the shore; where, much wounded, he found his *wife* a sharer with him in the like deliverance.

While these distressed servants of God were hanging about the rock, and Mr. Thacher had Mr. Avery by the hand, resolving to die together, and expecting by the stroke of the next wave to die, Mr. Avery lift up his eyes to heaven, saying, "We know not what the pleasure of God is; I fear we have been too unmindful of former deliverances: Lord, I cannot challenge a promise of the preservation of my life; but thou hast promised to deliver us from sin and condemnation, and to bring us safe to heaven, through the all-sufficient satisfaction of Jesus Christ; this therefore I do challenge of thee." Which he had no sooner spoken, but he was, by a wave sweeping him off, immediately wafted away to heaven indeed; being well furnished with those *unperishable things:* whereto refers the advice of the famous Duke of Bavaria, *Hujusmodi comparandæ sunt opes, quæ nobiscum possunt simul evatare in Naufragio.**

The next island was therefore called *Thacher's Woe*, and that rock *Avery's Fall.*

Who can, without shedding *tears* almost enough to make a sensible addition unto the lake Leman, call to mind the fate of the incomparable Hottinger, upon that lake, in the year 1667? That incomparably learned and godly man, being by the States-General of the United Provinces, after much importunity, prevailed withal to come unto Leyden, the boat wherein he was, with his wife and three children, and a kinsman, and another person of quality, unhappily overset, by striking on an unseen rock, a little way off the shoar. He, with the two gentlemen, got safe out of the *water;* but seeing his *wife* and *three children* in extream danger of drowning, they went into the water again to save them, and there he, with one of the gentlemen, (and his three children) were drowned themselves. But eight days before this lamentable accident, he found this verse written on the *Doctor's chair* at his ascending it for the publick exercises; whereof the writer could never be found:

Carmina jam Moriens, Canit Exequialia Cygnus.†

Reader, from Hottinger, now return to Avery. Compare the manner of their death; and never forget the memorable *swan-song* which Avery,

* We should amass those treasures which will survive our shipwreck.

† The dying swan chants his own requiem.

not *eight days*, but scarce eight seconds of a minute, before his expiration, sang in the ears of heaven.

What was applied once to Hottinger, shall now be borrowed for Avery, as an

EPITAPHIUM.

Virtutem quis non post Te sectetur eundo,
*Virtutem quandò gloria tanta manet.**

AND ADD,

——Tutum tenet Anchora portum,
Nunc hilaris Ventos ridet, Tumidasque procellas.†

CHAPTER III.

NATUS AD EXEMPLAR,‡ THE LIFE OF MR. JONATHAN BURR.

Exemplo monstrante Viam.§

§ 1. WHEN the interests of David were carried into a *wilderness*, the respects and regards by his Jonathan had thereunto were such, that he at last uttered this exclamation thereupon, "Thy love to me was wonderful!" The interests of our *Jesus*, the true *David*, being lodged very much in an American wilderness, there was a Jonathan, whose *love* thereunto was indeed so wonderful, that it carried him thro' the *many waters* of the Atlantick ocean, to be serviceable thereunto; and this was Mr. Jonathan Burr.

§ 2. He was born at Redgrave, in Suffolk, about the year 1604; descended of godly parents, who gratified the inclinations of this their son with a learned education. But although *literature* did much adorn his childhood, *religion* did so much more; for he had "from a child known the holy Scriptures, which made him wise unto salvation." It is noted that the *rod* of Aaron was made of an *almond-tree;* of which 'twill be no Plinyism to observe (though Pliny observe it,) that it flowers the first of all trees, even in January, in the more southern countries, and bears in March; which has been sometimes employed as an intimation how *quickly* those that are designed for the ministry should *blossom* towards heaven, and be young *Jeremiahs*, and *Johns*, and *Timothies*. Thus did our Jonathan. Even in his very childhood, so *studious* he was, as to leave his *food* for his *book*, but withal so *pious*, that he could neither morning nor evening dare to go without *prayers* to God for his blessing. And as it was his endeavour, whilst a school-boy, to be *every day* in the *fear of the Lord*, so he would on the *Lord's day* discover a singular measure of that *fear;* not only by abstaining from the *liberties* which others of his age then use to take, to *pass the time away*, but also by *devoting the time* to the exercises of *devotion*. His father, observing this disposition of the *child*, hoped, as well he might,

* He follows Virtue who goes after thee;
Thy Virtue's fame his certain guide shall be.

† His ship lies anchored in the port at last,
Smiles at the billow and defies the blast.

‡ Born to be an example.

§ Example shows the way.

that whatever was expended in fitting him for *service*, would be well repaid in the *service* which might be done by him for the church of God; and therefore, after due preparations for it, he sent him unto the university.

§ 3. After he had spent three or four years in *academical* studies, the death of his father fetched him sooner than he would have gone into the country; where, though he kept a school, yet he pursued the design of accomplishing himself with every part of learning, that when those of his years were to take their degrees of *Mastership*, he was one of the *moderators*, which place he discharged with great acceptation. But he afterwards would say, that the awful and humbling providence of God, in the death of his father, which hindred him from those employments and preferments of the university for which he had a particular fondness, had an effect upon him, for which he had reason to admire the wisdom of Heaven; inasmuch as it reduced him to that modest, gracious, careful frame, which made him the fitter for the work of "turning many to righteousness."

§ 4. Having for a while attended that work at Horninger, near Bury in Suffolk, he afterwards undertook the charge of Reckingshal, in the same county, wherein he did most exemplarily express the spirit of a *minister of the New Testament*. He would therein be sometimes ready to envy the more easie condition of the *husbandmen;* but in submission and obedience unto the call of God, he now set his hand unto the *plough* of the Lord Jesus Christ: and therefore in the form of a solemn *covenant*, he obliged himself unto the most conscientious discharge of his ministerial duties; in which discharge he would always beg of God that, whatever *exhortation* he gave unto others, might first be shaped in his own *experience:* and yet sometimes he would complain unto his friends: "Alas! I preach not what I am, but what I ought to be."

§ 5. This *gracious* man, was indeed a very *humble* man, and his *humility* carried him even into a *dejection* of spirit; especially when by importunities he had been prevailed upon to *preach abroad*. Once particularly, there was a person of quality, for whose conversion many prayers had been put up to God, by those who hoped that God might have much *honour* from a *man of honour* brought unto himself. Mr. Burr, preaching at a place far from his own congregation, had a most happy success in the conversion of this gentleman, who not only acknowledged this change with much thankfulness, both to God and the instrument, but also approved himself a *changed man* in the whole frame of his after-conversation. And yet, coming home from the preaching of that sermon, Mr. Burr had a particular measure of his lowly and modest reflections thereupon; adding, "I shall conclude, it is of God, if any good be done by any thing preached by such an unworthy instrument."

§ 6. Hence, on the Lord's day, after he came home from his publick work, it was his manner presently to *retire*, and spend some time in *praying* to God for the *pardon* of the sins which accompanied him in his work,

and in *praising* of God for enabling him to go, in any measure, through it; with petitions for the good success of his labours.

He then would come down to his *family-worship*, wherein he spent some hours *instructing* of the family, and performing of other duties; and when his wife desired him to abate of his excessive pains, his answer would be, "'Tis better to be worn out with work, than to be eaten out with rust." It was indeed his *joy* to be spending his *life* unto the uttermost for God and for his people; yea, he would say, though he should have no *temporal rewards*. Accordingly, when any that had been benefited by his ministry sent him any *tokens* of their gratitude, he would (like Luther) beg of God "That he might not have his portion in such things:" and he desired of his grateful friends, "that if they had gotten any good of him, they would give unto God alone the glory of it." Moreover, if he had understood that any had gained in the concern of their souls by his labours, he would mention it, in some of his private devotions, with this expression, "Lord, of thine own have I given, take then the glory unto thy self: as for me, let my portion be in thy self, and not in the things of this world." But when he was debarred of his liberty to preach, he was even "like a fish out of the water;" and his very *body* languished through a sympathy, with the resentments of his *mind;* saying, "That his preaching was his life; and if he were laid aside from that, he should quickly be dead."

§ 7. It was not on the *Lord's day* only, but *every day*, that this good man was usually, "in the fear of the Lord all the day long." He might say with the Psalmist, "When I awake, I am still with God:" for at his first awaking, he would bless God for the mercies of the night, and then pray, "that he might so number his days, as to apply his heart to wisdom:" and if he awaked in the night, it would commonly be with some *thanksgivings* unto Heaven. Rising in the morning, he would repair to his beloved *study*, where he began the day with *secret prayer* before the Lord: after this, he would read a chapter in the *Old Testament*, spending some time in serious, and solemn, and heart searching *meditations* thereupon: he would then come down into his *family*, where, with his prayers, he would then read and expound, and apply the same chapter unto his own folks, and such of the neighbours as would come in to enjoy his *meditations* at the usual season of them. Retiring then to his study again, he would continue there, till called unto his dinner; and if none came to speak with him after dinner, he would, after some diversion for a while with his *children*, return to his study, where he would then have a time to pray with his *wife;* but if at any time he were invited unto a dinner abroad, he would have a time for *that* service in the forenoon, before his going out.

As the evening drew on, after the like manner, he would read a chapter in the *New Testament*, making his *family* partakers of his *reflections*, with his prayer upon it. And before his going to bed, he usually walked

up and down the room, for half an hour or more, pondering upon *something*, which his wife, desiring to know, "what it was?" he replied, "Seeing thou art so near me, if it may do thee good, I'll tell thee: *First*," he said, he called himself unto an account, "how he had spent the day?" and what sinful *commissions* or *omissions* he had been overtaken with; for which he then begged pardon of God. *Secondly*, he reckoned up the particular *mercies* he had received in the day, rendring of praises to Heaven for those mercies. *Lastly*, he made his *petitions* to God, that he might be prepared for *sudden death:* unto which *third article* in his thoughts, that which gave more special occasion was the sudden death of his brother, an eminent and excellent Christian, whom, he said, he could never forget.

§ 8. When he travelled abroad, he thought long to be at *home* again, through his dissatisfaction at his not having elsewhere so convenient seasons for his communion with God. And when he took any journeys with his friends, it was his manner to enquire, "What good had been done, or gained therein?" and "what good examples had been seen?" and "what good instructions had been heard?" and that there might be no loss of *time* in the journeys, he would be full of *profitable discourse*, especially by way of *occasional reflection* upon things that then occurred unto observation. What he was in a *journey*, the same he was at the table; even like the fire, (what was once writ of Athenodorus) Ἐξαπτων παντα τα παραχειμενα.* So that they who would bear no part in a gracious *communication*, would be *dumb* where-ever he came; and some of the roughest and rudest hearers would have *tears* fetched from their eyes at the soul-melting expressions that passed from his mouth. Moreover, at a *feast* he would eat more sparingly than at another time, giving us his reason for his temperance, the advice of the wise man: "Put a knife to thy throat;" and he would say, "Where there are many varieties, there are many temptations."

§ 9. It was his wont, before the Lord's Supper, to keep a day of solemn fasting and prayer alone, with his *wife*, as well to prepare themselves for that sacred ordinance, as to obtain the manifold blessings of Heaven upon his family and neighbourhood. Such was his *piety*. And as for his *charity*, he seldom visited the *poor*, but with *spirituals* he communicated also *temporals* unto them: for which, when some of his friends intimated that he might err, in reserving no more for himself, he would answer, "I often think of those words, he that soweth sparingly, shall reap sparingly." It was also remarkable to see how much his own personal *joys* and *griefs* were swallowed up in the *sympathy* which he had with the condition of the whole church abroad: when he heard it was *well* with the church, he would say, "Blessed be God, that it goes well with them, whatever becomes of me!" But if *ill*, none of his own private prosperity kept him from feeling it, as a true member of that *mystical body*. Finally, all

* Which touches every thing near it.

the graces which thus rendred him amiable to those that were about him, were attended with such *Mosaic meekness* as made him yet further amiable: he would be *zealous* when he saw dishonour cast on the name of God, but *patient* under injury offered unto himself. If he were informed that any thought meanly of him, he would not be moved at it, but say, "I think as meanly of my self, and therefore may well be content that others think meanly of me:" and when evil hath been charged on him, he has replied, "If men see so much, what does God see?" Disgraceful and unworthy speeches bestowed upon him, he would call *his gains;* but it was his trouble to find himself applauded. His friends might indeed have said of him, as Luther of Melancthon, *Mihi plane videtur saltem in hoc errare, quod Christum ipse fingat longius abesse à Corde suo, quàm sit re vera: certè nimis Nullus in hoc est noster* Jonathan.*

§ 10. This bright *star* must move westward. He, with many fellow-sufferers for the "testimony of Jesus," being silenced in England; and foreseeing a dismal *storm* a coming upon the nation, till the overpassing whereof he saw many *praying saints* directed unto America for *chambers of safety;* and willing to forego all worldly advantages for the enjoyment of gospel ordinances, administered without the mixtures of *humane inventions;* he removed into New-England, having his three children with him, and his wife big with a fourth, in his remove; where arriving, it refreshed him not a little to see the escaped people of God, with "harps in their hands," there singing the "song of Moses." He came into New-England at a time when there was not so much want of *lights* as of *golden candlesticks* wherein to place the lights; but he was not long there before he was invited by the church of Dorchester to be an assistant unto the well-known Mr. Richard Mather.

§ 11. The *evil one*, disturbed at the happiness of Dorchester, very strongly endeavoured a *misunderstanding* between Mr. Mather and Mr. Burr; and the misunderstanding did proceed so far as to produce a *paroxism.*

It was judged by some of the brethren in the church that Mr. Burr had expressed himself erroneously in certain points, then much agitated throughout the country; and Mr. Mather, upon their desire, examining the propositions which this good man had written, thought he could not altogether clear them from exceptions. Hereupon grew such alienations, that they could not be well re-united without calling in the help of neighbouring churches in a *council;* which council directing both Mr. Mather and Mr. Burr to acknowledge what *misunderstandings* were then discovered in this business, those two good men set apart a day for the *reconciliation;* and with such exemplary expressions of *humility* and *affection* rectified all that had been out of joint, that God was exceedingly glorified, and the peace of the *church* effectually restored and maintained.

* It is evident to me that he errs in pretending that Christ is farther from his heart than is really true. Surely in this my Jonathan seems to depreciate himself to an unreasonable extent.

§ 12. This true Barnabas was not only to give the churches of New-England a *consolatory visit* in his passage unto glory, that he might leave them an example of that *love*, *patience*, *holiness*, and *fruitfulness*, which would make them an happy people. Though he had not *persecution* to try him in this wilderness, yet he was not without his trials; for, as 'tis well observed in the discourse, *De Duplici Martyrio*,* which goes under the name of Cyprian, *Si deest Tyrannus, si Tortor, si Spoliator, non deerit concupiscentia, Martyrii Materiam quotidianam nobis exhibens.*† The next year after he came to New-England, he was taken sick of the small-pox; out of which he nevertheless recovered, and came forth as "gold that had been tryed in the fire." He then renewed and applied the *covenant of grace*, by the suitable recognitions of the following instrument:

"I, Jonathan Burr, being brought in the arms of Almighty God over the vast ocean, with my family and friends, and graciously provided for in a wilderness; and being sensible of my own *unprofitableness* and *self-seeking;* yet of infinite mercy, being called unto the tremendous work of *feeding souls*, and being of late with my family delivered out of a great affliction of the small-pox; and having found the fruit of that affliction; God tempering, ordering, mitigating the *evil* thereof, so as I have been graciously and speedily delivered; I do promise and *vow* to Him that hath done all things for me; *First*, That I will aim only at his *glory*, and the *good* of souls, and not *my self* and *vain glory:* and that, *Secondly*, I will walk humbly, with lower thoughts of my self, considering what a poor creature I am: a puff of breath, sustained only by the *power* of His *grace;* and therefore, *Thirdly*, I will be more *watchful* over my heart, to *keep* it in a due frame of *holiness* and *obedience*, without running out so far to the creature; for I have seen that he is mine only help in time of need; *Fourthly*, that I will put more weight upon that *firm promise*, and *sure truth*, that God is a "God hearing prayer;" *Fifthly*, that I will set up *God*, more in my family, more in my self, wife, children and servants; conversing with them in a more serious and constant manner; for *this* God aimed at in sending his hand into my family at this time.

"MEMENTO MORI.‡

"*In Meipso Nihil; in Christo Omne.*"§

Nor was his *heavenly conversation* afterwards disagreeable to these grateful resolutions of his devout soul. By the same token, that the famous Mr. Thomas Hooker, being one of his auditors when he preached in a great audience at Charlestown, had this expression about him: "Surely, this man wont be long out of heaven, for he preaches as if he were there already." And the most experienced Christians in the country found still in his *ministry*, as well as in his whole *behaviour*, the breathing of such a *spirit* as was very greatly to their satisfaction. They could not but call him, as Dionysius was once called, Πετεινον τῆς 'ουρανῆ,—*the bird of heaven.* Had it not been *old Adam's world*, so innocent, so excellent, so heavenly a person, could not have met with such *exercises* as he and others like him then sometimes did, even from their *truest brethren.*

§ 13. Having just been preaching about the *redemption of time*, he fell

* Twofold martyrdom. [martyrdom.

† If there be no tyrant, no torturer, no robber, there will still be evil passions, furnishing daily occasions for

‡ Keep death in mind.

§ In myself, I am nothing; in Christ, I am all things.

into a sickness of ten days' continuance; during which time, he expressed a wonderful patience and submission upon all occasions. His wife, perceiving his *willingness to die*, asked him, "whether he were desirous to leave her and his children?" Whereto his answer was, "Do not mistake me: I am not desirous of that; but I bless God that now my will is the Lord's will: if he will have me to live yet with my dear wife and children, I am willing. I will say to you, my dear wife and children, as the apostle says, 'It is better for you, that I abide with you; but it is better for me to be dissolved and to be with Christ.'" And perceiving his wife's disconsolation, he asked her, "if she could not be willing to part with him;" whereupon, when she intimated how hard it was, he exhorted her to acquiesce in that God who would be *better than ten husbands:* adding, "Our parting is but for a time; I am sure we shall one day meet again." Being discouraged by finding himself unable to put on his clothes, one of his friends told him "his work was now to lie still:" at which he complained, "I lie slugging a bed, when others are at work!" But being minded of *God's will* that it should be so, *that* quieted him. Observing how diligently his wife tended him, he said unto her, "Don't spend so much time with me, but go thy way and spend some time in prayer: thou knowest not what thou mayst obtain from God; I fear lest thou look too much upon this affliction." A day or two before his death, he blessed his children; and the night before he died, he was overheard sometimes to say, "I will wait until my change come;" and "Why art thou so loath to die?" A few hours before his death, it was observed that he had a sore conflict with the "angel of death," who was now shooting his last *arrows* at him; and when one of the standers-by said, "The sting of death is taken away; the Lord Jesus Christ has overcome death for you; this is one of Satan's last assaults; his work is now almost at an end; though he be a subtil enemy, and would, if it were possible, deceive the very elect;" he presently laid hold on that last expression "if it were possible!" said he, "Blessed be God there is no possibility!" After this, he requested the company might withdraw, that so he might have an opportunity to pray for a while by himself; but seeing the company loth to leave the room, he prayed in Latin as long as he had strength to do it. When he was to appearance just expiring, he called for his wife; and stedfastly fixing his eyes upon her, he said, "Cast thy care upon God, for he careth for thee." About half an hour after this, when death had been for some while drawing the curtains about him, his last words were those unto his wife, "Hold fast, hold fast!" So he finished his pilgrimage, on August 9, 1641.

§ 14. Unto that vertuous gentlewoman his wife, he expressed himself with great confidence, "That God would certainly provide well for her;" and that gentlewoman, shortly after being honourably and comfortably married unto another gentleman of good estate, namely, Richard Dummer, Esq., once a magistrate of the colony, lived with him near forty years;

and was more than forty years after alive to testify her experience of the accomplishment which God had given unto that faith of her dying husband: who at his death commended his family to God, in strains not unlike those of the dying Widerus:

Christe, tibi soli mea pignora Viva relinquo,
Quorum post Mortem Tu Pater esto meam.
Qui cunctis Vitæ miserum me jugiter Annis
Pavisti, Largam dans Mihi semper opem;
Tu quoque Pasce meos defende, tuere, doceque
Et tandem ad Cœil gaudia transfer. Amen.*

EPITAPHIUM.

Mortuus hic Jacet, qui in Omnium Cordibus Vivit.
Omnes Virtutes, quæ Vivunt post Funera,
In Unius BURRI *Funere invenerunt Sepulchrum.*†

To make up his epitaph, I will borrow a line or two from the tomb-stone of Volkmarus:

Hic Jacet Exutis nimium cito BURRIUS *Annis,*
Adjuga Suggestus, Magne MATHERE, *Tui.*
Si magis Annosam licuisset condere Vitam,
Ac Scriptis Animum notificare Libris,
Tot Verbis non esset opus hoc Sculpere Saxum;
Sufficerent Quatuor, BURRIUS *hic situs est.*‡

CHAPTER IV.

THE LIFE OF MR. GEORGE PHILIPS.

Vitâ Ministri est Censura et Cynosura.§

§ 1. NOT only the common sign-posts of every town, but also some famous orders of *knighthood* in the most famous nations of Europe, have entertained us with traditions of a certain champion, by the name of St. GEORGE *dignified and distinguished.* Now, whilst *many* do, with Calvin, reckon this notable St. George, with his brother St. Kit, among the *larvæ* and *fables* of the romantic monks; others, from the honourable mention of him in so many *liturgies*, do think there might be such a man; but then he must be no other, neither better nor worse, in the most probable opinion of Rainolds, than George the Arrian bishop of Alexandria, the antagonist and adversary of Athanasius; of this memorable trooper, the Arrians feigned miracles, and with certain disguises imposed the fame of him upon the *orthodox.* But the churches of New-England being wholly unconcerned

* To thee, O Christ, this tender flock I leave;
Be Thou their father when I am no more,
Thou from the morn of life until its eve
Hast fed me with the riches of Thy store:
These little ones so feed, protect, and love,
And then translate them to Thy rest above.

† EPITAPH: Here he lies dead, but he lives in the hearts of all.
All those great virtues, which the tomb defy,
Now sleep within it, where our Burr doth lie.

‡ Here lieth BURR, whose span too soon was sped:
BURR, whom in life our own great MATHER led.
Alas! had he but reached a riper age,
And stamped his genius on some deathless page,
No sculpture need upon this stone appear,
Save one brief, meaning sentence: "BURR LIES HERE."

§ The life of the minister is a reproach to some—a guiding-star to others.

with any such a St. George, and wishing that they had been less concerned with many Quakers, whose chief apostles have been so many of them called *Georges*, but in effect so many *dragons*, there was one George who was indeed among the first *saints* of New-England! and that *excellent man of our land* was Mr. George Philips.

§ 2. He was born at Raymund, in the county of Norfolk; descended of honest parents, who were encouraged by his great proficiency at the grammar-school to send him unto the university; where his good *invention*, strong *memory*, and solid *judgment*, with the blessing of God upon all, attained a degree of learning that may be called *eminent*. The diligent reading of the *fathers*, while he was yet himself among *young men*, was one of the things that gave a special ornament unto that skill in *theology*, whereto he attained; but that which yet further fitted him to become a *divine*, was his being "made partaker of the divine nature," by the sanctification of all his abilities for the service of God, in a true *regeneration*.

§ 3. Devoting himself to the work of the ministry, his employment befel him at Boxford in Essex; whereof he found much acceptance with good men; as being a man "mighty in the Scriptures." But his acquaintance with the writings and persons of some old *non-conformists* had instilled into him such principles about *church-government*, as were like to make him unacceptable unto some who then drove the world before them. Some of these principles he had intimated in his publick preaching; whereupon some of his unsatisfied hearers repaired unto old Mr. Rogers of Dedham, with some intimations of their dissatisfaction. But Mr. Rogers, although he had not much studied the controversy, yet had so high a respect for Mr. Philips, that he said, he "believed Mr. Philips would preach nothing without some good evidence for it from the word of God, and therefore they should be willing to regard whatever Mr. Philips might, from that word, make evident unto them." And as for Mr. Philips, the more he was put upon the study and searching of the *truth*, in the matter controverted, the more he was confirmed in his own opinion of it.

§ 4. When the *spirit of persecution* did at length with the extreamest violence, urge a conformity to *ways* and *parts* of divine worship, conscientiously scrupled by such persons as our Mr. Philips. *He*, with many more of his neighbours, entertained thoughts of transporting themselves and their families into the desarts of America, to prosecute and propagate the glorious designs of the gospel, and spread the *light* of it in those "goings down of the sun," and being resolved accordingly to accompany the excellent Mr. Winthrop in that undertaking, he with many other devout Christians, embarqued for New-England, where they arrived in the year 1630, through the *good hand of God* upon them. Here, quickly after his landing, he lost the *desire of his eyes*, in the death of his *desirable consort*, who, though an only child, had cheerfully left her *parents*, to serve the Lord Jesus Christ with her husband in a terrible wilderness. At Salem she

died, entering into the everlasting peace; and was very solemnly interred near the Right Honourable the Lady Arabella, the sister of the Earl of Lincoln, who also took New-England in her way to heaven.

§ 5. Mr. Philips, with several gentlemen and other Christians, having chosen a place upon Charles-River for a town, which they called Water-Town, they resolved that they would combine into a *church-fellowship* there, as their *first work;* and build the *house* of God before they could build many houses for themselves; thus they "sought, *first*, the kingdom of God!" And, indeed, Mr. Philips being better acquainted with the true *church-discipline* than most of the ministers that came with him into the country, their proceedings about the gathering and ordering of their church, were *methodical* enough, though not made in all things a *pattern* for all the rest. Upon a day set apart for solemn fasting and prayer, the very next month after they came ashore, they entred into this *holy covenant:*

"JULY 30, 1630.

"WE whose names are hereto subscribed, having through God's mercy escaped out of *pollutions* of the world, and been taken into the *society* of his people, with all thankfulness do hereby both with *heart* and *hand* acknowledge, *that* his gracious goodness, and fatherly care, towards us: and for further and more full declaration thereof, to the present and future ages, have undertaken (for the promoting of his glory and the church's good, and the honour of our blessed Jesus, in our more full and free subjecting of our selves and ours, under his gracious government, in the practice of, and obedience unto all his holy ordinances and orders, which he hath pleased to prescribe and impose upon us) a long and hazardous voyage from *east to west*, from Old England in Europe, to New-England in America; that we may walk before him, and 'serve him without fear in holiness and righteousness, all the days of our lives:' and being safely arrived here, and thus far onwards peaceably preserved by his special providence, that we may bring forth our intentions into *actions*, and perfect our *resolutions*, in the beginnings of some just and meet *executions;* we have *separated* the *day* above written from all other services, and *dedicated* it wholly to the Lord in divine employments, for a day of *afflicting our souls* and humbling our selves before the Lord, to seek *him*, and at his hands, a way to walk in, by *fasting* and *prayer*, that we *might know what was good in his sight:* and the Lord was intreated of us.

"For in the end of that day, after the finishing of our publick duties, we do all, before we depart, solemnly and with all our hearts, *personally*, man by man for our selves and ours (charging *them* before Christ and his elect angels, even *them* that are not here with us this day, or are yet unborn, that they keep the promise unblameably and faithfully unto the coming of our Lord Jesus) promise, and *enter into a sure covenant* with the Lord our God, and before him with one another, by *oath* and serious *protestation* made, to renounce all *idolatry* and *superstition*, *will-worship*, all humane *traditions* and *inventions* whatsoever, in the worship of God; and forsaking all *evil ways*, do give our selves wholly unto the Lord Jesus, to do him faithful service, observing and keeping all his statutes, commands, and ordinances, in all matters concerning our *reformation;* his worship, administrations, ministry, and government; and in the carriage of our selves among our selves, and one towards another, as he hath prescribed in his holy *word*. Further swearing to cleave unto *that* alone, and the true sense and meaning thereof to the utmost of our power, as unto the most clear *light* and infallible *rule*, and all-sufficient *canon*, in all things that concern us in this our way. In witness of all, we do *exanimo*, and in the presence of God, hereto set our *names* or *marks*, in the day and year above written."

About forty men, whereof the *first* was that excellent Knight Sir Richard Saltonstal, then subscribed this instrument, in order unto their coalescence into a *church-estate;* which I have the more particularly recited, because it was one of the *first* ecclesiastical transactions of this nature managed in the colony. But in after time, they that joined unto the church, subscribed a form of the covenant, somewhat altered, with a "confession of faith" annexed unto it.

§ 6. A *church* of believers being thus gathered at Watertown, this reverend man continued for divers years among them, faithfully discharging the duties of his ministry to the "flock, whereof he was made the overseer;" and as a "faithful steward giving to every one their meat in due season." Herein he demonstrated himself to be *a real divine;* but not in any thing more, than in his most intimate acquaintance with the *divine oracles* of the Scripture: being fully of Jerom's perswasion, *Ama Scientiam Scripturarum, et Vitia Carnis non amabis.** He had so thoroughly perused and pondered them, that he was able on the sudden to turn unto any *text*, without the help of Concordances; and they were so much his *delight*, that as it has been by some of his family affirmed, "he read over the whole Bible six times every year:" nevertheless he did use to say, "That every time he read the Bible, he observed or collected something, which he never did before." There was a famous prince of Transylvania, who found the time to read over the Bible no less than twenty-seven times. There was a famous King of Arragon, who read over the Bible fourteen times, with Lyra's Commentaries. A religious person, who was a close prisoner in a dark dungeon, having a candle brought him, for the few minutes in the day when his poor meals were to be eaten, chose then to read a little of his Bible, and eat his *necessary food* when the candle was gone. Yea, the Emperour Theodosius wrote out the New Testament with his own hand; and Bonaventure did as much by the Old; and some have, like Zuinglius and Beza, lodged vast paragraphs of it in the memories. Among such memorable students in the Scriptures, our Philips deserves to have some remembrance: who was fully of the opinion expressed by Luther, "If the letters of Princes are to be read three times over, surely then God's letters (as Gregory calls the Scriptures) are to be read seven times thrice, yea, seventy times seven, and, if it could be, a thousand times over;" and he might say with Ridley, giving an account of how much of the Bible he had learnt by heart, "Though in time a great part of the study departed from me, yet the sweet smell thereof, I trust, I shall carry with me to heaven." Indeed, being well skilled in the *original tongues*, he could see further into the Scriptures than most other men; and thereby being "made wise unto salvation," he also became "a man of God, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."

§ 7. Hence also he became an able *disputant;* and ready upon all occa-

* Love the study of the Scriptures, and you will not love the vices of the flesh.

sions to maintain what he delivered from the word of God; for which cause his hearers counted him, "the irrefragable Doctor;" though he were so *humble* and *modest*, as to be very averse unto disputation, until driven thereto by extream necessity. One of his hearers, after some conference with him about *infant-baptism*, and several points of *church-discipline*, obtained a copy of the arguments in writing for his further satisfaction. This copy the man sends over to England, which an Anabaptist there published with a pretended *confutation;* whereby the *truth* lost nothing, for Mr. Philips hereupon published a judicious treatise, entituled, "*A Vindication of Infant-Baptism*," whereto there is added another, "*Of the Church.*" This book was honourably received and mentioned, by the eminent assembly of *London ministers;* and a preface full of honour was thereto prefixed by the famous Mr. Thomas Shepard; notwithstanding the difference between him and Mr. Philips, upon one or two points, whereabout those two learned neighbours managed a controversy with so much *reason*, and yet candor and kindness, that if all *theological controversies* had been so handled, we need not so much wish, *Liberari ab Implacabilibus Theologorum Odiis.**

§ 8. About fourteen years continued he in his ministry at Watertown; in which time his ministry was blessed for the *conversion* of many unto God, and for the *edification* and *confirmation* of many that were converted. He was, indeed, "a good man, and full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost:" and for that cause he was not only in publick, but in private also, very full of holy discourse on all occasions; especially on the Lord's day at noon, the time intervening between the two exercises, he would spend in conferring with such of his good people as resorted unto his house, at such a rate as marvellously *ministered grace unto the hearers;* not wanting any time *then*, as it seems, for any further *preparations* than what he had still aforehand made for the publick sermons of the afternoon.

§ 9. He laboured under many bodily infirmities: but was especially liable unto the *cholick;* the extremity of one fit whereof, was the *wind* which carried him afore it into the *haven* of eternal rest, on July 1, in the year 1644, much desired and lamented by his church at Watertown; who testified their affection to their deceased *pastor* by a special care to promote and perfect the education of his eldest *son*, whereof all the country, but especially the town of Rowly, have since reaped the benefit.

EPITAPHIUM.

Hic Jacet GEORGIUS PHILIPPI.

Vir Incomparabilis, nisi SAMUELEM *genuisset.*†

* To be delivered from the implacable contentions of theologians.

† EPITAPH: Here lies George Philips: an incomparable man, had he not been the father of Samuel.

CHAPTER V.

PASTOR EVANGELICUS;* THE LIFE OF MR. THOMAS SHEPARD.

———Nec Mireris,
Animam tam Subitò in Cœlum avolasse, nam vicem
Alarum sibi supplêrunt Preces suæ et suspiria.†

§ 1. It was the gracious and savoury speech uttered by one of the greatest personages in England, and perhaps in all Europe, unto a grave minister: "I have (said he) passed through many places of honour and trust, both in church and state, more than any of my order in England, for seventy years before. But were I assured that by my preaching, I had converted but one soul unto God, I should herein take more comfort, than in all the honours and offices that have ever been bestowed upon me." Let my reader now go with me, and I will show him one of the *happiest* men that ever we saw; as great a *converter of souls* as has ordinarily been known in our days.

§ 2. Amongst those *famous*, whereof there were *diverse*, ministers of New-England, which were born in or near the first lustre of King James' reign, one of the least inconsiderable was our Mr. Thomas Shepard; whose father, Mr. William Shepard, called him Thomas, because his birth was November 5, *Anno* 1605, as near as could be guessed, at the very *hour* when the blow should have been given in the execrable gun-powder treason; a villany, concerning which he said, "This child of his would hardly be able to believe that ever such a wickedness could be attempted by the sons of men." His father had six daughters and three sons, whereof this Thomas, born in Towcester, near Northampton, was the youngest; and as he lived a prudent, so he died a pious man, while his *youngest* son was but a *youth*. Our Thomas had in his childhood laboured under the discouragements, first of a bitter step-mother, and then of a cruel schoolmaster, till God stirred up the heart of his *eldest brother* to become a *father* unto him, who, for the use of his portion, brought him up.

§ 3. Bending his mind now to study, he became fit for the university at fifteen years of age; where he was placed under the tuition of Mr. Cockrel, a Northamptonshire man, fellow of Immanuel Colledge.

But when he had been upwards of two years in that colledge, this young man, who had been heretofore under more *ineffectual operations* of the Divine Word upon him, was now more *effectually called* unto a saving acquaintance with him, that is our true Immanuel. The ministry of Mr. Chaderton and Mr. Dickinson struck his heart with powerful convictions

* Evangelical Pastor.

† Nay, wonder not that he, with flight so keen,
Hath entered glory: for he sought the skies
On wings of prayer and penitential sighs.

of his miseries in his *unregeneracy;* and while he shook off those *convictions*, it pleased God that a devout scholar, walking with him, fell into discourses about the miseries of an unregenerate man, whereby the *arrows* of God were struck deeper into him. At another time, falling into a *pious company*, where they conferred about *the wrath of God*, and the *extremity* and *eternity* of it, this added unto his awakenings; and though *profane company* afterwards caused him to lose much of the sense which he had of these things, yet when Dr. Preston came thither, his first sermon on that ["Be renewed in the spirit of your mind"] so *renewed* the former impressions which had been upon him, that he soon approved himself a person truly *renewed in his own spirit*, and converted unto God. From this time, which was in the year 1624, he set himself especially on the work of daily *meditation*, which he attended every evening before supper; meditating on "the evil of sin, the terror of God's wrath, the day of death and judgment, the beauty of the Lord Jesus Christ;" and "the deceitfulness of his own heart," until he found the *transforming influence* of those things upon his own soul; a course which afterwards he would mightily commend unto others that consulted him; and he rested not until coming to see that in the Lord Jesus Christ alone there was laid up the full supply of all spiritual wants, he found the grace of God enabling him to accept of that precious Lord, and rejoice in that *wisdom*, and *righteousness*, and *sanctification*, and *redemption* which *He is made* unto us: whence afterwards, drawing up a catalogue of the *Divine favours* unto him, he had therein these passages among the rest, which are from thence now transcribed:

"The Lord is the God that sent, I think, the best ministers in the world to call me; Dr. Preston and Mr. Goodwin. The words of the first, at the first sermon he made, when he came into the colledge, as master of it; and divers that he preached at that time, did open my heart, and convince me of my unbelief, and my total emptiness of all, and enmity against all good. And the Lord made me honour him highly, and love him dearly, though many godly men spake against him. And he is the God that in these ordinances convinced me of my guilt and filth of sin, especially self seeking, and love of honour of men in all I did; and humbled me under both, so as to make me set an higher price upon Christ and grace, and loath my self the more, and so I was eased of a world of discouragement. He also showed me the worth of Christ, and made my soul satisfied with him, and cleave to him, because God had made him righteousness; and hence also revealed his free justification, and gave me support and rest upon and in his promises made to them that receive him as Lord and King; which I found my heart long unwilling to. And this was the ground, or rather occasion of many horrid temptations of Atheism, Judaism, Familism, Popery, Despair, as having sinned the unpardonable sin; yet the Lord, at last, made me yield up my self to his condemning will, as good; which gave me great peace and quietness of heart, through the blood and pity of Christ. I have met with all kinds of temptations, but after my conversion. I was never tempted to Arminianism, my own experience so sensibly confuting the *freedom of will*."

§ 4. One Dr. Wilson, having a purpose, with a most noble and pious charity, to maintain a lecture, the ministers of Essex, in one of their

monthly *fasts*, propounded unto Mr. Shepard, the service of this lecture to be attended in the great town of Coggeshal. But the people of Earl's Coln, on that very day, when the ministers were together in Tarling at prayer, for the direction of Heaven in this matter, so affectionately addressed them, for the benefit of this lecture, that it was granted unto *them*, for the three years ensuing. Mr. Shepard, having proceeded Master of Arts at Cambridge, accepted now an invitation to Earl's Coln; and at the end of three years the inhabitants were so loath to let him go, that they gathered among themselves a convenient salary to support him still amongst them: though his *lecture* were gone. At Earl's Coln then he tarried, and prevailed for the *lecture* to be settled the next three years in Towcester, the place of his nativity; and for Mr. Stone to be employed in the labour of it; which was to him an extreame satisfaction.

§ 5. Although Mr. Shepard were but a young man, yet there was that *majesty* and *energy* in his preaching, and that *holiness* in his life, which was not ordinary. And God made him a rich blessing, not only to Coln, but unto all the towns round about; wherein there were *many* converted unto God, and *sundry* were so affected unto this instrument of their conversion, that they afterwards went a thousand leagues to enjoy his ministry. But when Dr. Laud becomes Bishop of London, Mr. Shepard must no longer be preacher at Coln: he was quickly silenced, for none but that fault, which was then known by the name of *Puritanism:* and being silenced, he withdrew to the kind family of the Harlackinden's, where, applying himself more exactly to the study of the *ceremonies* in the worship of God then imposed, the more he studied them, the less he liked them. Among other things that signalized him, after his acquaintance with Mr. Harlackinden, I find one memorable passage reported by Mr. Woodcock, with sufficient evidence, in Mr. Baxter's book about, "the worlds of spirits." In the chamber of a toumb house, where two of Mr. Harlackinden's men did use to lie, there was always, at two a clock in the morning, the sound of a *great bell* tolling. Mr. Harlackinden would once lie there, between his two servants, to satisfie himself about it. At the usual time came the usual sound, which threw the gentleman into no little consternation. But Mr. Shepard, with some Christians, having spent a night in prayer at this place, the noise never gave any disturbance after.

Once and again after this, finding the resolution of the bishop to ruine him, if he did not leave the country, he seasonably received letters of Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, minister of Rowly, in Yorkshire, encouraging him to visit those parts, and accept employment in the house of Sir Richard Darly, of Buttercrambe, in that county. Driven to follow this counsel, his journey proved as troublesome in all the *winter-circumstances* of it, as a traveller could have wished for; and after he had swam for his life, by missing his way over some overflown bridges, he made it late on Saturday-night before he came to York; but there having refreshed him self, he went on

to Buttercrambe that night, which was about seven miles further, where, wet, and cold, and late, he that night arrived.

§ 6. It added unto his discouragements when, on the first night of his arrival, he found gross *profanities* prevailing both in the family and in the neighbourhood; but God quickly made him instrumental to a blessed *change* in both. The *profanest* persons thereabouts were soon *touched* with the efficacy of his *ministry* and his *conference;* and *prayer* with *fasting*, as well as other *exercises of devotion*, succeeded in the room of their former *wildnesses*. Both Sir Richard and all his sons, as well as many others there, had cause to bless God that ever they saw the face of that holy man: and as a testimony of their affection for him, they encouraged his marriage with the *knight's* near kinswoman, who upon this account also enlarged her portion, about the year 1632. But Bishop Neal here would not allow him any liberty for his ministry, without a *subscription*, which his better informed conscience could not make; and this occasioned his removal upon a call unto a town of Northumberland, called Heddon; where his labours were prospered unto the souls of many people. One of the houses which he then hired was haunted with a devil, as was commonly conceived upon the departure of a noted witch, who had been the former inhabitant; and the house was troubled with strange noises, till the earnest prayers of this man of God procured a deliverance from so extream a trouble. But thither also the *zeal* of the bishop reached him, and forbad his preaching there any more; no, nor durst the more ingenuous Dr. Morton, the Bishop of Durham, afford him any countenance or connivance, inasmuch as the primate of England had looked with so hard an eye upon him.

§ 7. While he was thus denyed the liberty of preaching the truths of the gospel, as much as in the remotest corners of the land, the removal of Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone, and Mr. Weld into New-England, had awakened many pious people, all England over, to think of the like removal; and several of his friends already gat into New-England, as well as others that were now going thither, invited him to accompany them in the condition of that plantation. Wherefore he considered with himself *that* he could not propose to himself the peaceable exercise of his ministry in any part of England; *that* his most intimate *friends* had many ways expressed their desires of his going with them into another country; *that* many eminent ministers, and excellent Christians, had already transplanted themselves; *that* he could not with a safe conscience comply with the *ceremonies* and *mixt communion* at home; *that* it was his duty to seek the enjoyment of *divine ordinances* in a further measure than was there attainable; and *that* it would be a sad thing for him, in case of mortality, to leave his wife and son in the midst of the *northern barbarities;* which considerations now disposed him for New-England. So having preached his farewell sermon at Newcastle, he came from thence in a disguise to

Ipswich, and from thence to Earl's Coln: longing to be in a country where he might not lose any more precious time through the inconveniences of *unsettlement.*

§ 8. Mr. Shepard and Mr. Norton coming now together unto Yarmouth, to take shipping for New-England, they were much way-laid by pursevants, employed for the *trepanning* and *entrapping* of them; and these pursevants had proceeded so far as by a sum of money to obtain a promise from a boy, belonging to the house where they scented Mr. Shepard's quarters, that he would open the door for them, to take him at a certain hour of the night. But, behold the watchful providence of God over his faithful servants! The gracious and serious words of Mr. Shepard, in the hearing of this unlucky boy, struck him with horror to think that he should be so wicked as to betray such an holy man. Whereupon the convinced boy did with tears discover the whole plot unto his godly master, who forthwith conveyed Mr. Shepard out of the way, and confounded the *setters* that would have catched him.

§ 9. It was the latter end of the year 1634, *when sailing was now dangerous*, that Mr. Shepard shipped himself in a ship of about four hundred tun, commanded by a very able seaman, but under a perpetual *entail* and *series* of disasters, after some *injustice* had been used about her. They set sail from Harwich upon the edge of the winter; but after several deliverances from several distresses, within a few hours of their first setting out, the winds drove them again back into Yarmouth road; where there arose one of the most fearful storms that ever was known. They thought they had lost all their anchors, and with their *anchors* all their *hopes;* and though thousands from Yarmouth walls did pity them, yet none could relieve them: however, the compassions of an eminent officer, then amongst the spectators, were a little distinguished, when he scoffingly said, "As for a poor collier there in the road, he pitied him very much; but as for the Puritans in the other ship, he was not concerned; their faith would save them." In this extremity, Mr. Shepard, with all the *mariners* in one part of the ship, and Mr. Norton, with two hundred *passengers* in the other, poured out their most fervent prayers unto Almighty God; whereupon the wind immediately so abated, that the ship stayed; and they found, though the upper part of the vessel was all broken, yet their last anchor unbroken, and themselves *delivered from so great a death.*

§ 10. The next day, which was the *Lord's day*, he went ashore to Yarmouth, where one of his *first works* was to bury his *first-born son;* though he durst not himself be present at the burial, because his danger from the *horrid mancatchers* ashore had less of mercy and more of horror in it, than what he escaped from the merciless and horrible waves of the sea. Mr. Bridge, of Norwich, now kindly invited him thither; whither, when he came, the worthy Madam Corbet freely offered him a great house of hers, then standing empty at Bastwick; and there he spent all the winter.

in the company and with the assistance of Mr. Harlackinden, a friend that *loved him at all times.* In the spring he went up to London; where by a removal from the lodgings which he took on his first arrival there, he again very narrowly escaped those " to whom such a shepherd was an abomination."

The *perils* wherein he was continually, "from his own countrymen," compelled him once more to encounter the *perils at sea;* so that in July following, he sailed from Gravesend, in a bottom too decayed and feeble indeed for such a voyage; but yet well accommodated with the society of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Jones, and other Christians, which more significantly made good the *name* of the ship, *The Defence.* In their first storm, the vessel sprang a leak, which let in the water faster than both pumps were able to turn it out; a *leak* eighteen inches long, and an inch wide: but it was, though with much difficulty, found and stopped, just as they were upon diverting into Ireland for their safety. Being thus again delivered, they got into New-England, and on October 3, they were set ashore at Boston; from whence, within a day or two, his friends at Cambridge gladly fetched him.

§ 11. Mr. Hooker, with his congregation at Cambridge, now removing to Hartford, upon Connecticut river, many comfortable dwellings and considerable demesnes were hereby somewhat prepared for sale to the good people which Mr. Shepard brought over with him, who were loth to lose any more of their short lives, by more tedious removals. Accordingly, taking up their station at Cambridge, Mr. Shepard, with several of his good people, did on the first of the ensuing February, in a vast assembly, wherein were present the magistrates of the colony, with the ministers and messengers of the neighbouring churches, keep a *day of prayer;* in the close of which day they made a *confession* of their *faith*, with a *declaration* of what regenerating impressions the grace of God had made upon them; and then they entred into their *covenant*, whereby they became a *church;* to which Mr. Cotton in the name of the rest, gave the "right hand of fellowship." However, the ordination of Mr. Shepard unto the pastoral charge of this church, was deferred until another day, wherein there was more time to go through the other solemnities proper to such a great occasion.

§ 12. Within a year after the gathering of the church at Cambridge, and the ordaining of Mr. Shepard in that church, the country was miserably distracted by a storm of Antinomian and Familistical opinions then raised. The *mother opinion* of all the rest was, "That a Christian should not fetch any evidence of his good state before God, from the sight of any inherent qualification in him; or from any conditional promise made unto such a qualification." From the womb of this *fruitful opinion*, and from the countenance hereby given to immediate and unwarranted revelations, 'tis not easie to relate how many monsters, worse than

African, arose in these regions of America: but a *synod*, assembled at Cambridge, whereof Mr. Shepard was no small part, most happily crushed them all. The vigilancy of Mr. Shepard was blessed, not only for the preservation of his own congregation from the *rot* of these opinions, but also for the deliverance of all the flocks which our Lord had in the wilderness. And it was with a respect unto this vigilancy, and the enlightning and powerful ministry of Mr. Shepard, that when the foundation of a *colledge* was to be laid, Cambridge, rather than any other place, was pitched upon to be the seat of that happy seminary: out of which there proceeded many notable preachers, who were made *such* very much by their sitting under Mr. Shepard's ministry.

§ 13. It has been a question of some *curiosity*, what might be the distemper of Hezekiah, whereof he recovered so remarkably and miraculously? Now, when I consider the *chattering*, whereto the sick prince was brought by his disease, and the *cataplasm* which he used of things discussive and emollient, I incline, with Bartholinus, to think that his distemper might be a *malignant quinsie*, whereof usually the sick are either killed or (like Hezekiah) cured on the *third* day. Such a distemper arrested our holy Shepard, when, in the course of nature, and in the wish of good men he might have yet lived with us, for much more than *fifteen years;* yea, *twice fifteen* more, would scarce have carried him further than the *common age* of man. Returning home from a council at Rowly, he fell into a *quinsie*, with a symptomatical fever, which suddenly stopped a *silver trumpet*, from whence the people of God had often heard *the joyful sound.* Among other passages uttered by him, when he lay a dying, he addressed those that were about him with these words: "Oh, love the Lord Jesus very dearly! that little part that I have in him, is no small comfort to me now." He died August 25, 1649, when he was forty-three years and nine months old; and left behind him of *three wives*, which he successively married, *three sons*, who have since been the *shepherds* of three several churches in this country.

§ 14. 'Tis a good saying, *Non Annis sed Factis vivunt mortales.** Accordingly, we will over-again measure the *short life* of Mr. Shepard by the *great work* which he did in it: in all of which, the motto of Weber was the design of our Shepard, *Autori Vitæ Vivendum deo.*†

Now, besides the other frequent and constant labours of his ministry, which left their impressions on the souls of multitudes, where-ever he came, the *press* has preserved some of his labours for the surviving generation; and the published composures of this laborious person are of two sorts; namely, the more *doctrinal* and the more *practical;* though indeed he was of such a spirit as always to *gain the point* of mixing *both* in the same discourses.

§ 15. Among his composures of the more *doctrinal* sort, the *bell* seems

* Life is measured not by years, but by actions. † Life should be devoted to Him who gave it.

to be born by his elaborate and judicious treatise, entituled, "*Theses Sabbaticæ;*" wherein he hath handled the *morality of the Sabbath* with a degree of reason, reading, and religion, which is truly extraordinary. It was his observation,

"If any state would reduce the people under it unto all sort of superstition and impiety, let them erect a *dancing sabbath;* and if the God of this world would have all professors enjoy a total immunity from the law of God, and all manner of licentiousness allowed them without check of conscience, let him then make an *every-day sabbath.*"

And it was an extreme grief unto his devout soul to see the extreme *ignorance* and *profaneness* wherewith many in the English nation decried the sacred observation of the Lord's day as a *novelty* no older than Perkins, and as the stratagem of a few old disciplinarian Puritans. Wherefore, as the most comprehensive service to be done for the true *power of godliness*, which he saw would *rise* and *fall* with the *Sabbath*, he did in these learned *theses* maintain the *morality* and advise the *sanctification* of that *sacred rest.* Having thus manifested his concern for the *fourth* commandment, he manifested a concern for the *second* also by a discourse, wherein, besides a more full opening of sundry particulars concerning *liturgies*, the power of the *keys*, the matter of the *visible church*, there is more largely handled the controversie concerning the *Catholick visible church;* tending to clear up the *old way* of Christ in the churches of New-England. That which inspired him, with Mr. John Allin of Dedham, to write this discourse, was especially a two fold consideration, expressed, among other things, in the *fair porch* of this book, about the *temple* of God. One thing that moved him was his desire of *reformation;* whereof he says,

"We freely confess that we think the reformation of the church doth not only consist in purging out corrupt worship, and setting up the true, but also in purging the churches from such profaneness and sinfulness as is scandalous to the gospel, and makes the Lord weary of his own ordinances."

About the way of attaining which *reformation*, he adds,

"'Tis true, where there is no church-relation, but a people are ready to begin a new constituting of churches, reformation is to be sought in the first constitution: this is our case." ——"But where corrupted churches (such as we conceive the congregation of England generally to be) are to be reformed, there we conceive that such congregations should be called by able ministers unto repentance for former evils, and confessing and bewailing their sins, renew a solemn covenant with God to reform themselves, and to submit unto the discipline of Christ. By which means such as refuse so to do, exclude themselves, and others, by the severity of discipline, should be purged out, if falling into sin they remain impenitent in the same."

Another thing that moved him, was his regard for New-England, whereof his words there must never be forgotten; and the reason of my transcribing them is, because *the Church-History of my country* is briefly comprised in them. Saith he,

"The Lord knows how many longings and pantings of heart have been in many after the Lord Jesus, to see his goings in the sanctuary, as the one thing their souls desired and requested of him, and that they might 'dwell in his house for ever;' the fruit of which prayers, and desires, this liberty of New-England, hath been taken to be, and thankfully received of God. Yea, how many serious *consultations* with one another, and with the faithful ministers and other eminent servants of Christ, have been taken about this work, is not unknown to some; and surely all the persons whose hearts the Lord stirred up in this business, were not 'rash, weak-spirited, inconsiderate of what they left behind, or of what it was to go into a wilderness.' But if we were able to recount the singular workings of Divine Providence, for the bringing on this work to what it is come unto, it would stop the mouths of all; whatever many may say or think, we believe *aftertimes* will 'admire and adore the Lord herein, when all his holy ends, and the ways he has used to bring them about, shall appear.' Look from one end of the heaven unto another, whether the Lord hath assayed to do such a work as this in any nation; to carry out a people of his own, from so flourishing a state, to a wilderness so far distant, for such ends, and for such a work; yea, and in few years hath done for them, as he hath here done, for his poor despised people. When we look back, and consider what a strange *poise* of spirit, he hath laid upon many of our hearts, we cannot but wonder at our selves that so *many*, and some so *weak* and *tender*, with such *cheerfulness* and constant *resolutions*, against so many *perswasions* of friends, and *discouragements* from the ill report of this country, the *straits*, *wants*, and *trials* of God's people in it, yet should leave our accommodations and comforts—forsake our dearest relations, parents, brethren, sisters, Christian friends and acquaintances—overlook all the dangers and difficulties of the *vast seas*, the thoughts whereof was a terror to many—and all this, to go into a wilderness, where we could forecast nothing but care and temptations, only *in hopes of enjoying Christ in his ordinances, in the fellowship of his people.* Was this from a stupid *sencelesness*, or desperate *carelessness*, what became of us or ours? or want of *natural affections* to our dear country or nearest relations? No, surely: with what bowels of compassion to our dear *country;* with what heart-breaking affections to our dear *relations* and Christian *friends*, many of us at least came away, the Lord is witness. What shall we say of the singular providence of God, bringing so many ship-loads of his people through so many dangers, as upon eagles' wings, with so much safety from year to year? the *fatherly care* of our God, in *feeding* and *cloathing* so many in a wilderness, giving such *healthfulness*, and great increase of posterity? What shall we say of the work it self of the *kingdom of Christ?* and the form of a *commonwealth* erected in a wilderness, and in so few years brought to that state, that scarce the like can be seen in any of our English colonies, in the richest places of this America, after many more years' standing? That the Lord hath carried the spirits of so many of his people, through all their toilsome labours, wants, difficulties, losses, with such a measure of cheerfulness and contentment. But, above all, we must acknowledge the singular pity and mercies of our God, that hath done all this, and much more, for a people so *unworthy*, so sinful, that by *murmurings* of many, *unfaithfulness in promises*, *oppressions*, and other *evils*, which are found among us, have so dishonoured his Majesty, exposed his work here to much scandal and obloquy, for which we have cause for ever to be ashamed, that the Lord should yet own us, and rather correct us in mercy, than cast us off in displeasure, and scatter us in this wilderness; which gives us cause to say, 'Who is a God like our God, that pardons iniquities, and passes by the transgressions of the remnant of his heritage; even because he delighteth in mercy!'"

Having almost written the life of Mr. Shepard—yea, of many other his fellow exiles—in transcribing this passage, I may now go on to add, that there has been directed now unto the whole English world a most excellent letter of Mr. Shepard, about "the church-membership of chil-

dren, and their right to baptism." This letter, like that of the glorious martyr Philpot, written at the like *time*, for the like *end*, recited in Foxe's "*Acts and Monuments*," was written by him, not three months before his going to that Lord whose charge had been, "For little children to be considered as belonging to the kingdom of heaven:" and it was written to one that was then wavering about the point of *infant-baptism*, but hereby recovered and established. The son of this reverend person published this letter, with hopes that it might have a better effect than the famous letter of Elijah had upon Jehoram, which many think written before his translation, and concealed until a fit season, afterwards, appeared for the presenting of it. But I shall conclude the catalogue of his *doctrinal* tracts, with the mention of another letter of his, printed at London in the year 1645, under the title of "*New-England's Lamentations for Old England's Errors.*"

§ 16. But composures of a more *practical* sort were those to the writing whereof he had a more lively disposition of mind. And among these, to pass by the sermon of his, printed under the title of, "*Wine for Gospel Wantons, or Cautions against Spiritual Drunkenness*," in which sermon, about as long as fifty years ago, he uttered his complaint of this tenour: "Do not we see great unsettledness in the covenant of God, walking with God at peradventures, and hanckerings after the whoredoms of the world, at this day? and divisions and distractions? nothing done without division and contention? certainly something is amiss!" And to pass by a treatise of his, printed under the title of, "*Subjection to Christ, in all his Ordinances and Appointments, the best means to preserve our liberty;*" there are especially three of his books, which have been more considered. The first and least of those books is called, "*The Sincere Convert:*" which the author would commonly call *his ragged child;* and once, even after its fourth edition, wrote unto Mr. Giles Firmin thus concerning it: "That which is called, '*The Sincere Convert:*' I have not the book: I once saw it: it was a collection of such notes in a dark town in England, which one procuring of me, published them without my will or my privity. I scarce know what it contains, nor do I like to see it; considering the many Σφαλμαΐα *typographica*,* most absurd; and the confession of him that published it, that it comes out much altered from what was first written." The many injudicious readers, which that useful book has found, among devout and serious people, and the woful *horrors* which have thereby been raised in many godly souls, oblige me to add the censure of Mr. Giles Firmin, whose words in his "*Real Christian*" are:

"In short, as to that book, for the general part of it, the book is very solid, quick, and searching; it cuts very sharply. *It is not a book for an unsound heart to delight in:* I mean, in those places where he agrees, both with the Scriptures and with other able divines, and of these makes use; but for the other passages, which do not agree with either (as there are

* Typographical errors.

some things in it) I will let them go, as being none of Mr. Shepard's, and not trouble my self with them; and wish no Christian that is *tender* and *sincere*, to trouble himself with them. *This* I put in, because I hear that book hath caused much trouble in *gracious* Christians: had it been to Christians *in name* only, *unsound* believers, hypocrites, I should not have troubled my self about it, for I know it is not for their tooth."

But this book was followed with a second and larger, called, "*The Sound Believer;*" which in a more distinct, correct, and most judicious treatise of *evangelical conversion*, discovers *the work of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ*, in reconciling of a sinner unto God. And as, in the preface to that book, he gives that reason for his writing it, "I considered my *weak body*, and my *short time* of sojourning here, and that I shall not speak long to children, friends or God's precious people; I am sure not to many in England, to whom I owe almost my whole self, and whom I shall see in this world no more; I have been therefore willing to take the season, that I might leave some part of God's precious truth on record, that it might speak (Oh! that it might be to the *heart*) among whom I cannot, and when I shall not be:" so the next book of his occurring to our notice, is a *posthumous* one. And that is a volume in folio, opening and applying the parable of the ten virgins; and handling the *dangers* incident unto the most flourishing churches or Christians; which book is from the author's notes, a transcript of sermons preached at his lecture, from June, 1626, to May, 1640. Whereof the venerable names of Greenhil, Calamy, Jackson, Ash, Taylor, have subscribed the testimony, "That though a vein of serious, solid, and hearty piety run through all this author's works, yet he hath reserved the best wine till the last." These were the *works* of that man, whose "death in the Lord" has now carried him to a "rest from his labours."

§ 17. As he was a very *studious* person, and a very *lively* preacher, and one who therefore took great pains in his preparations for his publick labours, which preparations he would usually finish on Saturday, by two a clock in the afternoon; with respect whereunto he once used these words, "God will curse that man's labours, that lumbers up and down in the world all the week, and then upon Saturday in the afternoon goes to his study; when, as God knows, that time were little enough to pray in and weep in, and get his heart into a fit frame for the duties of the approaching Sabbath." So the character of his daily conversation was *a trembling walk with God.* Now, to take true measures of his conversation, one of the best *glasses* that can be used is the *diary*, wherein he did himself keep the remembrances of many remarkables that passed betwixt his *God* and *himself;* who were indeed *a sufficient theatre to one another.* It would give some *inequality* to this part of our church-history, if all the holy memoirs left in the private writings of this walker with God, should here be transcribed: but I will single out from thence a few passages, which might be more agreeably and profitably exposed unto the world.

§ 18. We will begin with what his eminent successor, Mr. Mitchel, entred

in his own diary, as reported by Mr. Shepard unto himself; which runs in these Latin terms:

"*Olim* Cantabrigiæ, *Ego Horrore et Tenebris oppletus*, An ad Mensam Domini accederem *maxime Dubitavi; Tandem autem accessi utcunque. Cum vero* Panis et Vinum *jam essent Communicanda, mihi Exeundum putavi; tantâ confusione fui oppressus! Sed Deus me ibi retinuit, ac tandem huc me adegit, ut, Licet, ego nihil possim in accipiendo Christo, ad illum tamen respicerem, ut* Ille *me prehenderet et ad me veniret. Statim, tam perspicue sensi Christum illucescentem Animo, quam* solem Orientem *sentire possum. Hoc tantopere me evexit, et de vita Fidei huc usque Erudivit, ut non possum non magnipendere.*"* Mr. Mitchel had this of Mr. Shepard, August 13, 1646.

§ 19. How experimentally acquainted he himself was with the *practice* and *import* of the doctrine wherein he chiefly insisted, in his preaching unto others, will be illustrated from this most *edifying record* in his diary:

"April 10.—I had many thoughts which came in, to press me to give up my self to Christ Jesus, which was the *dearest thing I had:* and I saw that if, when I gave my self to Christ, he would give himself to me again, it would be a *wonderful change;* to have the bottomless Fountain of all good, thus communicated unto me! Thus, *two* or *three* days, I was exercised about this; and at last (which was the day wherein I fell sick on the Sabbath) in my study I was put to a double question; *First*, Whether Christ would take me, if I gave my self to him? *Then*, Whether I might take him again upon it? And so I resolved to seek an answer to both, from God in *meditation.* So on the Saturday, April 11, I gave myself to the Lord Jesus, thus. First, I acknowledged all I was, or had, was *his own;* as David spake of their offerings, I acknowledged him the *owner* of all. Secondly, I resigned not only my goods and estate, but my *child*, *wife*, *church*, and *self* unto the Lord; out of love, as being the best and dearest things which I have. Thirdly, I prized it as the *greatest mercy*, if the Lord will *take* them; and so I desired the Lord to do it. Fourthly, I desired him to take all for a threefold end; *to* do with me what he would; *to* love me; *to* honour himself by me, and all mine. Fifthly, Because there is a secret *reservation*, that the Lord shall do all for the soul that giveth up it self to the Lord; but 'tis that God may please *my* will and love *me*, and if he doth not, then the heart dieth; hence I gave up my *will* also into the Lord's hands, to do with it what he please. Sixthly, My many whorish lusts I also resigned, but that he would take *them* all away. And Seventhly, that he would keep me also from all sin and evil. Thus, I gave my self unto the Lord; but then I questioned, 'Will the Lord take me?' In answer whereto, First, I saw that the Lord desired and commanded me to *give him my heart.* Secondly, I saw that this was pleasing to him and the contrary displeasing. Thirdly, I saw, that it was *fit* for him to take me, and to do what he will with me. But then I questioned, 'Will the Lord receive, and do me good everlastingly?' Because I gave up my friends and the whole church to the Lord also, as I did my self; and 'will the Lord take all them?' For answer, here I saw the great *privilege* of it, and the *wisdom* of God in committing some men's souls to the care of *one godly man* of a *publick spirit*, because he, like Moses, commends them, gives them, returns them all to the Lord again; and so a world of good is communicated for his

* At Cambridge I was once so greatly overcome by mental darkness, that I doubted whether I ought to go to the Lord's Table. At last, however, I went. But when the bread and wine were about to be administered, I felt as if I must go out, so intense was my confusion. But God kept me there, and at length brought my mind to this point, that although I might be unable to receive Christ, yet I might look to him, that he might draw me and come to me. At once I perceived Christ shining into my mind, as clearly as I can perceive the rising sun. This so enraptured me, and instructed me so far in the life of faith, that I cannot help valuing it above all price.

sake. The third question was, 'But might I take the Lord?' and my answer was, 'If the Lord did apprehend and take me to himself, then I might take him, for I had no other to lay hold on.'"

§ 20. Of what thoughts and what frames he sometimes had in his preparations, for the Lord's table, we will recite but one expressive meditation:

"JULY 10, 1641.—On the evening of this day, before the *sacrament*, I saw it my duty to sequester my self from all other things for the Lord the next day.——And now I saw my blessedness did not lie in *receiving* of *good* and *comfort* from God, but in *holding forth* the *glory* of God, and his *virtues*. For 'tis, I saw, an amazing glorious object *to see God in the creature!* God speak, God act, the Deity not being the creature, and turned into it; but filling of it, shining through it; to be covered with God as with a cloud, or as a glass lanthorn to have his beams penetrate through it. *Nothing is good but God, and I am no further good than as I hold forth God.* The devil overcame Eve to damn her self, by telling her that she should be *like God.* Oh! that is a glorious thing! and should not I be *holy*, and be *like him?* Moreover, I found my heart drawn more sweetly to close with God, thus as my *end*, and to place my happiness therein. Also, I saw it was my misery to hold forth *sin*, and *Satan*, and *self*, in my course. And I saw one of these two things must be done. Now because my soul wanted *pleasure*, I purposed then to *hold forth God*, and did hope it should be my pleasure so to do, as it would be my pain to do otherwise."

§ 21. How *watchful* he was in the discharge of his *ministry*, let this his meditation intimate:

"AUGUST 15—I saw, on the Sabbath, *four evils* which attend me in my ministry. First, Either the devil treads me down by *discouragement* and *shame;* from the sense of the meanness of what I have provided in private meditations, and unto this I saw also an answer; to wit, that every thing sanctified to *do good*, its glory is not to be seen in it self, but in the Lord's *sanctifying* of it: or, from an apprehension of the unsavouriness of *peoples' spirits*, or their unreadiness to hear in *hot* or *cold* times. Secondly, or *carelessness* possesses me; arising, because I have *done well*, and been enlarged, and have been respected formerly, hence it is no such matter, though I be not always alike; besides, I have a natural *dulness* and *cloudiness* of spirit, which does naturally prevail. Thirdly, Infirmities and weakness, as want of *light*, want of *life*, want of a spirit of *power* to *deliver* what I am affected with for Christ; and hence I saw many souls not set forward nor God felt in my ministry. Fourthly, Want of *success*, when I have done my best. I saw these, and that I was to be humbled for these. I saw also many other sins, and how the Lord might be angry. And this day, in musing thus, I saw, that when I saw God angry, I thought to *pacify* him by *abstaining* from all sin for the time to come. But when I remembred, First, that my *righteousness* could not satisfie, and that this was resting on my own *righteousness*. Secondly, I saw I could not do it. Thirdly, I saw righteousness ready made, and already finished, fit only for that purpose. And I saw that God's afflicting me for sin, was not that I should go and *satisfie* by *reforming*, but only be *humbled* for, and separated from sin, being reconciled and made *righteous by faith in Christ*, which I saw a little of that night. This day also I found my heart untoward, sad and heavy, by musing on the many *evils to come;* but I saw, if I carried four things in my mind always, I should be comforted, First, that, in my self, I am a dying, condemned wretch, but by Christ reconciled and alive. Secondly, In my self and in all creatures finding *insufficiency*, and no rest, but God all-sufficient, and enough to me. Thirdly, Feeble and unable to do any thing my self: but in Christ able to do all things. Fourthly, Although I enjoyed all these but in part, in this world, yet I should have them all perfect shortly in heaven; where God will show himself fully reconciled, sufficient and efficient, and abolish all sins, and live in me perfectly."

§ 22. How sensible he was of the *least failings* in himself, and how desirous to mend those failings, may be gathered from the ensuing brief meditations:

"DECEMBER 1.—A *small thing* troubled me. Hence I saw that though the Lord had made me that night attain that part of *humiliation*, that I deserved nothing but misery, yet I fell short in this other part; namely, to *submit* unto God in any crossing providence or commandment; but I had *a spirit soon touched and provoked.* I saw, also, that the Lord let sin and Satan prevail there, that I might see my sin, and be more humbled by it, and so get strength against it."

Again.—"MARCH 19.—I said, as *pride* was my sin, so *shame* should be my punishment. And many fears I had of Eli's punishment, for *not reproving sin* when I saw it, and that sharply; and here I considered that the Lord may, and doth sometimes make one good man a terrour and dreadful example of outward miseries, that all others may fear that be godly, lest his commands should be slighted, as he did Eli."

Once more.—"OCTOBER 10.—When I saw the *gifts* and honour attending them in *another*, I began to affect such an *excellency;* and I saw hereby that usually in my ministry, I did affect an excellency, and hence set upon the work: whereas the Lord hereupon humbled me for this, by letting me see this was *a diabolical pride;* and so the Lord made me thankful for *seeing* it, and put me in mind to watch against it."

§ 23. Of how *humble* and of how *publick* a spirit he was, we will inform our selves, especially from *two* meditations, which he wrote on such *days of prayer* as he was used unto. The first was this:

"Nov. 3.—On a fast-day at night, in preparation for the duty, the Lord made me sensible of these sins in the churches. 1, Ignorance of *themselves;* because of secret evils. 2, Of God; because most men were full of dark and doubtful consciences. 3, Not caring for *Christ*, dearly, only. 4, Neglect of *duties;* because of our place of security. 5, Standing against all *means*, because we grow not better. 6, *Earthliness;* because we long not to be with Christ. And I saw *sin*, as my greatest evil, because I saw my *self* was not better than God. I was *vile*, but he was *good* only, whom my sin did cross; and I saw what cause I had to loath my self, and not to seek *honour* unto my self. Will any desire his *dunghill* to be commended? will he grieve, if it be not? if he judge so indeed of it. So my heart began to fall off from it; and the Lord also gave me some glimpse of my self, and a good day and time it was to me.

"On the end of the *fast*, I *first* went unto God, I rested upon him as sufficient; secondly, waited on him as efficient; and said, 'Now, Lord, do for thy churches, and help in mercy!' In the beginning of the day, I began to consider, *whether all the country did not fare the worse for my sins?* I saw it was so, and this was an humbling thought to me; and I thought if every one in particular thought so and was humbled, it would do well. I consider also, that if *repentance* turn away judgments, then, if the question be, 'Who they are that bring judgments?' the answer would be, 'They that think their sins so small as that God is not angry with them at all.'"

The second was this:

"APRIL 4.—PREPARING FOR A FAST.—May not I be the cause of the *church's* sorrows, which are renewed upon us? for, *what have the sheep done?*

"I. My heart has been long lying out from the Lord. The Lord *first* sent a terrible *storm* at sea, to awaken me; and the deliverance from it was so sweet, that I could not but think my life after *that* should be only *heavenly*, as being pulled from an apparent *death* to live a

new life. *Then*, immediately upon this my *child* was taken away from me; my first-born, which made me remember, how bitter it was to cross the Lord's love. Thirdly, I set my face to New-England, where, considering the *liberties* of God's house, I resolved and thought it fit to be wholly for the Lord, in all manner of *holiness*, at bed, at board, every where. Fourthly, Then the Lord took my dear *wife* from me, and this made me resolve to delight no more in *creatures*, but in the Lord, and to seek him. Fifthly, the Lord then threatned *blindness* to my child; and this made God's will *afflicting* sweet to me, but much more *commanding* and *promising:* and then I could do his will, and leave those things to himself. But, oh! how is my 'gold become dim?' and how little have I answered the Lord! considering my *ship resolutions.* I have wanted remembrance, heart and strength or will to do any of these things. And therefore, I have not cause to blame the Lord; for he has perswaded my heart to this; but my own concupiscence and vile nature, which, Lord! that I might mourn for! that thou mayst *restore comforts* to me! *Apostacy* from God is grievous, though it be in a *little degree;* to serve Satan *without* promise! to forsake the Lord *against* promise! What evil have I found in the Lord? This brings more disgrace upon the Lord than if there had never been any coming to him.

"II. The *people* committed to me: they are not pitied so much nor prayed for, nor visited, as ought to have been; nor have I shewed so much love unto them.

"III. The *family*, I have not edified nor instructed, nor taken all occasions of speech with them.

"IV. The *gospel* I have preached, has not been *seen* in its glory; not believed, not affecting.

"V. Not seeking to Christ for supply; so that all hath been *dead works*, and fruit of *pride*, walking daily without Christ, and without approving my self unto him. And hence, though I do *his work*, I don't mind *him* in it; *His* command, *His* presence, nor yet endeavour to grow somewhat every day.

"My not lamenting the *falls* of professors, and the condition of the country, who are not indeed the *glory of God* in the world, nor the *holy people.* Is it not hence that many *pillars* in the church have fallen, as if the Lord would not betrust such *precious vessels* to *my* care? and hath not the sorrow lain upon me? and hence *universal mortality?* When Hezekiah's heart was *lifted up*, then *wrath* came not only on him, but on all the rest:

"And I have now had a *long sickness*, as if the Lord would delight no more in me to use me. Oh, my God, who shall be like to thee in pardoning and subduing mine iniquities!"

Behold, reader, the language of an holy soul!

But I will now take my leave of Mr. Shepard's memory, with one distick in the funeral elegy which Mr. Peter Bulkly made on him: a comprehensive

EPITAPH.

Nominis, Officiique fuit Concordia Dulcis;
*Officio Pastor Nomine Pastor erat.**

* Fitly his name and office were the same:
Shepherd by office—Shepard, too, by name.

CHAPTER VI.

PRUDENTIUS: THE LIFE OF MR. PETER PRUDDEN,

AND SEVERAL OTHER DIVINES, FAMOUS IN THE COLONY OF NEW-HAVEN.

THAT greatest of *peace-makers*, the Son of God, has assured us, "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God." I am sure then, 'tis a *blessed child of God* whose name is now before us; (*Prudden* shall we call him? or, *Prudent*) who, besides his other excellent qualities, was noted for a singular faculty to sweeten, compose and qualify *exasperated spirits*, and stop or heal all contentions. Whence it was that his town of Milford enjoyed *peace with truth* all his days, notwithstanding some dispositions to variance, which afterwards broke forth among them.

God had marvellously blessed his ministry in England, unto many about Herefordshire and near Wales; from whence, when he came into New-England, there came therefore many considerable persons with him.

At their arrival in this country, they were so mindful of their *business* here, that they gathered *churches* before they had erected *houses* for the *churches* to meet in. There were then two famous *churches* gathered at New-Haven; gathered in two days, one following upon the other; Mr. Davenport's and Mr. Prudden's: and this with one singular circumstance, that a mighty *barn* was the place, wherein the duties of that solemnity were attended. Our glorious Lord Jesus Christ himself being *born* in a *stable* and laid in one of those moveable and four-squared little vessels wherein they brought meat unto the cattel, it was the more allowable that a *church*, which is the *mystical body* of that Lord, should thus be born in a barn. And in this translation, I behold our Lord, "with his fan in his hand, purging his floor, and gathering her wheat into the garner."

That holy man, Mr. Philip Henry, being reproached by his persecutors that his meeting-place had been a *barn*, pleasantly answered, "No new thing, to turn a thrashing-floor into a temple." So did our Christians at New-Haven.

The next year Mr. Prudden, with his church, removed unto Milford; where he lived many years, an example of piety, gravity, and *boiling zeal*, against the growing evils of the times.

And though he had a numerous family, yet such was his *discretion*, that without much *distraction* he provided comfortably for them, notwithstanding the difficult circumstances wherewith an infant-plantation was encumbred.

He continued an able and faithful servant of the churches, until about the fifty-sixth year of his own age, and the *fifty-sixth* of the present age;

when his death was felt by the colony as the *fall* of a pillar which made the whole fabrick to shake.

Like that of Piccart, now let our Prudden lie under this

EPITAPH.

Dogmate non tantus fuit Auditoribus Idem:
*Exemplo in Vitâ, jam quoque morte, præit.**

But our *pen* having flown as far off as the colony of New-Haven, it may not return without some remarks and memoirs of three other worthy divines, that were sometimes famous in that colony. The reader must excuse my ignorance of the first circumstances, if he find them to be *born men* in our history:

MR. BLACKMAN, MR. PIERSON, MR. DENTON.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LIFE OF MR. ADAM BLACKMAN.

AMONG those *believers* who first enjoyed the name of *Christians*, there were several famous *teachers*, whereof one (Acts xiii. 1) had the name of *Niger*. And in the primitive churches of New-England also, there was among our famous teachers a good man, who wore the same sir-name: this was our Mr. *Blackman*, concerning whom none but a Romanist would have used that rule:

Hic niger est, hunc tu Romane, caveto.†

For he was highly esteemed in the Protestant country, where he spent the latter days of his life.

He was a useful preacher of the gospel, first in Leicestershire, then in Derbyshire: but coming to New-England, from the storm that began to look black upon him, he was attended with a desirable company of the faithful, who said unto him, "Entreat us not to leave you, or to return from following after you: for whither you go, we will go; and your God shall be our God."

New-England having received this holy man, who, notwithstanding his name, was for his holiness, "A Nazarite purer than snow, whiter than milk." It was first at Guilford, and afterwards at Stratford, that he employed his talents; and if a famous modern author be known by the name of *Adamus Adamandus*,‡ our Adam Blackman was by the affections of his people so likewise called.

* Less on opinions than example bent,
His hearers followed where their pattern went;
His holy death their brightest precedent.

† He is a *Black-man: Romanist*, beware!
HORACE, *Sat.* I. iv. 85.

‡ Adam, worthy to be loved.

It was his opinion, that as for our *bodies*, thus for our *spirits* also, *Cibus simplex est Optimus;** and accordingly he studied *plain preaching*, which was entertained by his people with a *profitable hearing*. And as Luther would say, he is the ablest preacher, *Qui pueriliter*, *Trivialiter*, *Populariter*, *simplicissime docet:*† so our Hooker, for the sake of the sacred and solid *simplicity* in the discourses of this worthy man, would say, "If I might have my choice, I would choose to live and die under Mr. Blackman's ministry."

There was a great person among the reformers in Germany, who had almost the same name with our Blackman; that was Melancthon,‡ and indeed this good person was a Melancthon among the reformers of New-Haven; in this happier than he, that his lot was cast among a pious people, who did not administer so frequent occasions as the Germans did for the complaint, "That old *Adam* was too hard for his young name-sake."

For a close, I may apply to him the ingenious epitaph of Beza upon Melancthon:

Cui Niveus *toto Regnabat pectore Candor;*
Unum cui Cœlum; cura laborque fuit
Num Rogitas, quâ sit dictus Ratione Melancthon?
Scilicet Euxinum, *quâ Ratione vocant.*§

[For this is a well known sea, called Euxine, or *harborous*, because there are no good *harbours* in it.]

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LIFE OF MR. ABRAHAM PIERSON.

It is reported by Pliny, and perhaps 'tis but a Plinyism, that there is a fish called Lucerna, whose *tongue* doth shine like a *torch;* if it be a fable, yet let the tongue of a minister be the *moral* of that fable; now such an illuminating tongue was that of our Pierson.

He was a Yorkshire man, and coming to New-England, he became a member of the church at Boston; but afterwards thus employed, towards the year 1640. The inhabitants of Lyn, straitned at home, looked out for a new plantation; so going to Long-Island, they agreed both with the Lord Starling's agent and with the Indian proprietors for a situation at the *west-end* of that Island: where the Dutch gave them such disturbance, that they deserted their place for another at the *east-end* of it. Proceeding in their plantation, by the accession of near an hundred families, they

* Simple food is best.

† Who in a child-like, unconstrained, popular and simple manner imparts instruction.

‡ From μελας, "black.

§ Do you ask why one whose character is of snow-like purity, and whose aspirations tend only heavenward, should be called Melancthon? [black.] For the same reason that a certain sea is called the Euxine [the sea of harbors].

called Mr. Pierson to go thither with them; who, with seven or eight more of their company, regularly incorporated themselves into a *church state* before their going; the whole company also entring at the same time, with the advice of the government of the Massachuset-Bay, into a civil combination for the maintaining government among themselves. Thus was there settled a church at Southampton, under the pastoral charge of this worthy man; where he did with a laudible diligence undergo two of the three hard labours, *Docentis* and *Regentis*,* to make it become (what Paradise was called) "an island of the innocent."

It was afterward found necessary for this church to be divided. Upon which occasion Mr. Pierson, referring his case to council, his removal was directed unto Brainford, over upon the main, and Mr. Fordham came to serve and to feed that part of the flock which was left at Southampton; but where-ever he *came*, he *shone*.

He left behind him the character of a pious and prudent man; and a "true child of Abraham," now safely lodged in the *Sinu-Abraha*.†

EPITAPHIUM.

Terris discessit, suspirans Gaudia cœli,
Piersonus *Patriam scandit ad Astra suam.*‡

CHAPTER IX.

THE LIFE OF MR. RICHARD DENTON.

THE apostle describing the *false ministers* of those primitive times, he calls them, "clouds without water, carried about of winds." As for the *true* ministers of our primitive times, they were indeed "carried about of winds;" though not the *winds* of *strange doctrines;* yet the *winds* of *hard sufferings* did carry them as far as from Europe into America; the *hurricano's* of persecution, whereon doubtless the "prince of the power of the air" had his influence, drove the heavenly *clouds* from one part of that heaven, the church, unto another. But they were not *clouds without water*, where they came; they came with *showers of blessing*, and *rained* very gracious impressions upon the vineyard of the Lord.

Among these *clouds* was our pious and learned Mr. Richard Denton, a Yorkshire man, who, having watered Halifax in England with his fruitful ministry, was by a tempest then hurried into New-England, where, first at Weathersfield and then at Stamford, "his doctrine dropt as the rain, his speech distilled as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass."

* Instructing and governing.

† In Abraham's bosom.

‡ PIERSON, while waiting till his change should come,
Was but a pilgrim, sighing for his home.

Though he were a *little man*, yet he had a great *soul;* his well-accomplished mind, in his lesser *body*, was *an Iliad in a nut-shell.*

I think he was blind of one eye; nevertheless, he was not the least among the *seers* of our Israel; he saw a very considerable proportion of those things which "eye hath not seen."

He was far from cloudy in his conceptions and principles of divinity: whereof he wrote a *system*, entituled, "*Soliloquia Sacra;*"* so accurately, considering the fourfold state of man, in his—I. Created Purity; II. Contracted Deformity; III. Restored Beauty; IV. Cœlestial Glory—that judicious persons, who have seen it, very much lament the churches being so much deprived of it.

At length he got into heaven beyond *clouds*, and so beyond *storms;* waiting the return of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the clouds of heaven, "when he will have his *reward* among the *saints.*"

EPITAPHIUM.

Hic Jacet, et fruitur Tranquilla sede Richardus
Dentonus, *cujus Fama perennis erit.*
Incola jam cœli velut Astra micantia fulget,
Qui multis Fidei Lumina clara dedit.†

CHAPTER X.

THE LIFE OF MR. PETER BULKLY.

Ipse Aspectus Boni viri delectat.—SEN.‡

§ 1. IT has been a matter of some reflection, that among the pretended successors of Saint Peter, there never was any Pope that would pretend unto the name of Peter; but if any of them had been christened by that name at the font, they afterwards changed it, when they came unto the chair. No doubt, as Raphael Urbine, the famous painter, being taxed, for making the face in the picture of Peter too red, replied, He did it on purpose, that he might represent the apostle *blushing in heaven* to see what successors he had on *earth:* so these infamous apostates might blush to hear themselves called Peter, while they are conscious unto themselves of their being strangers to all the vertues of that great apostle. But the denomination of Peter might be with an everlasting agreeableness claimed by our eminent Bulkly, who, according to the spirit and counsel of Peter, "fed the flock of God among us, taking the oversight thereof not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a willing mind."

* Sacred Soliloquies.

† Here DENTON lies; his toils and hardships past;
Whose name no memory of dishonour mars.
On earth a light of Faith, he shines at last,
Full-orbed and glorious with the eternal stars.

‡ The very looks of a good man are a source of pleasure.

§ 2. He was descended of an honourable family, in Bedfordshire; where for many successive generations the names of Edward and Peter were alternatively worn by the heirs of the family. His father was Edward Bulky, D. D., a faithful minister of the gospel; the same whom we find making a supplement unto the last volume of our books of martyrs. He was born at Woodhil (or Odel) in Bedfordshire, January 31st, 1582.

His education was answerable unto his original; it was learned, it was genteel, and, which was the top of all, it was very *pious:* at length it made him a Batchellor of Divinity and Fellow of Saint John's Colledge in Cambridge: the colledge whereinto he had been admitted, about the sixteenth year of his age; and it was while he was but a *junior batchellor* that he was chosen a fellow.

§ 3. When he came abroad in the world, a good benefice befel him, added unto the estate of a gentleman, left him by his father; whom he succeeded in his ministry at the place of his nativity; which one would imagine *temptations* enough to keep him out of a *wilderness.*

Nevertheless, the concern which his *renewed soul* had for the *pure worship* of our Lord Jesus Christ, and for the planting of *evangelical churches* to exercise that worship, caused him to leave and sell *all,* in hopes of gaining the "pearl of great price" among those that first peopled New-England upon those glorious ends. It was not long that he continued in conformity to the ceremonies of the church of England; but the good Bishop of Lincoln connived at his non-conformity, (as he did at his father's,) and he lived an unmolested non-conformist until he had been three prentice-ships of years in his ministry. Towards the *latter end* of this *time,* his ministry had a notable success, in the conversion of many unto God; and this was one occasion of a *latter end* for this *time.* When Sir Nathanael Brent was Arch-Bishop Laud's General, as Arch-Bishop Laud was *another's,* complaints were made against Mr. Bulkly, for his non-conformity, and he was therefore silenced.

§ 4. To New-England he therefore came, in the year 1635; and there having been for a while at Cambridge, he carried a good number of planters with him, up further into the *woods,* where they gathered the *twelfth church* then formed in the colony, and called the town by the name of Concord.

Here he *buried* a great estate, while he *raised* one still for almost every person whom he employed in the affairs of his husbandry. He had many and godly servants, whom, after they had lived with him a fit number of years, he still dismissed with bestowing *farms* upon them, and so took others after the like manner, to succeed them in *their* service and *his* kindness. Thus he cast his bread both upon the waters and into the earth, not expecting the return of this his charity to a religious plantation, until "after many days."

§ 5. He was a most excellent scholar, a very well-read person, and one

who, in his advice to young students, gave demonstrations that he knew what would go to make a scholar. But it being essential unto a *scholar* to love a scholar, so did he; and in token thereof endowed the library of Harvard-Colledge with no small part of his own.

And he was therewithal a most exalted Christian; full of those devotions which accompany a "conversation in heaven;" especially, so exact a Sabbath-keeper, that if at any time he had been asked, "whether he had strictly kept the Sabbath?" he would have replied, *Christianus sum, intermittere non possum.** And *conscientious*, even to a degree of *scrupulosity*. That scrupulosity appeared particularly in his avoiding all *novelties* of apparel, and the *cutting of hair* so close, that of all the famous namesakes he had in the world, he could have least born the *sir-name* of that well known author, Petrus Crinitus.†

§ 6. It was observed that his neighbours hardly ever came into his company, but whatever *business* he had been talking of, he would let fall some holy, serious, divine, and useful sentences upon them, ere they parted: an example many ways worthy to be imitated by every one that is called a minister of the gospel.

In his ministry he was another FAREL, *Quo Nemo tonuit fortius;*‡ he was very *laborious*, and because he was, through some infirmities of body, not so able to visit his flock, and instruct them from house to house, he added unto his other publick labours on the Lord's days, that of constant catechising; wherein, after all the unmarried people had answered, all the people of the whole assembly were edified by his expositions and applications.

His first sermon was on Rom. i. 16: "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ." At Odel he preached on part of the prophecy of Isaiah, and part of Jonah, and a great part of the gospel of Matthew, and of Luke; the Epistles to the Philippians, and of Peter, and of Jude; besides many other scriptures. At Concord he preached over the illustrious truths about the *person*, the *natures*, the *offices of Christ;* [what would he have said, if he had lived unto this evil day, when 'tis counted good advice for a minister of the gospel, "not to preach much on the person of Christ?"] the greatest part of the book of Psalms: the conversion of Zacheus; Paul's commission, in Acts xxvi. 18. His death found him handling the commandments; and John xvi. 7, 8, 9. He expounded Mr. Perkins his *six principles*, whereto he added a *seventh*, and examined the young people, what they understood and remembered of his exposition.

Moreover, by a sort of winning, and yet prudent *familiarity*, he drew persons of all ages in his congregation to *come* and sit with him, when he could not *go* and sit with them; whereby he had opportunity to do the part of a faithful pastor, in considering the *state of his flock*.

Such was his pious conduct that he was had much in reverence by his

* I am a Christian: I cannot swerve from duty.

† Peter the Long Haired.

‡ Than whom no one thundered louder.

people; and when at any time he was either *hasty* in *speaking* to such as were about him, whereto he was disposed by his bodily pains, or *severe* in *preaching* against some things, that others thought were no way momentous, whereto the great exactness of his piety inclined him; yet those little *stinginesses* took not away the interests which he had in their hearts; they "knowing him to be a just man, and an holy, observed him."

And the *observance* which his own people had for him was also paid him from all sorts of people throughout the land; but especially from the ministers of the country, who would still address him as a *father*, a *prophet*, a *counsellor*, on all occasions.

§ 8. Upon his importunate pressing a piece of *charity*, disagreeable to the will of the *ruling elder*, there was occasioned an unhappy *discord* in the church of *Concord;* which yet was at last healed by their calling in the help of a *council*, and the ruling elder's abdication. Of the temptations which occurred on these occasions, Mr. Bulkly would say, "He thereby came—1, To know more of God; 2, To know more of himself; 3, To know more of men." *Peace* being thus restored, the *small things* in the beginning of the church there, increased in the hands of their faithful Bulkly, until he was translated into the regions which afford nothing but *concord* and *glory;* leaving his well-fed "flock in the wilderness" unto the pastoral care of his worthy son, Mr. Edward Bulkly.

§ 9. It is remarked, that a man's *whole religion* is according to his acquaintance with the *new covenant.* If, then, any person would know what Mr. Peter Bulkly was, let him read his judicious and savoury treatise of the *gospel covenant;* which has passed through several editions, with much acceptance among the people of God. Quickly after his first coming into this country, he preached many sermons on Zech. ix. 11: "The blood of thy covenant." The importunity of his congregation prevailed with him to preach this doctrine of the covenant over again in his lectures, and fit it for the press. He did accordingly; and of that book the well-known Mr. Shepard, of Cambridge, has given this testimony: "The church of God is bound to bless God, for the holy, judicious, and learned labours of this aged, experienced, and precious servant of Jesus Christ, who hath taken much pains to discover, and that not in words and allegories, but in the demonstration and evidence of the spirit, the great mystery of godliness wrapt up in the *covenant;* and hath now fully opened many knotty questions concerning the same, which happily have not been brought so full to light until now; which cannot but be of singular and seasonable use to prevent apostasies from the simplicity of the covenant and gospel of Christ."

§ 10. Having offered this particular account of a *book*, which is to be reckoned among the *first-born* of New-England, I may not forbear doing my country the service of extracting from it one paragraph, which we may reckon the dying charge of a Moses to an Israel in a wilderness:

"And thou, New-England, which art exalted in priviledges of the gospel above many other people, know thou the 'time of thy visitation,' and consider the great things the Lord hath done for thee. The gospel hath *free passage* in all places where thou dwellest; Oh! that it might be *glorified* also by thee! Thou enjoyest many faithful witnesses, which have testified unto thee the gospel of the grace of God. Thou hast many bright stars shining in thy firmament, to give thee the 'knowledge of salvation from on high, to guide thy feet in the way of peace.' Be not *high-minded* because of thy priviledges, but *fear* because of thy danger. The more thou hast committed unto thee, the more thou must account for. No people's account will be heavier than thine, if thou do not walk worthy of the means of thy salvation. The Lord looks for more from thee than from other people: more *zeal* for God, more *love* to his truth, more *justice* and equity in thy ways: thou shouldest be a *special* people, an *only* people, none like thee in all the earth. Oh! be so, in loving the gospel, and the ministers of it, having them in 'singular love for their work's sake.'

"Glorifie thou the *word* of the Lord, which has glorified *thee*. Take heed, least for neglect of either, God 'remove thy candlestick' out of the midst of thee; lest being now 'as a city upon an hill,' which many seek unto, thou be left 'like a beacon upon the top of a mountain,' desolate and forsaken. If we walk unworthy of the gospel brought unto us, the greater our *mercy* hath been in the enjoying of it, the greater will our *judgment* be for the contempt."

§ 11. His first wife was the daughter of Mr. Thomas Allen, of Goldington: a most vertuous gentlewoman, whose nephew was the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Thomas Allen. By her he had nine sons and two daughters. After her death, he lived eight years a widdower, and then married a vertuous daughter of Sir Richard Chitwood; by whom he had three sons and one daughter.

Age at length creeping on him, he grew much afraid of out-living his *work;* and his fear he thus expressed in a short Epigram, composed March 25, 1657:

Pigra senectutis jam venit inutilis ætas,
Nil aliud nunc sum quam fere pondus iners.
Da tamen, Alme Deus, dum vivam, vivere laudi
Æternum sancti Nominis usque Tui.
Ne vivam (moriar potius!) nil utile Agendo:
Finiat opto magis, mors properata Dies.
Vel doceam in Sancto Cœtu tua verba salutis,
Cælestive canam Cantica sacra Choro;
Seu vivam, moriarve, tuus sim, Christe, quod uni
*Debita mea est, debita morsque tibi.**

He was *ill*, as well as *old*, when he writ these verses; but God granted him his desire. He recovered, and preached near two years after this, and then expired, March 9, 1658–9, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

§ 12. The Epigram newly mentioned, invites me to remember that he had a competently good stroke at Latin poetry; and even in his old age affected sometimes to improve it. Many of his composures are yet in our hands. One was written on his *Birth-day*, June 31st, 1654:

Ultimus iste Dies Mensis, mihi primus habetur;
Quo cœpi lucem cernere primus erat.
Septuaginta duos Annos exindè peregi.
Atque tot Annorum est Ultimus iste Dies.
Præterito Veteri jum nunc novus incipit Annus
O utinam mihi sit mens nova, vita nova.†

* I've reached the evening of my mortal day;
A sluggish mass of clay is this my frame;
Yet grant, O God, that while I live, I may
Live to the glory of Thy holy name.
And if in life I may not honour Thee,
From such dishonour may Death set me free.
Whether within Thy holy courts below
I preach salvation unto dying men—
Or in Thine Upper Temple, with the flow
Of angel-quirings blend my raptured strain—
Living or dying, Thine I still would be:
My life and death alike are due to Thee.

† This *last* day of the month is *first* to me,
For with it dawning life began to be.
Nor have its mild returns been slow or few:
Of seventy-two long years this is the last;
A new year now begins, the old year passed:
Oh may my heart and life be also new!

Another of them was written on an Earthquake, October 29, 1653:

Ecce Dei nutu tellus pavefacta tremescit,
Terra Tremens mota est sedibus ipsa suis,
Nutant Fulcra Orbis, mundi compago soluta est;
Ex vultu irati contremit ille Dei.
Contremunt tellus, imis concussa Cavernis,
Ponderibus quanquam sit gravis illa suis.
Evomit ore putres magno cum murmure ventos,
Quos in visceribus clauserat ante suis.

Ipsa tremit Tellus scelerum gravitate virorum,
Sub sceleris nostri pondere Terra tremit.
O nos quam duri! Sunt ferrea pectora nobis;
Non etenim gemimus cum gemit omne solum.
Quis te non metuit, metuit quem Fabrica mundi
Quemque timent cœli, terraque tota tremit.
Motibus à Tantis nunc tandem terra quiescat,
*Sed cessent potius crimina nostra precor.**

The rest we will bury with him, under this

EPITAPH.

Obiit jam qui jamdudum abierat Bulklæus;
Nec Patriam ille mutavit, nec pœne vitam:
Eò ivit, quò ire consueverat, et ubi jam erat.†

CHAPTER XI.

THE LIFE OF MR. RALPH PARTRIDGE.

When David was driven from his friends into the wilderness, he made this pathetical representation of his condition, "'Twas as when one doth hunt a partridge in the mountains." Among the many worthy persons who were persecuted into an American wilderness, for their fidelity to the ecclesiastical kingdom of our true David, there was one that bore the *name* as well as the *state* of an hunted partridge. What befel him, was, as Bede saith of what was done by Fælix, *Juxta nominis sui Sacramentum.*‡

This was Mr. Ralph Partridge, who for no fault but the *delicacy* of his good *spirit*, being distressed by the ecclesiastical *setters*, had no defence, neither of *beak* nor *claw*, but a *flight* over the ocean.

The place where he took covert was the colony of Plymouth, and the town of Duxbury in that colony.

This Partridge had not only the innocency of the *dove*, conspicuous in his blameless and pious life, which made him very acceptable in his conversation, but also the loftiness of an *eagle*, in the great soar of his intellectual abilities. There are some interpreters who, understanding *church officers* by the *living creatures*, in the fourth chapter of the Apocalypse,

* The solid earth, before an angry God,
Shakes at the terrors of His awful nod.
The balance of the mighty world is lost—
Its vast foundations, in confusion toss'd,
Through all the hollows of its deepest caves
Rock like a vessel foundering in the waves.
Volumes of sulphurous air, with booming sound,
Burst through the gorges of the parted ground.

The earth doth heave, with groanings of distress,
Beneath the weight of human sinfulness.
Shall not our eyes drop penitential rain,
When all creation travaileth in pain?
Great God! who shall not fear Thee in the hour
When heaven and earth are trembling at Thy power!
Father, to nature's tumult whisper peace,
And bid the wickedness of man to cease!

† Bulkly hath left us for a happier shore—
Nay, rather lingers where he was before.

He ne'er hath slept beneath this humble sod,
For both in life and death he was with God

‡ In conformity with his christening.

will have the *teacher* to be intended by the *eagle* there, for his quick insight into remote and hidden things. The church of Duxbury had such an *eagle* in their *Partridge*, when they enjoyed such a *teacher*.

By the same token, when the *Platform of Church Discipline* was to be composed, the Synod at Cambridge appointed three persons to draw up each of them, "a model of church-government, according to the word of God," unto the end that out of those the synod might form what should be found most agreeable; which three persons were Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Mather, and Mr. Partridge. So that, in the opinion of that reverend assembly, this person did not come far behind the first two for some of his accomplishments.

After he had been forty years a faithful and painful preacher of the gospel, rarely, if ever, in all that while interrupted in his work by any bodily sickness, he died in a good old age, about the year 1658.

There was one singular instance of a *weaned spirit*, whereby he signalized himself unto the churches of God. That was this: there was a time when most of the ministers in the colony of Plymouth left the colony, upon the discouragement which the want of a *competent maintenance* among the needy and froward inhabitants gave unto them. Nevertheless Mr. Partridge was, notwithstanding the *paucity* and the *poverty* of his congregation, so afraid of being any thing that looked like a *bird wandring from his nest*, that he remained with his poor people till he *took wing* to become a *bird of paradise*, along with the winged *seraphim* of heaven.

EPITAPHIUM.

*Avolavit.**

CHAPTER XII.

PSALTES.† THE LIFE OF MR. HENRY DUNSTER.

NOTWITHSTANDING the veneration which we pay to the *names* and *works* of those reverend men, whom we call *the fathers*, yet even the Roman Catholicks themselves confess, that those fathers were not infallible. Andradius, among others, in his defence of the Council of Trent, has this passage: "There can be nothing devised more superstitious, than to count all things delivered by the fathers *divine oracles*." And, indeed, it is plain enough that those excellent men were not without *errors* and *frailties*, of which, I hope, it will not be the part of a *cham* to take some little notice. Thus, Jerom had his erroneous opinion of Peter's being unjustly reprehended; and was fearfully *asleep* in the other matters, wherein he opposed Vigilantius. Augustine was for admitting the *infants* of Christians unto

* He has flown away! † The Psalmodist.

the Lord's Supper: and, alas! how much of Babylon is there in his best book, "*De Civitate Dei.*"* Hilary denied the *soul-sorrows* of our Lord in his passion, if you will believe the report of Bellarmine. Clemens Alexandrinus affirmed that our Lord neither *eat* nor *drank* from the necessities of human life; and that he and his apostles, after their death, preached unto the *damned* in hell, of whom there were many converted. Origen taught many things contrary unto the *true faith*, and frequently confounded the Scriptures with false expositions. Tertullian fell into Montanism, and forbad all *second marriages.* How little agreement was there between Epiphanius and Chrysostom, Irenæus and Victor, Cornelius and Cyprian? And, indeed, that I may draw near to my present purpose, the erroneous opinion of *rēbaptism* in Cyprian, is well known to the world.

Wherefore it may not be wondred at if, among the first *fathers* of New-England, there were some things not altogether so agreeable to the *principles* whereupon the country was in the main established. But among those of our fathers who differed somewhat from his brethren, was that learned and worthy man Mr. Henry Dunster.

He was the president of our Harvard College in Cambridge, and an able man: [as we may give some account, when the history of that college comes to be offered.]

But wonderfully falling into the errors of Antipædobaptism, the *overseers* of the college became solicitous that the students there might not be unawares ensnared in the errors of their president. Wherefore they laboured with an extreme agony, either to rescue the good man from his *own mistakes*, or to restrain him from imposing them upon *the hope of the flock*, of both which, finding themselves to despair, they did, as quietly as they could, procure his *removal*, and provide him a successor, in Mr. Charles Chauncey.

He was a very good Hebrician, and for that cause he bore a great part in the metrical version of the Psalms, now used in our churches. But after some short retirement and secession from all publick business, at Scituate, in the year 1659, he went thither, where he bears his part in everlasting and cælestial *hallelujahs.* It was justly counted an instance of an *excellent spirit*, in Margaret Meering, that though she had been excommunicated by the congregation of Protestants, whereof Mr. Rough was pastor, and she seemed to have hard measure also in her excommunication; yet when Mr. Rough was imprisoned for the truth, she was very serviceable to him, and at length suffered martyrdom for the truth with him. Something that was not altogether unlike this "excellent spirit" was instanced by our Dunster. For he died in such *harmony* of affection with the good men who had been the authors of his removal from Cambridge, that he, by his will, ordered his body to be carried unto Cambridge for its burial, and bequeathed *legacies* to those very persons.

* The City of God.

Now, I know not where, better than here, to insert that article of our church-history, which concerns our *metrical translation* of the PSALMS now sung in our churches.

About the year 1639, the New-English reformers, considering that their churches enjoyed the other ordinances of Heaven in their scriptural purity, were willing that the ordinance of "The singing of psalms," should be restored among them unto a share in that *purity*. Though they blessed God for the religious endeavours of them who translated the Psalms into the *meetre* usually annexed at the end of the Bible, yet they beheld in the translation so many *detractions* from, *additions* to, and *variations* of, not only the text, but the very *sense* of the psalmist, that it was an offence unto them. Resolving then upon a new translation, the chief divines in the country took each of them a portion to be translated: among whom were Mr. Welds and Mr. Eliot of Roxbury, and Mr. Mather of Dorchester. These, like the rest, were of so different a *genius* for their poetry, that Mr. Shepard, of Cambridge, on the occasion addressed them to this purpose:

> You Roxb'ry poets, keep clear of the crime
> Of missing to give us very good rhime.
> And you of Dorchester, your verses lengthen,
> But with the text's own words, you will them strengthen.

The Psalms thus turned into *meetre* were printed at Cambridge, in the year 1640. But, afterwards, it was thought that a little more of art was to be employed upon them: and for that cause, they were committed unto Mr. Dunster, who revised and refined this translation; and (with some assistance from one Mr. Richard Lyon, who being sent over by Sir Henry Mildmay, as an attendant unto his son, then a student in Harvard College, now resided in Mr. Dunster's house:) he brought it into the condition wherein our churches ever since have used it.

Now, though I heartily join with those gentlemen who wish that the *poetry* hereof were mended; yet I must confess, that the Psalms have never yet seen a *translation*, that I know of, nearer to the Hebrew *original;* and I am willing to receive the excuse which our translators themselves do offer us, when they say:

> "If the verses are not always so elegant as some desire or expect, let them consider that God's altar needs not our polishings; we have respected rather a plain translation, than to smooth our verses with the sweetness of any paraphrase. We have attended conscience rather than elegance, fidelity rather than ingenuity; that so we may sing in Zion the Lord's songs of praise, according unto his own will, until he bid us enter into our Master's joy, to sing eternal hallelujahs."

Reader, when the reformation in France began, Clement Marot and Theodore Beza turned the Psalms into French *meetre*, and Lewis Guadimel set melodious tunes unto them. The singing hereof charmed the souls of court and city, town and country. They were sung in the Lovre it self,

as well as in the Protestant churches: ladies, nobles, princes—yea, King Henry himself—sang them. This one thing mightily contributed unto the downfal of Popery, and the progress of the gospel. All ranks of men practised it; a gentleman of the reformed religion would not eat a meal without it. The popish clergy raging hereat, the cardinal of Lorrain got the profane and obscene *odes* of the pagan poets to be turned into French, and sang at the court: and the Divine Psalms were thus banished from that wicked court.

Behold, the reformation pursued in the churches of New-England by the Psalms in a new *meetre:* God grant the reformation may never be lost while the Psalms are sung in our churches!

But in this matter, Mr. Dunster is to be acknowledged. And if unto the Christian, while singing of Psalms on earth, Chrysostom could well say, Μετ' Ἀγγελων ᾄδεις, μετ' Ἀγγελων ὑμνεῖς—*Thou art in a consort with angels!*—how much more may that *now* be said of our Dunster?

From the epitaph of Henricus Rentzius, we will now furnish our Henry Dunster with an

EPITAPH.

Præco, Pater, Servus; Sonui, Fovi, Coluique;
Sacra, Scholam, Christum; Voce, Rigore, Fide;
Famam, Animam, Corpus; Dispergit, Recreat, Abdit;
*Virtus, Christus, Humus; Laude, Salute, Sinu.**

CHAPTER XIII.

THE LIFE OF MR. EZEKIEL ROGERS.

Si in Doctore Ecclesiæ, ad ἀνυποκριτον πιστιν, accesserit συνεσις δεοντων, and Polita Eruditio, ad Eruditionem δυναμις ἑρμηνευτικη, ac Facundia; næ hic Talis Omnibus Absolutis videbitur.—Melc. Adam. in Vitâ Hatteri.†

§ 1. It is among the *greater* Prophets of Israel that we find an Ezekiel who had in his very name, *The Fortitude of God.* And it is not among the *smaller* Prophets of New-England that we have also seen an Ezekiel; one inspired with a *divine fortitude*, for the work of a *witness prophesying* in the *sackcloth* of a *wilderness.* This was our famous Ezekiel Rogers, of whom we have more to say than barely that he was *born* in the year 1590, and that he *died* in the year 1660.

* A preacher, I have chanted sacred songs: a father [president of a college], I have instructed my charge with perseverance: a servant of Christ, I have followed my Master with fidelity. Virtue signalizes my name with true praise: Christ redeems my soul with his salvation: the earth hides my body in its bosom.

† If in a Christian teacher, to faith unfeigned should be added a disposition to help the needy, and elegant scholarship; and to scholarship the power of interpretation and eloquence; we should confessedly find in the subject of this sketch just such a man.

§ 2. His father was Mr. Richard Rogers, of Weathersfield in England, the well known author of the book that is known by the name of "*The Seven Treatises.*" Of that Richard we will content ourselves with one pithy passage, mentioned by his grandson, Mr. William Jenkyns, in his exposition upon Jude: "That blessed saint," saith he, "was another Enoch in his age; a man whose 'walking with God' appeared by that incomparable directory of a Christian life, called '*The Seven Treatises*,' woven out of Scripture, and his own experimental practice; he would sometimes say, 'That he should be sorry, if every day were not to him as his last day.'" It is this Ezekiel Rogers whereof we are now to give an account. The early sparklings of wit, judgment, and learning, in him, gave his father no little satisfaction, and expectation of his proficiency; and at thirteen years of age made him capable of preferment in the university; where he proceeded Master of Arts at the age of twenty. Removing thence to be chaplain in a family, famous for both *religion* and *civility*—namely the family of Sir Francis Barrington, at Hatfield Broad Oak in Essex—he there had opportunity not only to *do good* by his profitable preaching, but also to *get good* by his conversation with persons of honour, who continually resorted thither, and he *knew* and *used* his opportunity to the utmost.

§ 3. Both in *praying* and *preaching*, he had a very notable faculty; 'twas accompanied with strains of oratory, which made his ministry very acceptable. Hence, after five or six years' residence in this worshipful family, Sir Francis bestowed upon him the benefice of Rowly in Yorkshire; in hopes that his more lively ministry might be particularly successful in *awakening* those drowsy corners of the north: and accordingly the church there, standing in the *centre* of many villages, there was now a great resort unto the service therein performed.

§ 4. Nevertheless Mr. Rogers had much uneasiness in his mind about his own *experience* of those truths which he preached unto others; he feared that, notwithstanding his pathetical expressions, wherewith his hearers were affected, he was himself, in his own soul, a stranger to that *faith* and *repentance* and *conversion*, which he pressed upon *them*. This consideration very much perplexed him; and his perplexity was the greater, because he could not hear of any experienced minister in those parts of the kingdom, to whom he might utter the trouble that was upon him. At last, hoping that either from his brother of Weathersfield, or his cousin of Dedham, he might receive some satisfaction, he took a journey into Essex on purpose to be by them resolved of his doubts. His design was to have came at his famous kinsman before his lecture began; but missing of *that*, he gat into the assembly before the beginning of the sermon; where he found that, by the singular providence of God, his doubts were as punctually and exactly resolved, as if the excellent preacher had been acquainted with his doubts before-hand.

§ 5. Being now satisfied of his own effectual vocation, he went on in

his ministry with a very signal blessing of Heaven upon it, unto the effectual vocation of many more: his ministry was much *frequented* and remarkably successful. In the exercise whereof, he once had opportunity to preach in the stately *minster* of York, on a publick occasion, which he served and suited notably. Dr. Matthews was then the Arch-Bishop of York, who permitted the use of those lectures, which Arch-Bishop Grindal had erected; whereby the *light* of the gospel was marvellously diffused unto many places that sat in "the region and the shadow of death." All the pious ministers in such a precinct, had a meeting once a month, in some noted place, when and where several of them did use to preach one after another; beginning and concluding the whole exercise with prayer. Mr. Rogers bore his part in these lectures, as long as Dr. Matthews lived; from one of which, an accuser of the brethren went once unto the Arch-Bishop with this accusation, that one of the ministers had made this petition in his prayer: "May the Almighty shut heaven against the Arch-Bishop's grace;" whereat the Arch-Bishop, instead of being offended, as the pick-thankly reporter hoped he would have been, fell a laughing heartily, and answered, "Those good men know well enough, that if I were gone to heaven, their exercises would soon be put down." And it came to pass accordingly!

§ 6. In delivering the *word* of God, he would sometimes go beyond the *strength* which God had given him; for though he had a *lively spirit*, yet he had a *crazy body;* which put him upon studying *physick*, wherein he attained unto a skill considerable. But the worst was this, that riding far from home, some violent motion used by him in ordering of his horse, broke a vein within him; whereupon he betook himself to his chamber, and there kept private, that his friends might not persecute him with any of their unseasonable kindness. But in two month's time he obtained a cure, so that he returned unto his family and his employment; God would not suffer that *mouth* to be stopped, which had so many *testimonies* to bear still for his *truth* and *ways!*

§ 7. At last, the severity wherewith *subscription* was then urged, put a period unto the twenty years' publick ministry of our useful Rogers, although the man who suspended him shewed him so much respect as to let him enjoy the profits of his living two years after the suspension, and let him also put in another as good as he could get. He employed one Mr. *Bishop* to supply his place in the ministry, from which a *Bishop* had confined him; nevertheless, this good man also was quickly silenced, because he would not in publick read the censure which was passed upon Mr. Rogers.

§ 8. Many prudent men in those times, *foreseeing* the storms that were likely in a few years to break upon the English nation, did propose New-England for their *hiding-place.* And of these, our Mr. Rogers was one, who had been accompanied by Sir William Constable and Sir Matthew

Boynton also in his voyage hither, if some singular providences had not hindred them. Hither did the good hand of God bring him, with many of his Yorkshire friends, in the year 1638—ships having been by his discretion and influence brought from London unto Hull, to take in the passengers. Arriving at New-England, he was urged very much to settle with his Yorkshire folks at New-Haven; but in consideration of the dependance that several persons of quality had on him to chuse a meet place for their entertainment in this wilderness, when they should come hither after him, he was advised rather to another place, which he was profered very near his reverend kinsman, Mr. Nathanael Rogers of Ipswich. The towns of Ipswich and Newbury were willing, on easy terms, to part with much of their land, that they might admit a *third plantation* in the middle between them; which was a great advantage to Mr. Ezekiel Rogers; who called the town Rowly, and continued in it about the same number of years that he had spent in that Rowly from whence he came, on the other side of the Atlantick ocean.

§ 9. About five years after his coming to New-England, he was chosen to preach at the Court of Election at Boston; wherein, though the occasion and the auditory were *great*, yet he shewed his abilities to be *greater;* insomuch, that he became famous through the whole country. And what respect all the *churches* abroad paid him, he much more found in his *own church* at home; where he was exceedingly successful, and approved in his ministry, in which the points of *regeneration* and *union* with the Lord Jesus Christ by *faith*, were those whereon he most insisted.

In the management of those points, he had a notable faculty at penetrating into the souls of his hearers, and manifesting the very *secrets of their hearts*. His *prayers* and *sermons* would make such lively *representations* of the *thoughts* then working in the minds of his people, that it would amaze them to see their own condition so exactly represented. And his *occasional discourses* with his people—especially with the *young ones* among them—and most of all, with such as had been, by their deceased parents, recommended unto his watchful care—were marvellously profitable. He was a *Tree of Knowledge*, but so laden with *fruit*, that he stoopt for the very *children* to pick off the apples ready to drop into their mouths. Sometimes they would come to his house, a dozen in an evening; and calling them up into his study, one by one, he would *examine* them, *How* they walked with God? *How* they spent their time? *What* good books they read? *Whether* they prayed without ceasing? And he would therewithal *admonish* them to take heed of *temptations* and *corruptions* as he thought most endangered them. And if any *differences* had fallen out amongst his people, he would forthwith send for them, to lay before him the reason of their differences; and such was his interest in them, that he usually healed and stopt all their little contentions, before they could break out into any open *flames*.

§ 10. After ten or twelve years most prosperous attendance on his ministry in Rowly, some unhappy griefs befel him, which were thus occasioned. It was thought pity, that so *great an ability* as that wherewith Mr. Rogers was *talented*, should be confined unto so *small an auditory* as that whereto his *Lord's day* labours were confined; and he was perswaded therefore to set up a *lecture*, once in a fortnight, whereto the inhabitants of other towns resorted with no small satisfaction. A most excellent young man was, upon this increase of his labours, obtained for his assistant: but through the *devices* of Satan there was raised a *jealousy* in the hearts of many among the people, that their *old pastor* was not real and forward enough in prosecuting the settlement of that assistant; and this jealousy broke forth into almost unaccountable *dissatisfactions* between him and them; which, though they were afterwards cured, yet the cure was in some regards too *palliative*.

§ 11. The rest of this good man's time in the world was *winter;* he saw more *nights* than *days,* and in vicissitudes of affliction, "the clouds returning after the rain." He buried his first wife, and all the children he had by that wife. He then married a virgin daughter of the well-known Mr. John Wilson, in hopes of issue by her; but God also took her away, with the child she had conceived by him.

After this, he married once more a person in years agreeable to him; but that very night a fire burnt his dwelling-house to the ground, with all the goods that he had under his roof. Having *rebuilt* his house, he received a *fall* from his horse, which gave to his *right arm* such a bruise, as made it ever after useless unto him; upon which account he was now put upon learning to write with his *left hand*.

—Pollebat mira Dexteritate tamen.—*

Thus having *done* the will of God, he was put upon further trial of his *patience!* But there was this comfortable in his trial, that the good *spirit* of God enabled him to bear his crosses cheerfully, and rejoice in his tribulations.

§ 12. The natural constitution of his body was but feeble and crazy: nevertheless, by a prudent attendance to the *rules of health*, his life was lengthened out considerably: but at last a lingring sickness ended his days, January 23, 1660, in the seventieth year of his age. His books wherewith he had recruited his library, after the fire, which consumed the good library that he had brought out of England, he bestowed upon Harvard College.

His lands, the greatest part of them, with his house, he gave to the town and church of Rowly.

§ 13. Because it will give some illustration unto our church-history, as well as notably describe the excellent and exemplary spirit of this good

* Nevertheless, he used his fingers with marvellous dexterity.

man, and it hath been sometimes noted, *Optima Historia, est Historia Epistolaris,** I will here insert one of his letters, written (with his *left hand*) unto a worthy minister in Charlestown, the 6th of the 12th month, 1657:

Dear Brother: Though I have now done my errand in the other paper, yet methinks I am not satisfied to leave you so suddenly, so barely. Let us hear from you, I pray you; how you do. Doth your ministry go on comfortably? find you fruit of your labours? are new converts brought in? Do your children and family grow more godly? I find greatest trouble and grief about the *rising generation.* Young people are little stirred here; but they strengthen one another in evil, by example, by counsel. Much ado I have with my own family; hard to get a *servant* that is glad of *catechising*, or *family-duties:* I had a rare blessing of servants in Yorkshire; and those that I brought over were a blessing: but the *young brood* doth much afflict me. Even the children of the godly here, and elsewhere, make a woful proof. So that, I tremble to think, what will become of this glorious work that we have begun, when the ancient shall be gathered unto their fathers. I fear *grace* and *blessing* will die with them, if the Lord do not also show more signs of displeasure, even in *our* days.—We grow *worldly* every where; methinks I see little godliness, but all in a hurry about the world; every one for himself, little care of *public* or *common* good.

"It hath been God's way, not to send sweeping judgments, when the chief magistrates are godly and grow more so. I beseech all the Bay-ministers to call earnestly upon magistrates (that are often among them) tell them that *their* godliness will be *our* protection: if *they* fail, I shall fear some sweeping judgment shortly. The *clouds* seem to be gathering.

"I am hastning home, and grow very asthmatical, and short-breathed. Oh! that I might see some signs of good to the generations following, to send me away rejoicing! Thus I could weary *you* and *my self*, and my *left hand;* but I break off suddenly. O, good brother, I thank God, I am *near home;* and you too are not far. Oh, the weight of glory that is ready waiting for us, God's poor exiles! We shall *sit next* to the *martyrs* and *confessors.* O, the *embraces* wherewith Christ will embrace us! Cheer up your spirits in the thoughts thereof; and let us be zealous for our God and Christ, and make a conclusion. Now the Lord bring us well through our poor pilgrimage.

"Your affectionate brother, "Ez. Rogers."

EPITAPH.

A resurrection to Immortality is here expected,
for what was mortal of the Reverend

EZEKIEL ROGERS,

Put off, January 23, 1660.

When preachers *die*, what rules the *pulpit gave*
Of *living*, are still preached from the *grave.*

The *faith* and *life*, which your *dead pastor* taught
Now in *one grave* with him, sirs, bury not.

Abi, Viator.

A Mortuo disce Vivere ut Moriturus;
E Terris disce Cogitare de Cœlis.†

* The best history is history in the epistolary form.

† Traveller, depart!
Stand by his grave, and learn that thou must die;
Then trace his shining path to yonder sky.

CHAPTER XIV.

EULOGIUS:* THE LIFE OF MR. NATHANAEL ROGERS.

In Jesu *mea Vita meo, mea Clausula Vitæ*
Est, et in hoc Jesu *Vita perennis erit.*†

§ 1. It is a reflection, carrying in it somewhat of *curiosity*, that as in the *Old* Testament, God saw the *first sinners* under a *tree*, so in the *New* Testament, Christ saw one of the *first believers* under a *tree*, with a particular observation. The *sinner* hid himself among the trees of the garden, assisted with fig-leaves, but it was a false covert and shelter whereto he trusted; the Most High discovered him. The *believer* also hid himself under a fig-tree, where, nevertheless, the shady leaves hindred not our Lord from seeing of him. The *sinner*, when he was discovered, expressed his *fear*, saying, "I heard thy voice, and I was afraid." The *believer* seen by our Lord, expressed his *faith*, saying, "Master, thou art the Son of God." The name of this believer was Nathanael. At the beginning of the *law* under the *Old* Testament, you have *nature* in an *Adam* under a *tree;* at the beginning of the gospel, under the *New* Testament, you have *grace* under a *tree* in a *Nathanael.* Truly, at the beginning of New-England, also, among the first believers that formed a church for our God in the country, there was a famous Nathanael, who retired into these American woods, that he might serve the King of Israel: this was our Nathanael Rogers. One of the first English arch-bishops assumed the name of *Deus dedit,*‡ and the historian says, he *answered* the name that he *assumed.* Our Nathanael was not in the rank of arch-bishops; but *as was his name,* a Gift of God, *so was he!*

§ 2. Cornelius Tacitus, who is by the great Budæus called, "the wickedest of all writers," reports of the Jews, that they adored an *ass's head;* because by a direction from a *company of asses, errorem sitimque depulerant;*§ and this report, received by him from a railing Egyptian, became so received, that no defence against it would be allowed. That excellent *company of divines* which led the people of God unto the sweet waters of his institutions, in the wilderness of New-England, whereinto they were driven, have been esteemed no better than a company of asses, by the Romishly affected writers of this age. But those heads which are justly *admired* (though not *adored*) among that people, had more of *angels* than of *asses* in them: the English nation had few better *Christians* than most, and it had not many better *scholars* than some who then retired into these ends of the earth. Now, among all those *great men* who submitted themselves unto all the *littleness* of a wilderness, there is a very high rank to be assigned unto one, who is now to be described.

* The Panegyrist.
‡ God's light.
§ They had ended their wanderings, and quenched their thirst.
† In Christ my life and end of life shall be,
And Christ shall be eternal life to me.

He was the second son of that famous man, Mr. John Rogers of Dedham; and born while his father was minister of Haveril, about the year 1598. He was educated at the grammar school in Dedham, till he was near fourteen years old, and then he was admitted into Emanuel College in Cambridge. There he became a remarkable and incomparable proficient in all academick learning; but some circumstances of his father would not permit him to wait for *preferments*, after he was become capable of *employments* in other places. His usual manner there, was to be an *early* and *exact* student; by which means he was quickly laid in with a good stock of *learning;* but unto all his other learning, there was that glory added, *the fear of God,* for the crown of all; the principles whereof were instilled into his young soul with the counsels of his pious mother, while he yet sat on her knees, as well as his holy father, when he came to riper years. From his very childhood he was exemplary for the success which God gave unto the cares of his parents, to principle him with such things, as rendred him "wise unto salvation."

§ 3. Having from his youth been used unto the most religious exercises, not only *social*, but also *secret*, nevertheless the hurries of *avocation* carried him abroad *one morning* before he had attended his usual devotions in his retirements; but his horse happening to stumble in a plain road, it gave him a bruising, bloody, dangerous *fall;* which awakened him so to consider of his *omission* in the morning, that for the rest of his life, he was wondrous careful to omit nothing of his daily duties: wherein at length he so abounded, that as Carthusian speaks, *Dulcissimo Deo totus immergi cupis et inviscerari.**

§ 4. Though he were of a pleasant and cheerful behaviour, yet he was therewithal sometimes inclined unto melancholy; which was *attended* with, and perhaps *productive* of, some *dejections* in his own mind, about his interest in the favour of God. Whence, even after he had been a *preacher* of some standing, he had sometimes very sore despondencies and objections in his own soul, about the evidences of his own *regeneration;* he would conclude that no *grace* of God had ever been wrought in him. Whereupon a minister, that was his near friend, gave him once that advice, "To let all go for lost, and begin again upon a new foundation;" but upon his recollecting himself, he found that he could not forego, he might not renounce all his former blessed *experience.* And so his doubts expired.

§ 5. The first specimen that he gave of his ministerial abilities, was as a chaplain in the house of a person of quality; whence, after a year or two thus fledged, he adventured a flight unto a great congregation at Bocking, in Essex, under Dr. Barkham; not without the wonder of many, how the son of the most noted *Puritan* in England should come to be employed under an Episcopal Doctor, so gracious with Bishop Laud; but this Dr. Barkham was a *good preacher* himself, and he was also willing to

* Thou desirest to be wholly bathed and incorporated in thy beloved Lord.

gratifie his parishioners, who were many of them religiously disposed: hence, though the Doctor would not spare a *tenth-part* of his revenues, which, from his *divers livings*, amounted unto near a thousand a year, to one who did above *three-quarters* of his work, yet he was otherwise very courteous and civil to our Mr. Rogers, whom his parishioners handsomely maintained out of their own *purses*, and shewed what a room he had in their *hearts* by their doing so.

§ 6. All this while, Mr. Rogers had, like his father, applied his thoughts only to the main points of "repentance from dead works," and "faith towards God;" and he had never yet looked into the controverted points of *discipline*. Indeed, the disposition of his famous father towards those things, I am willing to relate on this occasion; and I will relate it in his own words, which I will faithfully transcribe, from a MS. of his now in my hands:

"If ever I come into trouble [he writes] for want of conformity, I resolve with my self, by God's assistance, to come away with a clear conscience, and yield to nothing in present until I have prayed and fasted, and conferred: and though the liberty *of my ministry* be precious, yet buy it not with a *guilty conscience*. I am somewhat troubled sometimes at my subscription, but I saw sundry men of *good gifts*, and *good hearts*, as I thought, that did so. And I could not prove that there was any thing contrary to the word of God; though I misliked them much, and I knew them 'unprofitable burthens to the Church of God.' But if I be urged unto the use of them, I am rather resolved never to yield thereto. They are to me very irksome things; yet seeing I was not able to prove them flatly unlawful, or contrary to God's word, I therefore thought better to save my liberty with subscribing, (seeing I did it not against my conscience,) than to lose it, for not yielding so far. Yet this was some small trouble to me, that I did it, when I was in no special peril of any present trouble; which yet I thought I were as good do of my self, as when I should be urged to it. But, it may be, I might not have been urged of a long time, or not at all; but might have escaped by friends and money, as before; which yet I feared; but it was my weakness, as I now conceive it; which I beseech God to pardon unto me. Written 1627. This I smarted for 1631. If I had read this, it may be, I had not done what I did."

Reader, in this one passage thou hast a large history of the thoughts, and fears, and cares, with which the Puritans of those times were exercised.

But Mr. Hooker, now lecturer at Chelmsford, understanding that this young preacher was the son of a father whom he most highly respected, he communicated unto him the grounds of his own dissatisfaction at the *ceremonies* then imposed. Quickly after this, the Doctor of Bocking being present at the funeral of some eminent person there, he observed that Mr. Rogers forbore to put on the *surplice*, in the exercise of his ministry on that occasion; which inspired him with as much disgust against his *curate*, as his curate had against the surplice it self. Whereupon, though the Doctor were so much a gentleman as to put no publick affront upon Mr. Rogers, yet he gave him his *private advice* to provide for himself in some other place.

§ 7. See the providence of our Lord! about that very time, Assington, in Suffolk, being void by the death of the former incumbent, the patron

thereof was willing to bestow it upon the son of his honoured friend in Dedham; whither he now removed, after that Bocking had for four or five years enjoyed his labours. The inhabitants of Bromly, near Colchester, were at the same time extreamly discontented at their missing of him. However, see again the providence of our Lord! the Bishop of Norwich let him live quietly five years at Assington, which the Bishop of London would not have done at Bromly. This was the charge now betrusted with our Rogers; concerning whom, I find an eminent person publishing unto the world this account: "Mr. Nathanael Rogers, a man so able and so judicious in soul-work, that I would have betrusted my soul with him as soon as with any man in the Church of Christ."

§ 8. Here his ministry was both highly respected and greatly prospered, among persons of all qualities, not only in the town it self, but in the neighbourhood. He was a lively, curious, florid preacher; and by his *holy living*, he so farther preached, as to give much *life* unto all his other preaching. He had usually, every Lord's day, a greater number of hearers than could croud into the church; and of these many *ignorant* ones were instructed, many *ungodly* ones were converted, and many *sorrowful* ones were comforted. Though he had not his father's notable *voice*, yet he had several ministerial qualifications, as was judged, beyond his father; and he was "one prepared unto every good work;" though he was also exercised with *bodily infirmities*, which his labours brought upon him. 'Tis a thing I find observed by Mr. Firmin, "John Rogers was not John Chrysostom;" and yet God honoured no man in those parts of England with the conversion of souls more than him. And good Bishop Brownrig would say, "John Rogers will do more good with his *wild notes*, than we shall do with our *set musick*." But our Nathanael Rogers, was a "fisher of men," who came with a *silken line*, and a *golden hook*, and God prospered him also. He was an Apollo, who had his *harp* and his *arrows;* and the arrows his charming and piercing eloquence, which had ὑψος και Βαρος* in it, were "arrows in the hand of a mighty man." He not only knew how to build the temple, but also how to carve it: and he could say, with Lactantius, (his very name's-sake) *Vellem mihi dari Eloquentiam, vel quia magis credunt Homines veritati ornatæ, vel ut ipsi suis Armis vincantur.*†

§ 9. But a course was taken to extinguish these *lights* as fast as any notice could be taken of them. It was the resolution of the Hierarchy, that the ministers who would not conform to their impositions, must be *silenced* all over the kingdom. Our Mr. Rogers perceiving the approaches of the *storm* towards himself, did out of a particular circumspection in his own temper, choose rather to *prevent* than to *receive* the *censures* of the ecclesiastical courts; and therefore he resigned his place to the patron, that

* Loftiness and weight.

† I would that I were gifted with eloquence, both because men lend readier credence to truth ornamented, and because they might so be overcome by their own weapons.

so some godly and learned conformist might be invested with it: nevertheless, not being free in his conscience wholly to lay down the exercise of his ministry, he designed a removal into New-England; whereunto he was the rather moved by his respect unto Mr. Hooker, for whom his value was extraordinary. Reader, in all this there is no *reproach* cast upon this excellent Rogers. Κατηγορια τοιαυτη ἐγκωμιον εστιν.*

§ 10. He had married the daughter of one Mr. Crane of Cogeshal, a gentleman of a very considerable estate, who would gladly have maintained this his worthy son-in-law, with his family, if he would have tarried in England; but observing the strong inclination of his mind unto a New-English voyage, he durst not oppose it. Now, though Mr. Rogers were a person very unable to bear the hardships of travel, yet the *impression* which God had made upon his heart, like what he then made upon the hearts of many hundreds more, perhaps as weakly and feeble as *he*, carried him through the enterprize with an unwearied resolution; which resolution was tried, indeed, unto the utmost. For whereas the voyage from Gravesend unto Boston uses to be dispatched in about nine or ten weeks, the ships which came with Mr. Rogers were fully *twenty-four weeks* in the voyage; and yet in this tedious passage not one person did miscarry. After they had come two-thirds of their way, having reached the length of Newfound-land, their *wants* were so multiplied, and their *winds* were so contrary, that they entred into a serious *debate* about returning back to England: but upon their setting apart a day for solemn fasting and prayer, the weather cleared up; and in a little time they arrived at their desired port; namely, about the middle of November, in the year 1636.

§ 11. It was an extream discouragement unto him, at his arrival, to find the country thrown into an horrible combustion, by the Familistical opinions, which had newly made such a disturbance, as to engage all persons on one side or the other of the *controversies* all the country over. But God blessed the *prayers* and *pains* of his people, for the speedy stopping of that *gangreen;* and settled the country in a comfortable peace, by a Synod convened at Cambridge the next year; whereto our Mr. Rogers, and Mr. Partridge, who came in the same ship with him, contributed not a little by their judicious discourses and collations.

§ 12. His first invitation was to Dorchester; but the number of good men who came hither, desirous of a settlement under his ministry, could not be there accommodated; which caused him to accept rather of an invitation to Ipswich, where he was ordained pastor of the church, on February 20, 1638. At his ordination, preaching on 2 Cor. ii. 16, "Who is sufficient for these things:" a sermon so copious, judicious, accurate, and elegant, that it struck the hearers with admiration. Here was a renowned church consisting mostly of such illuminated Christians, that their pastors in the exercise of their ministry, might (as Jerom said of that brave woman Mar-

* Such censure is praise.

cella) *Sentire se non tam Discipulos habere quam Judices.** His colleague here, was the celebrious Norton; and glorious was the church of Ipswich now, in two such extraordinary persons, with their different gifts, but united hearts, carrying on the concerns of the Lord's kingdom in it. While our humble Rogers was none of those who do, Τας τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαμπροτητας, ἑαυτῶν ἀμαυρωσεις νομιζειν,—"Think the brightness of their brethren to shadow and obscure themselves." But if Norton were excellent, there are persons of good judgment, who think themselves bound in *justice* to say, that Rogers came not short of Norton, in his greatest excellencies.

§ 13. While he lived in Ipswich, he went over the five last chapters of the epistle to the Ephesians in his ministry; the twelfth chapter to the Hebrews; the fourteenth chapter of Hosea; the doctrine of *self-denial* and *walking with God;* and the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah; to the great satisfaction of all his hearers, with many other subjects more occasionally handled. It was counted pity that the public should not enjoy some of his discourses, in all which he was, ἐκ τῶν ἐμεντων ἀλλα τῶν ἀκριβεντων:† but his physician told him, that if he went upon transcribing any of his composure, his disposition to *accuracy* would so deeply engage him in it as to endanger his life: wherefore he left few monuments of his ministry but in the *hearts* of his people, which were many. But though they were so many, that he did justly reckon that well-instructed and well-inclined people his crown, yet in the *paroxism* of *temptation* among them, upon Mr. Norton's removal, the melancholy heart of Mr. Rogers thought for a while they were too much a *crown of thorns* unto him.

§ 14. It belongs to his character that he "feared God above many," and "walked with God," at a great rate of *holiness:* though such was his *reservedness*, that none but his intimate friends knew the *particularities* of his *walk*, yet such as were indeed intimate with him could observe that he was much in *fasting*, and *prayer*, and *meditation*, and those duties wherein the power of godliness is most maintained: and as the *graces* of a Christian, so the *gifts* of a minister, in him, were beyond the *ordinary attainments* of good men. Yea, I shall do a wrong unto his name, if I do not freely say, that he was one of the *greatest men*, that ever set foot on the American strand. Indeed, when the Apostle Paul makes that just boast, "I was not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles:" he does not speak (as we commonly take it) in respect of such as were *true* apostles, but in reference to those *false* apostles, who had nothing to set them out but their own *lofty words*, with an unjust slight of *him*. Whereas our blessed Rogers, I may, without injury or odium, venture to compare with the very best of the *true ministers*, which made the best days of New-England, and say, "he came little, if at all, behind the very chiefest of them all."

§ 15. He was much troubled with spitting of blood; wherein he would

* Feel as if their flocks were rather their judges than their disciples.
† Not one of the loose babblers, but of the accurate investigators.

comfort himself with the saying of one Mr. Price, upon such an occasion, "That though he should spit out his own blood, by which his life was to be maintained, yet he should never, *Expuere Sanguinem Christi*,* or lose the benefits of Christ's blood, by which he was redeemed." He was also subject unto the *Flatus Hypocondriacus*,† even from his youth; wherewith when he was first surprized, he thought himself a *dying man;* but a good physician and a long experience convinced him that it was a more *chronical* distemper. And while he was under the early discouragements of this distemper, I find the famous Mr. Cotton, in a letter dated March 9, 1631, thus encouraging of him:

"I bless the Lord with you, who supporteth your feeble body to do him service, and mean while perfecteth the *power* of his grace in your *weakness*. You know who said it, 'Unmortified strength posteth hard to hell, but sanctified weakness creepeth fast to heaven.' Let not your *spirit* faint, though your *body* do. Your soul is precious in God's sight; your 'hairs are numbered,' and the number and measure of your fainting fits, and wearisome nights, are weighed and limited by his hand, who hath given you his Lord Jesus Christ, to 'take upon him your infirmities,' and 'bear your sicknesses.'"

Nor was it this distemper which at last ended his days; but it was a flood of *rheum*, occasioned partly by his disuse of tobacco, whereto he had formerly accustomed himself, but now left it off, because he found himself in danger of being *enslaved* unto it; which he thought a thing below a *Christian*, and much more a *minister*. He had often been seized with fits of sickness in the course of his life: and his last seemed no more threatening than the former, till the *last morning* of it. An epidemical sort of cough had arrested most of the families in the country, which proved most particularly fatal to *bodies*, before labouring with rheumatic indispositions. *This* he felt; but in the whole time of his illness, he was full of heavenly discourse and counsel, to those that came to visit him. One of the last things he did, was to *bless* the three children of his only daughter, who had purchased his blessing by her singular dutifulness unto him. It is a notable passage in the Talmuds, that the inhabitants of Tsippor, expressing an extreme unwillingness to have the *death* of R. Judah (whom they surnamed *The Holy*,) reported unto them, he that brought the report, thus expressed himself, "Holy men and angels took hold of the tables of the covenant, and the hand of the angels prevailed, so that they took away the tables!" And the people then perceived the meaning of the parabolizer to be, that *holy men* would fain have detained R. Judah still in this world; but the *angels* took him away. Reader, I am as lothe to tell the death of *Rogers the Holy;* and the inhabitants of Ipswich were as lothe to hear it: but I must say, the "hand of the angels prevailed," on July 3, 1655, in the afternoon, when he had uttered those for his last words, "My times are in thy hands."

§ 16. He was known to keep a *diary;* but he kept it with so much

* Spurn at the blood of Christ.

† Fainting fit: hypochondriacal passion.

reservation, that it is not known that ever any one but himself *did* read one word of it: and he determined that none ever *should;* for he ordered a couple of his intimate friends to cast it all into the fire, without ever looking into the *contents* of it.

Surely, with the loss of so incomparable a person, the survivors must lament the loss of those *experiences*, which might in these *rich papers* have kept him, after a sort, still *alive* unto us! but as *they* would have proved him an incarnate seraphim, so the other seraphim, who carried him away with them, were no strangers to the *methods*, by which he had ripened and winged himself to become one of their society.

I cannot find any composures of this worthy man's offered by the press unto the world, except one, and that is only a letter which he wrote from New-England unto a member of the honourable House of Commons, at Westminster, in the year 1643. Wherein observing, That *Ecclesiam ad Mundi Normam Regnorum et statuum componere, est mere Domum Tapetibus accommodare;** he pathetically urged, that the Parliament would confess the guilt of neglecting, yea, rejecting motions of reformation in former Parliaments, and proceed now more fully to answer the just expectations of Heaven. But I have in my hands a brief manuscript, written in a neat Latin style, whereof he was an incomparable master. 'Tis a vindication of the Congregational church-government; and there is one passage in it, by transcribing whereof, I will take the leave to address the present age.

"*Non rarò* Reformationem *impedit Difficultas* Reformandi, *et Ecclesias veræ Disciplinæ Conformes reddendi. Jehoshaphat* excelsa non amovebat quia Populus non Comparaverat Animum Deo. *Non defuerunt* (*inquit* Bucerus,) *intra hos Triginta Annos, qui Videri voluerint Justam Evangelii Prædicationem plane amplecti, atque Religionis Christi rite Constituendæ præcipuam Curam suscipere, propter quam etiam non parum periclitati sunt. Verum perpauci adhuc reperti sunt, qui se Christi Evangelio et Regno omnino subjecissent. Multo vero minus permissum fuit fidis, probatisque Ecclesiarum Ministris, nec adeo multi Ministrorum voluissent id sibi concedi, ut qui Privatis Admonitionibus non acquievissent, atque a manifestis peccatis suis recipere se noluissent, eos una cum Ecctesiæ Senioribus ad hoc electis, nomine totius Ecclesiæ, ad Pœnitentiam Vocassent et Ligassent; eosque, qui et hoc Salutis suæ respuissent, cum assensu Ecclesiæ pro Ethnicis et Publicanis habendos Publice pronunciassent. Cujus Rationem etiam posuit* Peter Martyr: '*Videntur aliqui subvereri Tumultus, et Turbas, quod suæ Tranquillitati consulant, sibique fingant atque somnient, quandam Tranquillitatem in Ecclesia, quam impossibile est ut habeant, si Gregem Christi recte pasci voluerint.*' *Hinc Regula* Prudentiæ *pro Regula* Præcepti *proponitur*; *et Quæritur potius quid fieri convenienter* possit, *quam quid* debeat. *Fallit hæc Regula; cum multa Deus efficiat per* Zelotas (*quos vocant,*) *quæ* Politicis *Impossibilia Visa fuerint; Puta* Hezekiam, Josiam, *et* Edvardum *Sextum*, Angliæ *Regem. Cum videas unum* Ezram, *Cinere et Cilicio, fletu et Jejunio, tam Spissum et Arduum Opus superasse,*

* To conform the church to the standards of worldly power and rank is like fitting a house to its tapestries.

quo Carissimas Conjuges, et liberos desideratissimos, e Maritorum Gremio, et Paternis Genibus, revulsit et ablegavit; eoruuque non tantum infimæ Plebis; etiam Manus ipsorum Principum *et* Antistitum prima fuit in Prævaricatione ista; *Quis inquam, fidelis Minister adeo ὀλιγοπιστος est, ut in repurganda Ecclesia, nihil non audeat, cum Bono Deo? Magna quidem est Veritatis et Sanctitatis Vis et Majestas: Fidelis et Efficax est Assistentia Spiritus iis, qui Zelo accensi Gloriæ Dei sedulo incumbunt. Tempori quidem aliquando est cedendum; sed Operi Dei non est supersedendum.*"*

God will one day cause these words to be translated into English!

In the mean time, go thy way, NATHANAEL, until the end; for thou shalt rest—and on thy resting place I will inscribe the words of Luther upon his Nesenus, for thy

EPITAPH.

O NATHANAEL, *Si mihi datum esset Donum*
Miraculosum Excitandi Mortuos,
Et si ullum unquam Excitassem,
TE nunc Excitarem.†

And for the same use borrow the words, in the epitaph of Brentius, the younger.

Morte Pia rapitur, Cœlique fit Incola: Semper
Audiet, O magno digna propago Patre.‡

* Frequently a Reformation is embarrassed by the difficulty of making churches conform to a sound system of government. JEHOSHAPHAT did not "take away the high places, for as yet the people had not prepared their hearts unto the God of their fathers.

Within the last thirty years (says Bucer) men have not been wanting who have been willing openly to embrace the true preaching of the Gospel, and to make the right establishment of the Christian religion the chief object of their care, and in so doing have even incurred much peril. But very few have yet been found who have submitted themselves entirely to the gospel and kingdom of Christ. Indeed, even the faithful and approved ministers of the churches have not been permitted, (and very few have desired such a privilege,) to join with the elders of the church, who are appointed for this very object, in calling and holding to repentance, in the name of the whole church, those who have not heeded private admonitions and abstained from open scandal: or publicly to denounce, with the assent of the church, those who reject this last stage of salutary discipline, as strangers to the covenant and no better than heathen. The true explanation of this condition of things is given by Peter Martyr. "Some disciples," says he, "seem to dread tumult and dissension, and prefer to provide for their own tranquillity, and conjure up to their own imaginations a sort of tranquillity in the church, which is totally irreconcilable with the faithful ministration of truth to the flock of Christ! Hence it appears that the rule of prudence is set up as the rule of duty, and the inquiry is rather what is expedient than what is right. This standard will fail: for God accomplishes many things through men who are called enthusiasts which seem totally impracticable to calculating schemers: take, for instance, Hezekiah, Josiah, and Edward VI. King of England. When you see an Ezra, single-handed, by weeping and fasting in sackcloth and ashes, accomplish so intricate and arduous a task, as to compel husbands to put away the wives of their bosoms, and parents to renounce their beloved children, and this not only among the low populace, for "the hand of the princes and rulers was chief in the trespass;" what faithful minister, I ask, is of so little faith as to shrink from any method of purifying the Church, while God is on his side? Great is the power and majesty of truth and holiness: faithful and efficient is the aid of the Spirit, to those who with glowing zeal strive to advance the glory of God. Some allowance is to be made for times and seasons: but the work of God must not be stayed.

† Should Heaven this feeble will endower
With strength the bars of death to burst,
And I were fain to use the power,
I would evoke NATHANAEL first.

‡ When flesh shall fail, and heart is riven,
And through death's door he reaches heaven,
This welcome shall his soul inspire:
"O, worthy son of holy sire."

APPENDIX.

THE invaluable *diary* of Mr. Nathanael Rogers is lost; something of his *father's* is not so: we will do something towards repairing our loss out of *that:* some *secret* papers of old Mr. John Rogers are fallen into my hands: I will make them as *publick* as I can; and I will annex them to the *life* of his excellent son, because that son of his did *live* over the life of his renowned father. Thus, father and son shall live here together; and by offering the reader an extract of some observable "memorials for a godly life," contained in reserved experiences of Mr. John Rogers of Dedham, I shall also describe the very spirit of the old Puritans, in the *former* age, by the view whereof I hope there will more be made in that age which is *to come.* Sirs, read these holy memorials, and let it not be said of us, according to the complaint which the Talmuds thus utter: *Si prisci fuerunt Filii Regum, nos sumus Filii Hominum Vulgarium; et si prisci fuerunt Homines Vulgares, nos sumus velut Asini.** Let it not be said, as it uses to be by the Jewish Rabbi's, *Elegantior est Sermo familiaris Patrum, quam Lex Filiorum.*†

SIXTY MEMORIALS FOR A GODLY LIFE.

A COVENANT.

I. I HAVE firmly purposed, (by God's grace,) to make my *whole life,* a meditation of a *better life,* and godliness in every part; that I may from point to point, and from step to step, with more watchfulness, walk with the Lord.—Oh, the infinite gain of it! No small help hereto is daily *meditation* and often *conference.* Therefore, since the Lord hath given me to see in some sort the coldness of the *half-service* that is done to his majesty, by *the most,* and even by *my self,* I renew my covenant more firmly with the Lord, to come nearer unto the *practice of godliness,* and oftener to have my conversation in heaven, my mind seldomer and more lightly set upon the things of this life, to give to my self less liberty in the secretest and smallest provocations to evil, and to endeavour after a more *continual watch* from thing to thing, that as much as may be I may walk with the Lord for the time of my abiding here below.

A FORM OF DIRECTION.

II. This resolutely determine, That God be always my glory through the day; and, as occasion shall be offered, help forward such as shall repair to me, or among whom, by God's providence, I shall come: and these two being regarded, that I may tend *my own good,* going forward, (my own heart, I mean, calling and life, and my family and charge) looking for my *change,* and preparing for the cross—yea, for death it self: and to *like little* of mine estate, when I shall not sensibly find it thus with me: and whiles God affordeth me peace, health, liberty, an heart delighting in him, outward blessings with the same, to beware that godliness seem not pleasant to me, for *earthly commodity,* but for it self: if in this course, or any part of it, I should halt, or mislike, not to admit of any such *deceit:* and for the maintenance of this course, to take my part in all the *good helps,* appointed by God for the same; as these: first, to *begin* the day with meditation, thanksgiving, confession and prayer: to put on my armour: to watch and pray oft and earnestly in the day for holding fast this course: to hearten on my self hereto by mine own experience (who have ever seen, that it

* If the ancients were the sons of kings, we are the sons of common men; and if the ancients were common men, we are mere asses.

† The familiar speech of the fathers is more elegant than the law of their sons.

goeth well with those which "walk after this rule," 1 Pet. iii. 13; Gal. vi. 16,) and by the example of others (Heb. xiii. 7). And for the better helping my self forward, still in this course, my purpose and desire is, to learn humility and meekness more and more, by God's chastisements, and encourage my self to this course of life, by his daily blessings and mercies: and to make the same use of all exercises in my family. And faithfully to peruse and examine the several parts of my life every evening, how this course hath been kept of me, where it hath to keep it still, where it hath not, to seek pardon and recovery; and all behaviour that will not stand with this, to hold me from it, as from *bane.*

A FORM FOR A MINISTER'S LIFE.

III. In *solitariness,* to be least solitary: in *company,* taking or doing of good; to wife, to family, to neighbours, to fellow-ministers, to all with whom I deal, *kind;* amiable, yet modest; low in mine own eyes; oft with the sick and afflicted; attending to reading; painful for my sermons; not easily provoked unto anger; not carried away with conceits hastily; not wandring in fond dreams, about ease and deceivable pleasures; not snared in the world, nor making lawful liberties my delight; helpful to all that need my help, readily, and all those that I ought to regard: and all this, with continuance, even all my days.

IV. *Chief corruptions* to be watched against, be, sourness, sadness, timorousness, forgetfulness, fretting, and inability to bear wrongs.

V. I am very backward to *private visiting* of neighbours' houses, which doth much hurt: for thereby their love to me cannot be so great as it would be; and I know not their particular wants and states so well, and therefore cannot speak so fitly to them as I might.

VI. A minister had need look, that he profit by all his preaching *himself,* because he knows not what *others* do: many, he knows, get no good; of many more he is uncertain: so that if he get no good himself, his labour and travail shall be in vain.

VII. Begin the day with half an hour's meditation and prayer. And let me resolutely set my self to walk with God through the day: if any thing fall out amiss, recover again speedily, by humble confession, hearty prayer for pardon, with cofidence of obtaining. And so proceed.

VIII. Oh! *mildness,* and *cheerfulness,* with *reverence,* how sweet a companion art thou!

IX. Few rare and worthy men continue so to their end; but, one way or other, fall into coldness, gross sin, or to the world: therefore *beware!*

X. Count not the daily direction nor Christian life to be bondage: but count it the sweetest *liberty,* and the only way of true *peace.* Whensoever this is counted hard, that state that is embraced instead thereof, shall be harder.

XI. *Worldly dealings* are great lets to fruitfulness in study and cheerful proceeding in our Christian course.

XII. One can never go about *study,* or *preaching,* if any thing lie heavy on the *conscience.*

XIII. The worst day wherein a man keeps his watch, and holds to the daily rules of directions, is freer from danger, and brings more safety than the best day, wherein this is not known or practised.

XIV. I am oft, I confess, ashamed of my self, when I have been in company, and seen *gifts of knowledge* in many careless, unconscionable, and odd ministers; which (with better reasons) hath stirred up a desire oft-times in me that I could follow my studies. Yet I would never have been willing to have changed with them: for what is all knowledge, without a sanctified and comfortable use of it, through love; and without fruit of our labour, in doing good, and winning and building up of souls, or at least a great endeavour after it.

XV. Many *ministers* set their minds much upon *this world,* either profit or preferment, for which they venture dangerously, and some of them are "soon snatched away." Therefore, God keep me ever from setting my foot on such a path as hath no continuance, and is not without much danger in the end.

XVI. It is good for a man to delight in that wherein he may be bold to delight without repentance: and that is, to be always doing or seeking occasion to do some good. The Lord help me herein!

XVII. When God hedgeth in a man with many mercies, and gives him a comfortable condition, it is good to acknowledge it often, and be highly thankful for it. Else God may soon bring a man so low, as he would think that state happy that he was in before, if now he had it again. Therefore, God make me wise!

XVIII. Right *good men* have complained that they are oft-times in very *bad case*, their hearts disordered and distempered very sore, for want of taking to themselves a *certain direction* for the government of their lives.

XIX. Idle and unprofitable *talk* of *by-matters* is a canker that consumeth all good, and yet our heart much lusteth after it: therefore, resolve firmly against it.

XX. A necessary and most comely thing it is for a minister to carry himself so wisely and amiably unto all, as he may do good unto all sorts; to bring back them that be fallen off, in meekness and kindness, to pass by an offence in those that have wronged them, which is an high point of honour, and not to keep from them, and estrange himself from their acquaintance, and so suffer them to fall further, to be lowly towards the meaner sort of Christians; to keep the credit of his ministry with all. —I am perswaded, if my light did shine more clearly, and mine example were seen more manifestly, in these and such things, (which are of no small force to perswade the people,) that both my ministry would be of more power, and that I should draw them also to be better.

XXI. Look that I lie not down in bed but in peace with God any night, and never my heart rest until it relent truly for any thing that hath passed amiss in the day.

XXII. It is good for a minister not to deal much with his people about *worldly* matters, yet not to be *strange* to them: nor to be a stumbling-block unto the people, by worldliness or any other fault, else he deprives himself of all liberty and advantage of dealing with them for their errors.

XXIII. *Buffetings of Satan*, though they be grievous, yet they are a very good medicine against pride and security.

XXIV. *Christ's death*, and *God's mercy*, is not sweet, but where *sin* is sour.

XXV. It is an hard thing for a man to keep the "rules of daily direction," at times of sickness or pain. Let a man labour to keep out evil, when he wants *fitness*, *strength*, and *occasion*, to do good, and that is a good portion for a sick body. Also in sickness that is sore and sharp, if a man can help himself with short and oft prayers to God, for patience, contentment, meekness, and obedience to his holy hand, it is well, though he can't bend the mind much or earnestly upon any thing.

XXVI. Innocence is a very good fence and fort against *impatience* in false accusations or great afflictions. Let them that be guilty fret and vex themselves, and shew bitterness of stomach against such as speak ill of them; but they that look carefully to their hearts and ways, (without looking at men's eye,) let them be still, and of a "meek and quiet spirit."

XXVII. Besides the use of the "daily direction," and following strictly the rules thereof, yet there must be now and then the use of fasting, to purge out weariness and commonness in the use of it.

XXVIII. 'Tis a rare thing for any man so to use *prosperity*, as that his heart be drawn the nearer to God. Therefore, we had need in that estate to watch diligently, and labour to walk humbly.

XXIX. Oh, *frowardness!* how unseemly and hurtful a thing to a man's self and others! Amiable *cheerfulness*, with watchfulness and sobriety, is the best estate, and meetest to do good, especially to others.

XXX. Follow my calling: lose no time at home or abroad; but be doing some good: mind my going homeward: let my life never be pleasant unto me when I am not fruitful, and fit to be employed in doing good, one way or other.

XXXI. It is a great mercy of God to a *minister*, and a thing much to be desired, that he be well *moved* with the *matter* that he preaches to the people; either in his private meditation, or in his publick delivery, or both: better hope there is then that the people will be moved therewith: which we should ever aim at.

XXXII. If the *heart* be heavy at any time, and wounded for any thing, shame our selves, and be humbled for our sin, before we attempt any good exercise or duty.

XXXIII. It's a very good help, and most what a present remedy, when one feels himself dull, and in an ill condition, straightway to confess it to God, accuse himself, and pray for quickning. God sends redress.

XXXIV. There is as much need to pray to be kept in *old age*, and unto the *end*, as at any time. And yet a body would think that he that hath escaped the danger of his *younger*, should have no great fear in his *latter days*, but that his experience might prepare him against any thing. However, it is not so: for many that have done well, and very commendably for a while, have shrewdly fallen to great hurt. This may moderate our grief, when young men of great hopes be taken away.

—Oh! how much rather had I die in peace quickly, than live to disgrace the gospel, and be a stumbling-block to any, and live with reproach!

XXXV. What a sweet life is it when *every part* of the day hath some work or other allotted unto it, and this done constantly, but without commonness, or customariness of spirit in the doing it!

XXXVI. When a man is in a drowsie, unprofitable course, and is not humbled for it, God oft lets him fall into some *sensible sin*, to shame him with, to humble his heart, and drive him more thoroughly to God, to bewail and repent of *both*.

XXXVII. A true godly man, hath never his life joyful unto him, any longer than his conversation is holy and heavenly. Oh! let it be so with me!

XXXVIII. It is some comfort for a man whose *heart* is out of order, if he seeth it, and that with hearty mistake, and cannot be content until it be bettered.

XXXIX. I have seen of others, (which I desire to die rather than it should be verified of me!) that many ministers did never seem grossly to depart from God, until they grew *wealthy* and *great*.

XL. How much better is it to *resist* sin, when we be tempted thereunto, than to *repent* of it after we have committed it!

XLI. Whatsoever a *justified man* doth by direction of *God's word*, and for which he hath either precept or promise, he pleases God in it, and may be comfortable in whatsoever falls out thereupon. But where ignorance, rashness, or our own will carry us, we offend.

XLII. Let no man boast of the grace he hath had; for we stand not now by that, but it must be daily nourished; or else a man shall *become as other men*, and fall into noisome evils: for what are we but a lump of sin of our selves?

XLIII. If God in mercy arm us not, and keep us not in compass, *Lord*, what stuff will break from us! for what a deal of poison is in our hearts, if it may have issue! and therefore what need of watchfulness continually?

XLIV. The *worst day* (commonly) of him that knoweth, and endeavoureth to walk by the "*daily direction*," is freer from danger, and passed in greater safety, than the *best day* of a godly man, that knows not this "direction."

XLV. Many shew themselves *forward Christians* in company abroad, that yet where they should shew most fruits (as at home) are too secure; either thinking they are not marked, or, if they be, do not much regard it. This ought not to be.

XLVI. Be careful to mark what falls out in the *day*, in heart, or life; and be sure to look over all at *night*, that hath been amiss in the day; that so I may lie down in peace with God and conscience. The contrary were a woful thing, and would cause hellish unquietness. Be sure therefore that none of the malicious subtleties of the devil, nor the naughtiness of my own heart, do carry me further than at night I may sleep with quiet to God-ward.

XLVII. When God saith, (Deut. xii. 7,) "That *his* may rejoice before him, in all that they put their hands unto," it's a great *liberty*, and enjoyed of but *few*. No doubt many of our sorrows come through our own default, which we might avoid. And as for godly sorrow, it may stand with this rejoicing. If therefore we may *in all things* rejoice, then from one thing to another, from our walking to our sleeping: first, in our first thoughts of God in the morning; then in our prayer; after, in our calling, and while we are at it; then at our meat, and in company, and alone, at home and abroad, in prosperity and adversity, in meditation, in dealings and affairs: and lastly, in shutting up the day in examination, and viewing it over. And what hinders? if we be willing and resolved to do the will of God, throughout the day, but that we may "rejoice before him in all we put our hand unto."

XLVIII. He that makes conscience of his ways, and to please God his *only way*, is to take him to a "daily direction," and some *set rules*, thereby looking constantly to his heart all the day: and thus, for the most part, he may live comfortably: either not falling into any thing that should much disquiet him, or soon returning by repentance to peace again. But if a man tie not himself thus to rules, his heart will break from him, and be disguised one way or another, which will breed continual wound unto his conscience, and so he shall never live any time together in peace. The cause why many Christians also give themselves great liberty, in not accusing themselves for many offences, is the want of some certain direction to follow in the day.

XLIX. When we feel unfitness to our ordinary duties, we either begin to be discouraged, or else yield to corruption, and neglect our duties; neither of both which should be, but without discour-

agement we should resist our untowardness, and shake it off, and flee to God by prayer, even *force* our selves to pray for grace and fitness to pray; and being earnest, and praying in faith, we may be assured that we shall obtain life and grace.

L. When the mind is distracted any way, unsettled, unquiet, or out of order, then get alone, and muse, and see what hath brought us to this pass; consider how irksome a state this is, and unprofitable; pray to God, and work with thy own heart, until it be brought in frame. An hour or two alone, shall do a man more good than any other courses or duties.

LI. Aim (if it be possible) to spend one afternoon in a week in visiting the neighbour's houses; great use there is of it: their love to me will be much increased; much occasion will be ministered unto me for direction to speak the more fitly in my ministry. I am exceedingly grieved that I am so distracted with journeyings about, that I cannot bring this to pass.

LII. I never go abroad, (except I season my mind with good meditations by the way, or read, or confer) but besides the loss of my time, neglecting my ordinary task at home, at my study, I come home weary in body, unsettled in mind, untoward in study, So that I have small cause to rejoice in my goings forth, and I desire God to free me more and more from them: so may I also attend my own neighbours more diligently, which is my great desire; and the contrary hath been and is my great burthen.

LIII. I have ever observed that my journeyings and distractions of divers kinds, in these my later times, and by too often preaching in my younger years, I have been held from using means to get knowledge, and grow therein: which I counted ever the just punishment of God upon me, for the neglect of my *young time*, when I should and might have furnished my self.

LIV. When I am in the best estate my self, I preach most zealously and profitably for the people.

LV. It breeds an incredible comfort and joy when one hath got power over some such corruption, as in former times hath used to get the mastery over him, This is a good provocation to strive hard so to do, and a cause of great thankfulness when it so comes to pass.

LVI. If we be at any time much dejected for sin, or otherwise disquieted in our minds, the best way that can be, is to settle and quiet them by private meditation and prayer. *Probatum est.*

LVII. The *humble* man is the *strongest* man in the world, and surest to stand, for he goes out of himself for help. The *proud* man is the *weakest* man, and surest to fall: for he trusts to his own strength.

LVIII. It is good in all the changes of our life, whatsoever they be, to hold our own, and be not changed therewith from our goodness; as Abraham, wheresoever he came (after his calling) still built his altar to the true God, and "called upon his name:" he changed his *place*, but never changed his *God*.

LIX. Our whole *life* under the gospel should be nothing but thankfulness and fruitfulness. And if we must judge ourselves for our inward lustre and corruptions of pride, dulness in good duties, earthliness, impatience. If we make not conscience of, and be not humbled for these, God will and doth oft give us up to open sins, that stain and blemish our profession.

LX. The more we judge our selves *daily*, the less we shall have to do on our sick-beds, and when we come to *die*. Oh, *that* is an unfit time for *this!* we should have nothing to do then, but bear our pain wisely, and be ready to die. Therefore, let us be exact in our accounts every day!

Reader, having thus entertained thee with the memorials of the famous Mr. John Rogers, I will conclude them with transcribing a remark, which I find in a book published by Mr. Giles Firmin, 1681:

"Some excellent men at home conformed, but groaned under the burden; as, I remember, Mr. John Rogers of Dedham, an eminent saint; though he did *conform*, I never saw him wear a surplice, nor heard him use but a few prayers; and those, I think, he said *memoriter*, he did not read them; but this he would in his preaching, draw his finger about his throat, and say, 'Let them take me and hang me up, so they will but remove these stumbling-blocks out of the church.' But how many thousands of choice Christians plucked up their stakes here, forsook their dear friends and native country, shut up themselves in ships, (to whom a prison for the time had been more eligible,) went remote into an howling wilderness, there

underwent great hardships, water was their common drink, and glad if they might have had but that which they had given at their doors here (many of them): and all this suffering was to avoid your impositions, and that they might dwell in the House of God, and enjoy all things therein, according to his own appointment."

CHAPTER XV.

BIBLIANDER NOV-ANGLICUS:* THE LIFE OF MR. SAMUEL NEWMAN.

Nulla Tuas unquam Virtutes nesciet Ætas;
Non Jus in Laudes Mors habet Atra Tuas.†

§ 1. NONE of the least services which the pens of ingenious and industrious men have done for the Church of God, hath been in the writing of CONCORDANCES for that miraculous Book, where, *Quicquid docetur est Veritas; Quicquid præcipitur, Bonitas; Quicquid promittitur, Fœlicitas.*‡ The use of such concordances is well understood by all that "search the Scriptures," and "think thereby to have eternal life:" but most of all by those *Bezaleels*, whose business 'tis (as one speaks) "to cut and set in gold the diamonds of the divine word."

And therefore there have been many concordances of the Bible since that Origen first led the way for such composures, and divers languages; whereof, it may be, the *Maximæ et absolutissimæ Concordantiæ*,§ most compleat, have been those that were composed by the two Stephens, Robert the father, and Henry the son; these, as their name signifies a *crown*, so in this work of theirs, like Demosthenes in his oration, *De Corona*,‖ have carried away the *garland* from all that went before them.

Now, in the catalogue of concordances, even from that of R. Isaac Nathans, in Hebrew, to all that have in many other *derived languages* imitated it, there is none to be compared unto that of Mr. Samuel Newman, in English. Indeed, first Marbeck in a concordance which pointed unto *chapters*, but not unto *verses;* then Cotton, who, though no clergyman himself, yet by his more, but not *quite* perfect concordance and his diligence, obliged all clergy-men; and afterwards Bernard, who yet (no more than his name's sake) "saw not all things;" and then Downham, Wickens, Bennet, and how many more? have "done vertuously;" but thou, Newman, "has excelled them all!" It hath been a just remark, sometimes, made by them, who are so wise as to observe these things, that the Lord Jesus Christ, in his holy providence, hath chose especially to make the

* The author of a New-England Concordance.

† Thy virtues shall be known to future story:
Death may destroy thy fame, but not thy glory.

‡ Every thing taught is truth; every thing inculcated is goodness; every thing promised is felicity.

§ The most voluminous and complete concordances.

‖ On the Crown.

names of those persons *honourable*, who have laboured in their *works*, especially to put *honour* upon the sacred Scriptures. And in conformity to that observation, there are dues to be now paid unto the memory of Mr. Samuel Newman, who (that the Scriptures might be preserved for the memory, as well as the understanding of the Christian world,) first compiled in England a more elaborate concordance of the Bible than had ever yet been seen in Europe; and after he came to New-England, made that concordance yet more elaborate, by the addition of not only many texts that were not in the former, but also the marginal readings of all the texts that had them, and by several other contrivances so made the whole more *expedite* for the use of them that consulted it.

§ 2. The life of Mr. Samuel Newman commenced with the century now running, at Banbury, where he was born of a family more eminent and more ancient for the profession of the true Protestant religion than most in the realm of England. After his parents, who had more *piety* and *honesty* than *worldly greatness* to signalize them, had bestowed a good education upon him, and after his abode in the university of Oxford had given more perfection to that education, he became "an able minister of the New-Testament." But being under the conscientious dispositions of *real* Christianity, which was then called *Puritanism*, the persecution from the prevailing Hierarchy, whereto he therefore became obnoxious, deprived him of liberty for the peaceable exercise of his ministry. Whence it came to pass, that although we might otherwise have termed him a *presbyter* of *one* town by *ordination*, we must now call him an *evangelist* of *many*, through *persecution;* for the Episcopal molestations compelled him to no less than *seven removes*, and as many places may now contend for the honour of his ministry, as there did for Homer's nativity. But an *eighth* remove, whereto a weariness of the former *seven* drove him, shall bury in silence the claims all other places unto him; for after the year 1638, (in which year, with many others, as excellent Christians as any breathing upon earth, he crossed the water to America) he must be styled, "a New-England man."

§ 3. After Mr. Newman's arrival at New-England, he spent a year and half at Dorchester, five at Weymouth, and nineteen years at Rehoboth, which name he gave unto the town, because his flock, which were before *straitned* for want of *room*, now might say, "The Lord hath made room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land;" nor will it be wondered at, if one so well versed in the Scripture, could think of none but a Scripture-name, for the place of his habitation. How many *straights* he afterwards underwent at Rehoboth, in the *dark-day*, when he was almost the only minister whose *invincible patience* held out, under the scandalous neglect and contempt of the ministry, which the whole colony of Plymouth was for a while *bewitched* into, it is best known unto the compassionate Lord, who said unto him, "I know thy works, and how thou hast born and hast

patience, and for my name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted." But no doubt the straits did but more effectually recommend Heaven to him as the only Rehoboth; whither he went July 5, in the year of our Lord 1663, when by passing through *nine sevens* of years he was come to that which we call, "the grand climaterical." Nor let it be forgotten, that in this memorable and miserable year, each of *three* colonies of New-England was beheaded of the minister from whence they had most of their influences; Norton went from the Massachuset colony, Stone went from Connecticut colony, and Newman from Plymouth colony, within a few weeks of one another.

§ 4. He was a very *lively preacher* and a very *preaching liver*. He loved his *church* as if it had been his *family*, and he taught his *family* as if it had been his *church*. He was an hard student; and as much *toyl* and *oyl* as his learned name's sake Neander employed in illustrations and commentaries upon the old Greek Pagan poets, our Newman bestowed in compiling his concordances of the sacred Scriptures: and the incomparable *relish* which the sacred Scriptures had with him, while he had them thus under his continual *rumination*, was as well a *mean* as a *sign* of his arriving to an extraordinary measure of that sanctity which the truth produces. But of his family-discipline there was no part more notable than this one, that once a year he kept a solemn day of *humiliation* with his family; and once a year a day of *thanksgiving;* and on these days he would not only enquire of his houshold what they had met withal to be *humbled* or to be *thankful* for, but also he would recruit the memoirs of his diary; by being denied the sight whereof, our history of him is necessarily creepled with much imperfection.

But whether it were entered in that diary or no, there was one thing remarkable which once befel him, worthy of a mention in this history. He was once on a journey home from Boston to Rehoboth: but hearing of a lecture at Dorchester by the way, he thought with himself, "Perhaps I shall not be out of my way if I go so far out of my way as to take that lecture." There he found Mr. Mather at prayer; the prayer being ended, Mr. Mather would not be satisfied except he would preach. Accordingly, after the singing of a psalm, he preached an excellent sermon; and by that sermon a poor sinner, well known in the place, was remarkably converted unto God, and became a serious and eminent Christian.

§ 5. Hospitality was an *essential* of his character: and I can tell when he *entertained angels* not *unawares*. 'Tis doubtless, a faulty piece of *insensibility* among too many of the faithful, that they do little consider the guard of *holy angels* wherewith our Lord Jesus Christ wonderfully supplies us against the mischief and malice of *wicked spirits*. Those holy angels are, it may be, *two hundred and sixty times* mentioned in the sacred oracles of Heaven: and we that read so much in those oracles are so *earthly-minded*, as to take little notice of them. 'Tis a marvellous thing that, as one says, the *natives*

of heaven do not grudge to attend upon those who are only the *denisons* thereof; and that, as the ancient expresses it, we may see *the whole heaven* at work for our salvation, God the *Father* sending his *Son* to redeem us, both the Father and the Son sending their *Spirit* to guide us, the Father, Son and Spirit sending their *angels* to minister for us. Now, of the whole angelical ministration concerned for our good, there is, it may be, none more considerable, than the illustrious convoy and conduct which they give unto the spirits of believers, when, being expired, they pass through the territories of the "prince of the power of the air," unto the regions where they must attend until the resurrection. What Elijah had at his translation, "a chariot of angels," does, in some sort, accompany all the saints at their expiration; they are carried by angels unto the feast with Abraham, and angels do then "receive them into everlasting habitations." The *faith* of this matter has therefore filled the departing souls of many good men with "a joy unspeakable and full of glory;" thus the famous Lord Mornay, when dying, said, "I am taking my flight to heaven; here are angels that stand ready to carry my soul into the bosom of my Saviour;" thus the famous Dr. Holland, when dying, said, "O, thou fiery chariot, which camest down to fetch up Elijah, you angels, that attended the soul of Lazarus, bear me into the bosom of my best beloved!" thus we know of another, that when dying, said, "O that you had your eyes open to see what I see! I see millions of angels; God has appointed them to carry my soul up to heaven, where I shall behold the Lord face to face." And now, let my reader accept another instance of this *dying* and most *lively* expectation!

Our Newman, towards the conclusion of his days, advanced more and more towards the beginning of his *joys;* and a *joyful* as well as a *prayerful*, *watchful*, and *fruitful* temper of soul, observably irradiated him. At length, being yet in health, he preached a sermon on these words in Job xiv. 14, "All the days of my appointed time will I wait, until my change come;" which proved his *last.* Falling sick hereupon, he did in the afternoon of a following Lord's day ask a deacon of his church to pray with him; and the pious deacon having finished his prayer, this excellent man turned about, saying, "And now, ye angels of the Lord Jesus Christ, come, do your office!" with which words he immediately expired his holy soul into the arms of angels: the spirit of this just man was immediately with the "innumerable company of angels."

§ 6. The believing sinner then has the "forgiveness of sin" effectually declared and assured unto him, when the holy spirit of God, with a *special operation* (which is called "*The Seal of the Holy Spirit*") produces in him a solid, powerful, wonderful, and well-grounded *perswasion* of it; and when he brings home the *pardoning love* of God unto the heart with such immediate and irresistible *efficacy*, as marvellously moves and melts the heart, and overwhelms it with the inexpressible consolations of a par-

don. The "forgiveness of sin" may be *hopefully*, but cannot be *joyfully* evident unto us, without such a special operation of the Holy Spirit giving evidence thereunto. When we set ourselves to argue our *justification*, from the marks of our *sanctification* that we can find upon ourselves, we do *well;* we work *right;* we are in an *orderly way* of proceeding. But yet we cannot well see our sanctification, except a special operation of the spirit of God help our sight; and if we do see our sanctification, yet our sight of our justification will be no more than feeble, except a special operation of the spirit of God shall comfort us. Our own argument may make us a little *easy;* and it is our duty to be found in that rational way of arguing; but this meer argument of our own, will not bring us to that joyful peace of soul that will carry us triumphantly through the "dark valley of the shadow of death," and make us triumph over our doubts, our fears, and all our discouragements. At last, the Spirit of God, *he* will come in gloriously upon our hearts, and cause us to receive the pardon of our sins, offered freely through Christ unto us; and then we shall "rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory." Nevertheless, whenever the "forgiveness of our sins" is by a special operation of the Holy Spirit revealed unto us, the symptoms of a regenerate soul do always accompany it. Though the marks of sanctification are not enough to give us the full joy of our justification, yet they give us the *proof* of it. When a special operation of the Holy Spirit, gives us to see our justification, it will give us to see our sanctification too.

In writing this, I have written a considerable article of our church-history: for it was *this article* that, perhaps more than any whatsoever, exercised the thoughts and pens of our churches for many years together. But the mention hereof serves particularly to introduce a few more *memoirs* of our holy Newman.

All *good* Christians do sometimes examine themselves about their interiour state: and they that would be *great* Christians, must often do it. Though the reserved papers of our Newman are too carelessly lost, yet I have recovered *one*, which runs in such terms as these:

"NOTES, OR MARKS OF GRACE, I FIND IN MY SELF;

Not wherein I desire to Glory, but to take Ground of Assurance, and, after our Apostles' Rules, to 'make my Election sure,' though I find them but in weak measure.

"1. I find, I *love* God, and desire to love God, principally for himself.
"2. A desire to requite evil with good.
"3. A looking up to God, to see him, and his *hand*, in all things that befal me.
"4. A greater fear of displeasing God, than all the world.
"5. A love to such Christians as I never saw, or received good from.
"6. A grief, when I see God's commands broken by any person.
"7. A mourning for not finding the assurance of God's love, and the sense of his favour, in that comfortable manner at one time as at another; and not being able to serve God as I should.

"8. A willingness to give God the glory of any ability to do good.
"9. A joy when I am in Christian company, in godly conference.
"10. A grief when I perceive it goes ill with Christians, and the contrary.
"11. A constant performance of secret duties, between God and my self, morning and [evening.
"12. A bewailing of such *sins* which none in the world can accuse me of.
"13. A choosing of suffering to avoid sin."

But having thus mentioned the *self-examination* which this holy man accustomed himself unto, I know not but this may be a very proper opportunity to observe, that the holiness of our primitive Christians, in this land, was more than a little expressed and improved by this piece of Christianity. And that I may serve this design of Christianity upon the devout reader, I will take this opportunity to digress (if it be a digression) so far, as to recite a passage I lately read in a paper, which a private Christian, one of our godly old men, who died not long since, (namely, Mr. Clap, once the captain of our castle) did at his death leave behind him.

That godly man had long been labouring under doubts and fears about his interiour state before God. At last he was one day considering with himself what was his most *beloved* sin. Herewithal he considered whether, in case the Lord would assure him that *all sin* should be for ever pardoned unto him, and he should arrive safe to heaven in the issue, yet he should not in the mean time have that one sin mortified, and be delivered from the reign and rage of that one sin,—whether this would content him? Hereunto he found and said, before the Lord, "that this would not content him." And hereupon the Spirit of God immediately irradiated his mind, with a strange and a strong assurance of the divine love unto him. He was dissolved into a flood of tears, with assurance that God had "loved him with an everlasting love." And from this time the assurance of his pardon conquered his doubts and fears, I think, all the rest of his days.

Our too defective history of our Newman I will conclude, as Blahoslius did in his history of Johannes Cornu: *Longum estet Elogia hujus viri narrare. Sed perfectior Historia, ut de aliis vires, ita et de osto, consummatur, et quotidie angetur in Vitâ eternâ; Quam da nobis, O Domine Deus, in gloriâ cum gaudio legendam. Amen.**

EPITAPHIUM.

Mortuus est NEANDER Nov-Anglus,
Qui ante mortem didicit mori,
Et obiit eâ morte, quæ potest esse, Ars bene moriendi.†

* It would be too great a task to set forth all his praises. But a more perfect history of him, as of some other men, is in progress, and daily amplified into life eternal: which God grant that we may, when raised up to glory, read for ourselves with unspeakable joy. Amen!

† The NEANDER of New-England is dead. Before death, he learned to die, and the art of dying well died with him.

CHAPTER XVI.

DOCTOR IRREFRAGABILIS:* THE LIFE OF MR. SAMUEL STONE.

§ 1. If the church of Rome do boast of her *Cornelius à Lapide*,† who hath published learned commentaries upon almost the whole Bible, the Protestant and reformed church of New-England may boast of her Samuel Stone, who was better skilled than the other in sacred philology, and whose learned sermons and writings were not stuffed with such trifles and fables, and other impertinencies, as fill many pages in the composures of the other.

§ 2. In his youth, after his leaving of the University of Cambridge, where Emanuel-Colledge had instructed him in the *light*, and nourished him with the cup of that famous university, he did, with several other persons that proved famous in their generation, "sit at the feet" of a most excellent Gamaliel; attending upon that eminently holy man of God, whom I will venture to call Saint Blackerby. That Reverend Richard Blackerby, whose most *angelical* sort of *life* you may read among the last of Samuel Clark's collections, was a tutor to Mr. Stone; and you may reasonably expect that such a *scholar* should have a double portion of the *spirit* which there was in such a *tutor*.

§ 3. Having been an accomplished, industrious, but yet persecuted minister of the gospel, in England, he came to New-England in the same ship that brought over Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker. A ship which, in those three worthies, brought from Europe a richer loading than the richest that ever sailed back from America in the Spanish Flota; even that wreck which had on board, among other treasures, one entire table of gold, weighing above three thousand and three hundred pound. Indeed, the foundation of New-England had a precious *jem* laid in it when Mr. Stone arrived in these regions.

But the circumstances of this removal, require to be related with more of particularities. The judicious Christians that were coming to New-England with Mr. Hooker were desirous to obtain a colleague for him, and being disappointed of obtaining Mr. Cotton for that purpose, (who nevertheless took it very kindly that Mr. Hooker had sent them unto him) they began to think that a couple of such great men might be more serviceable *asunder* than *together*. So their next agreement was, to procure some able and godly young man, who might be an *assistant* unto Mr. Hooker, with something of a *disciple* also; and those three—Mr. Shepard, Mr. Norton, and Mr. Stone—were to this end proposed; and Mr.

* The Doctor whom none could confound.

† Cornelius Stone.

Stone, then a lecturer at Torcester in Northamptonshire, was the person upon whom at length it fell to accompany Mr. Hooker into America.

§ 4. From the New-English Cambridge he went collegue to Mr. Hooker, with a chosen and devout company of Christians, who gathered a famous church at a town which they called Hartford, upon the well-known river Connecticut. There he continued feeding the flock of our Lord fourteen years, with Mr. Hooker, and sixteen years after him; till he that was born at Hartford in England, now on July 20, 1663, died in Hartford of New-England; and went unto the Heavenly Society, whereof he would with some longing say, "Heaven is the more desirable, for such company as Hooker, and Shepard, and Hains, who are got there before me."

§ 5. His way of living was godly, sober and righteous, and, like that great apostle who was his name-sake, he could seriously and sincerely profess, "Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee." But there were two things wherein the "power of godliness" uses to be most remarkably manifested and maintained; and he was remarkable for both of these things; namely, frequent *fastings* and exact *Sabbaths*. He would, not rarely, set apart whole days for fasting and prayer before the Lord, whereby he ripened his blessed soul for the "inheritance of the saints in light." And when the weekly Sabbath came, which he still began in the *evening* before, he would compose himself unto a most heavenly frame in all things, and not let fall a word, but what should be grave, serious, pertinent. Moreover, it was his custom that the sermon which he was to preach on the Lord's day in his assembly, he would the night before deliver to his own family. A custom which was attended with several advantages.

§ 6. Being ordained the *teacher* of the church in Hartford, he apprehending himself under a particular and peculiar obligation to endeavour the edification of his people, by a more *doctrinal* way of preaching: accordingly, as he had the *art* of keeping to his hour, so he had an incomparable skill at filling of that hour with nervous discourses, in the way of *common-place* and *proposition*, handling the points of *divinity*, which he would conclude with a brief and close *application:* and then he would in his prayer, after sermon, put all into such pertinent confessions, petitions, and thanksgivings, as notably digested his *doctrine* into *devotion*. He was a *man of principles*, and in the management of those principles he was both a *Load*-Stone and a *Flint*-Stone.

§ 7. He had a certain *pleasancy* in conversation, which was the effect and symptom of his most ready *wit;* and made ingenious men to be as *covetous* of his *familiarity* as *admirers* of his *ingenuity*. Possibly he might think of what Suidas reports concerning Macarius, that by the *pleasancy* of his *discourses* on all occasions, he drew many to the ways of God. He might be inclined, like Dr. Staunton, who said, "I have used myself to be cheerful in company, that so standers-by might be the more in love

with religion, seeing it consistent with cheerfulness." Hence *facetious turns* were almost *natural* to him, in his conversation with such as had the sence to comprehend the *subtleties* of his reparties. But still under such a reserve, as to escape the sentence of the canon of the council of Carthage, *Clericum scurrilem et verbis turpibus Joculatorem, ab officio Retrahendum esse censemus.**

§ 8. Reader, what should be the meaning of this? our Mr. Stone, about or before the year 1650, when all things were in a profound calm, delivered in a sermon his pre-apprehensions that churches among them would come to be broken by *schism*, and sudden *censures*, and angry *removes:* and that ere they were aware, these mischiefs would arise among them; in the churches, prayers against prayers, hearts against hearts, tears against tears, tongues against tongues, and fasts against fasts, and horrible prejudices and underminings. Many years did not pass before he saw in his own church all of this accomplished. He little thought that his *own* church must be the stage of these tragedies, when he told some of his friends, "That he should never want their love." He did live to undergo what we are now going to signifie:

Towards the latter end of his time, this present evil world was made yet more *evil* unto him, through an unhappy *difference* which arose between him and a *ruling elder* in the church whereof he was himself a *teaching elder*. They were both of them godly men; and the true original of the *misunderstanding* between men that were of so *good an understanding*, has been rendred almost as obscure as the rise of Connecticut-river. But it proved its unhappy consequences, too, like that river in its great annual inundations; for it overspread the whole colony of Connecticut. Such a monstrous *enchantment* there was upon the minds even of those who were Christians, and brethren, that in all the towns round about, the people generally made themselves *parties*, either to one side or the other, in this quarrel; though multitudes of them scarce ever distinctly knew what the quarrel was: and the factions insinuated themselves into the smallest, as well as the greatest affairs of those towns. From the *fire of the altar*, there issued *thundrings* and *lightnings*, and *earthquakes*, through the colony. As once in Constantinople, a fire that began in the church consumed the senate-house: thus the *fire* which began in the church more than a little affected the senate-house in Connecticut: and the people also were many of them as fiercely set against one another, as the Combites in the poet were against the Tentyrites. A world of sin was doubtless committed, even by pious men, on this occasion, while they permitted so many things contrary to the *law of charity*, and so much mispending of their *time* and misplacing of their *zeal*, as must needs occur in their woful *variance*. Alas! how many of Solomon's wise proverbs were explained and instanced in the follies of these contests! Indeed, for the composing of these *bran-*

* We believe that a scurrilous clergyman, who deals in foul jests, should be dismissed from the pastoral office.

gles, there was the help of council called in; but every council fetched from the neighbourhood was thought *prejudiced;* for which cause, at last, a council was desired from the churches about Boston, in the Massachusets Bay, whose messengers took the pains thus to travel more than an hundred miles for the pacification of these animosities; and a sort of *pacification* was thereby attained; but yet not without the dismission and removal of many vertuous people further up the river; whereby some other churches came to be gathered, which are now famous in our Israel. 'Tis not easy to *comprehend*, and I wish no such faithful servant of God may *experience* it; how much the *spirit* of Mr. *Stone*, was worn by the *continual dropping* of this contention.—*Gutta cavat Lapidem.** But the *dust* of mortality being thrown upon those good men, they have not only left *stinging* one another, but also they are together *hived* with *unjarring love* in the land that flows with what is better than milk and honey. As for Mr. Stone, if it were *metaphorically* true (what they *proverbially* said) of Beza, that "he had no gall," the physicians that opened him after his death found it *literally* true in this worthy man.

§ 9. In his church-discipline, he was, perhaps, the exactest of that which we call Congregational, and being asked once to give a description of the Congregational church-government, he replied, "It was a speaking *Aristocracy* in the face of a silent *Democracy.*"

§ 10. He was an extraordinary person at an *argument;* and as clear and smart a *disputant* as most that ever lived in the world. Hence, when any scholar came to him with any question, it was his custom to bid him take which part the quærist himself pleased, either positive or negative, and he would most argumentatively dispute against him; whereby having disputed one another into the *narrow* of the case, he would then give the enquirer the most judicious and satisfying *determination* of his *problem* that could be imagined. Yea, what Cicero says of one, might almost be said of him, *Nullam unquam in Disputationibus rem defendit, quam non probarit; nullum oppugnavit, quem non everterit.*†

§ 11. The world has not been entertained with many of his composures. But certain strokes of Mr. Hudson and Mr. Cowdry fetched one spark out of this well compacted Stone; which was, "*A Discourse about the Logical Notion of a Congregational Church;*" wherein some thought that, as a *Stone* from the *sling* of David, he has mortally wounded the head of that Goliah, *a national political church.* At least, he made an essay to do what was done by the *Stone* of Bohan, setting the bounds between church and church, as *that* between tribe and tribe.

Moreover, I find in a book which a late author hath written on Free-grace, this passage: "Might the world be so happy as to see a very elaborate confutation of the Antinomians, written by a very acute and solid

* Continual droppings wear even stones. † In debate, he never defended any position which he did not establish: he opposed none which he did not overthrow.

person, a great disputant, viz: Mr. Stone of New-England, a Congregational divine, it would easily appear that the *Congregational* are not *Antinomian.*" And Mr. Baxter, in one of his last works, does utter his *dying* wishes for the resurrection of that *buried manuscript.*

But one of the most elaborate things written by Mr. Stone, or indeed in this land, is his "*Body of Divinity;*" wherein the reader has, in a Richardsonian method, curiously drawn up the *doctrine* of the Protestant, and Reformed, and New-English churches; and the *marrow* of all that had been reached, by the hard and long studies of this great student in theology. This rich treasure has often been transcribed by the vast pains of our candidates for the ministry; and it has *made* some of our most considerable divines. But all attempts for the printing of it hitherto proved abortive.

EPITAPHIUM.

*Quem Nubila Victa Coronant.**

CHAPTER XVII.

THE LIFE OF MR. WILLIAM THOMPSON.

§ 1. THERE is no experienced minister of the gospel who hath not, in the cases of *tempted souls*, often had this experience, that the ill cases of their distempered *bodies* are the frequent occasion and original of their *temptations.* There are many men who, in the very constitution of their *bodies*, do afford a *bed* wherein busy and bloody *devils* have a sort of a lodging provided for them. The *mass of blood* in them, is disordered with some fiery *acid*, and their *brains* or *bowels* have some juices or ferments or vapours about them, which are most unhappy *engines* for *devils* to work upon their souls withal. The vitiated humours, in many persons, yield the *steams* whereinto Satan does insinuate himself, till he has gained a sort of possession in them, or at least an opportunity to shoot into the mind as many *fiery darts* as may cause a sad life unto them; yea, 'tis well if *self-murder* be not the sad end unto which these hurried people are thus precipitated. New-England, a country where *splenetic* maladies are prevailing and pernicious perhaps above any other, hath afforded numberless instances of even *pious people* who have contracted those melancholy indispositions, which have unhinged them from all service or comfort; yea, not a few persons have been hurried thereby to lay violent hands upon themselves at the last. These are among the "unsearchable judgments of God!"

§ 2. Mr. William Thompson was a reverend minister of the gospel, who *felt* in himself the vexations of that melancholy which persons in his office

* Crowned by the clouds through which he passed.

do so often *see* in others. He was a very powerful and successful preacher; and we find his name sometimes joined in the title-page of several books with his countryman, Mr. Richard Mather, as a writer. Nor was New-England the only part of America where he zealously published the messages and mysteries of Heaven, after that the English Hierarchy had persecuted him from the like labours in Lancashire over into America; but upon a mission from the churches of New-England, he carried the tidings of salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ into Virginia: where he saw a notable fruit of his labours, until that faction there, which called it self, "the Church of England," persecuted him from thence also. Satan, who had been after an extraordinary manner irritated by the evangelic labours of this holy man, obtained the liberty to *sift* him; and hence, after this worthy man had served the Lord Jesus Christ in the church of our New-English Braintree, he fell into that *Balneum diaboli*, "a black *melancholy*," which for divers years almost wholly disabled him for the exercise of his ministry; but the end of this melancholy was not so tragical as it sometimes is with some, whom yet, because of their exemplary *lives* we dare not censure for their prodigious *deaths*. It is an observation of no little consequence, in our Christian warfare, that for all the fierce temptations of the devil upon us, there is a *time* limited—an hour of temptation. During this time, the devil may grow the more furious upon us, the more we do *resist* him. We must resist until the time which is *prefixt* by God, but *unknown* to us, is expired; and then we shall find it a law in the invisible world strictly kept unto, that if the resistance be carried on to such a period, though perhaps with many intervening foyle, the devil will be gone; yea, whether he will or no, we *must* be gone. There is a *law* for it, which obliges him to a *flight*, and a flight that carries a *fright* in it; a *fear* from an apprehension that God, with his good angels, will come in, with terrible chastisements upon him, if he presume to continue his temptations one moment longer than the time that had been allowed unto him. All this may be implied in that passage of the apostle, "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you." And as our Lord, being twice more furiously tempted by the devil, "drew near to God," with *extraordinary prayer;* but when the *time* for the *temptation* was out, God by his angels then sensibly drew near unto him, with fresh consolations: to this, no doubt, the apostle refers, when he adds, "Draw nigh to God, and he shall draw nigh to you." Accordingly, the pastors and the faithful of the churches in the neighbourhood kept "resisting of the devil," in his cruel assaults upon Mr. Thompson, by continually "drawing near to God," with ardent supplications on his behalf: and by praying always, without fainting, without ceasing, they saw the devil at length flee from him, and God himself draw near unto him, with unutterable joy. The *end* of that man is *peace!*

§ 3. A short flight of our *poetry* shall tell the rest:

REMARKS ON THE BRIGHT AND THE DARK SIDE OF THAT AMERICAN PILLAR,

THE REVEREND MR. WILLIAM THOMPSON,

PASTOR OF THE CHURCH AT BRAINTREE, WHO TRIUMPHED ON DEC. 10, 1666.

But may a *rural pen* try to set forth
Such a great *father's* ancient grace and worth!
I undertake a no less arduous theme,
Than the old sages found the Chaldee dream.
'Tis more than *Tythes* of a profound respect,
That must be paid such a Melchizedeck.

Oxford this *light*, with *tongues* and *arts* doth trim;
And then his *northern* town doth challenge him.
His time and strength he *center'd* there in *this;*
To do *good works*, and *be* what *now* he is.
His *fulgent virtues* there, and *learned strains*,
Tall comely *presence*, *life* unsoil'd with *stains*,
Things most on Worthies, in their stories writ,
Did him to moves in *orbs* of *service* fit.
Things more peculiar yet, my muse, intend,
Say stranger things than these; so weep and end.

When he forsook first his Oxonian cell,
Some scores at once from popish darkness fell;
So this *reformer* studied! rare *first fruits!*
Shaking a *crab-tree* thus by hot disputes,
The acid *juice* by miracle turn'd *wine*,
And rais'd the *spirits* of our young divine.
Hearers, like *doves*, flock't with contentious wing,
Who should be first, feed most, most homeward bring.
Laden with *honey*, like Hyblæan bees,
They knead it into *combs* upon their knees.

Why he from Europe's pleasant garden fled,
In the next age, will be with horrour said.
Braintree was of this *jewel* then possest,
Until himself, he *labour'd* into *rest*.
His *inventory* then, with Johns, was took;
A *rough coat*, *girdle* with the sacred *book*.

When reverend Knowles and he sail'd hand in hand,
To Christ espousing the Virginian *land*,
Upon a ledge of craggy rocks near stav'd,
His Bible in his bosom thrusting sav'd;
The Bible, the best of cordial of his heart, [part!"
"Come floods, come flames," cry'd he, "we'll never
A *constellation* of great *converts* there,
Shone round him, and his *heavenly glory* were.
Gookins was one of *these:* by Thompson's pains,
Christ and New-England a dear Gookins gains.

With a rare skill in *hearts*, this doctor cou'd
Steal into them *words* that should do them good.
His *balsams* from the *tree of life* distill'd, [fill'd,
Hearts cleans'd and heal'd, and with rich comforts
But here's the wo! *balsams* which others cur'd,
Would in his own turn hardly be endur'd.

Apollyon, owing him a cursed *spleen*,
Who an Apollos in the church had been,
Dreading his traffick here would be undone
By num'rous *proselytes* he daily won,
Accus'd him of *imaginary faults*,
And push'd him down so into dismal *vaults:*
Vaults, where he kept long *Ember-weeks* of grief,
Till Heaven *alarm'd* sent him in relief.
Then was a Daniel in the lion's den,
A man—oh, how *belov'd* of God and men!
By his bed-side an Hebrew *sword* there lay,
With which at last he drove the *devil* away.
Quakers too durst not bear his keen replies,
But *fearing* it half drawn, the *trembler* flies.
Like Lazarus, new raised from death, appears
The saint that had been *dead* for many years.
Our Nehemiah said, "Shall such as I
Desert my flock, and like a coward fly!"
Long had the churches begg'd the saint's release;
Releas'd at last, he dies in glorious *peace*.
The night is not so long, but *phosphor's* ray
Approaching glories doth on high display.
Faith's *eye* in him discern'd the *morning star*,
His heart leap'd; sure the *sun* cannot be far.
In extasies of joy, he ravish'd cries,
"Love, love the Lamb, the Lamb!" in whom he dies.

December 10, 1666.

But the Churches of New-England having had another instance of affliction like that which exercised our Thompson, I shall chuse this place to introduce it. *Lives* have been sometimes best written in the way of parallel. To Mr. William Thompson shall now therefore be *paralleled* our Mr. John Warham.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LIFE OF MR. JOHN WARHAM.

When the *time* of reformation was come on, one of the more effectual things done towards that *reformation* in England, about the middle of the former century, was to send about the kingdom certain itinerant preachers, with a license to preach the *fundamentals* of religion, instead of the stuff with which the souls of the people had been formerly famished. Upon this occasion, it is a passage mentioned by the famous Dr. Burnet: "Many complaints were made of those that were licensed to preach; and that they might be able to justifie themselves, they begin generally to write and read their sermons: and thus did this custom begin; in which, what is wanting in the heat and force of delivery, is much made up by the strength and solidity of the matter: and it has produced many volumes of as excellent sermons as have been preached in any age."

The custom of preaching with *notes*, thus introduced, has been decried by many good men, besides *fanaticks*, in the present age, and many poor and weak *prejudices* against it have been pretended. But hear the words of the most accomplished Mr. Baxter unto some gainsayers: "It is not the want of our abilities that makes us use our notes; but it is a regard unto our work, and the good of our hearers. I use notes as much as any man when I take pains; and as little as any man when I am lazy, or busie, and have not leisure to prepare. It is easier unto us to preach three sermons without notes, than one with them. He is a simple preacher that is not able to preach a day, without preparation, if his strength would serve." Indeed, I would have distinction made between the *reading* of notes and the *using* of notes. It is pity that a minister should so read his notes as to take away the *vivacity* and efficacy of his delivery; but if he so use his notes, as a lawyer does the *minutes* whereupon he is to plead, and carry a *full quiver* into the pulpit with him, from whence he may with *one cast* of his eye, after the lively shooting of *one arrow*, fetch out the *next*, it might be a thousand ways advantageous.

I suppose the first preacher that ever thus preached with notes in our New-England was the Reverend Warham: who, though he were sometimes faulted for it, by some judicious men who had never heard him, yet when once they came to *hear* him, they could not but admire the notable *energy* of his ministry. He was a more vigorous preacher than the most of them who have been applauded for "never looking in a book in their lives." His latter days were spent in the pastoral care and charge of the church at Windsor, where the whole colony of Connecticut considered him as a principal pillar, and father of the colony.

But I have one thing to relate concerning him, which I would not mention if I did not, by the mention thereof, propound and expect the advantage of some that may be my readers. Know, then, that though our Warham were as pious a man as most that were out of heaven, yet Satan often threw him into those deadly pangs of *melancholy*, that made him despair of ever getting thither. Such were the terrible *temptations* and horrible *buffetings* undergone sometimes by the soul of this holy man, that when he has administred the Lord's Supper to his flock, whom he durst not starve by omitting to administer that ordinance; yet he has forborn himself to partake at the same time in the ordinance, through the fearful dejections of his mind, which perswaded him that those blessed *souls* did not belong unto him. The dreadful *darkness* which overwhelmed this *child of light* in his *life*, did not wholly leave him till his *death*. It is reported that he did even "set in a cloud," when he retired unto the glorified society of those "righteous ones that are to shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father," though some have asserted, that the cloud was dispelled before he expired.

What was desired by Joannes Mathesius, may now be inscribed on our WARHAM, for an

EPITAPH.

Securus recubo hic mundi pertæsus iniqui;
*Et didici et docui vulnera, Christe, tua.**

CHAPTER XIX.

THE LIFE OF MR. HENRY FLINT.

ALTHOUGH there is a most sensible and glorious demonstration of the Divine Providence over human, affairs in the *stupend variety* of *human faces*, that among so many millions of men, their countenances are distinguishable enough to preserve the order of human society, and conversation thereon depending; yet there have been some notable instances of *resemblance* in the world. They are not only *twins* which have sometimes had this *resemblance*, in such a degree as to occasion more diversion than the two Sosia's in Plautus' *Amphytrio;* but some other persons have been too like one another to be known asunder without critical observations of accidental *circumstances*. I will not mention the several examples of *likeness* reported by Pliny, because there is frequently as much *likeliness* between a Plinyism and a fable. But Mersennus gives us the names of two men so extreamly alike, that their nearest relations were thereby most notori-

* SAVIOUR! with life o'ertasked, oppressed, forlorn,
Thy Cross I preached—Thy Cross, too, I have borne:
But now I rest.

ously imposed upon. Yea, this likeness has proceeded so far, that Polystratus and Hippoclides, two philosophers much alike, were both born in the same day; they were school-fellows, and of the same sect; they both died in a great age, and at the very same instant. Further yet, the two famous brothers at Riez, in France, perfectly alike, if one of them were sick, or sad, or sleepy, the other would immediately be so too. And the story of the three Gordians, the one exactly like Augustus, the second exactly like Pompey, the third exactly like Scipio; he that has read *Pezelius*, doubtless will remember it.

I know not whether any of these *likenesses* are greater than what it was the *desire* and *study*, and in a lesser measure the attainment of that holy and worthy man, Mr. Henry Flint, the teacher of Brain-tree, to have unto Mr. Cotton, the well-known teacher of Boston. Having twins once born unto him, he called the one John, the other Cotton, and his *honouring imitation* of that great man was as if he had been a twin to John Cotton himself. In his exemplary *life*, he was John Cotton to the *life;* and in all the circumstances of his ministry, he propounded John Cotton for his pattern; as apprehending that "he followed Jesus Christ."

You may be sure, he that copied after such an excellent person, must *write fair*, though he should happen to fall any thing short of the original.

Wherefore, having already written the life of John Cotton, I need say nothing more of Henry Flint; but they are now both of them gone where the *harmony* is become yet more *agreeable.*

He that was a solid *stone* in the foundations of New-England, is gone to be a glorious one in the walls of the New-Jerusalem.

He died April 27, 1668, and at his death deserved the epitaph once allowed unto Mentzer:

EPITAPHIUM.

Flintæus *semper Meditatus Gaudia Cœli,*
*Nunc tandem Cœli Gaudia Lætus habet.**

CHAPTER XX.

THE LIFE OF MR. RICHARD MATHER.

Florente verbo, omnia Florent in Ecclesiarum.†—LUTHER.

§ 1. IT is a memorable passage, which Doctor Hall, after a personal examination of it, ventures to relate as most credible, [in his book of *angels,*] that a certain cripple, called John Trelille, having been sixteen years a miserable cripple, did, upon three monitions in a dream to do so,

* On earth he pined for heavenly joys; and now
The crown of heavenly joys surrounds his brow.

† While doctrine flourishes, every thing in the church flourishes also.

wash himself in *S. Mathern's* well, and was immediately restored unto the use of his limbs, and became able to walk, and work, and maintain himself.

Reader, if thou hast any *feebleness* upon thy mind, in regard either of *piety*, or thy perswasion about the *church-order* of the gospel, I will carry thee now to a well of a S. Mathern; which name, I suppose, to be the Cornish pronunciation of *that* which was worn by the good man whose history is now going to be offered.

In the night whereon our Lord was born, there was a *glorious light*, with an host of *angels* gloriously singing over Bethlehem; and the birth of the "great and good Shepherd" was thus revealed unto the shepherds of that country. The *magicians* in the East, whether they had by their conversations with the *invisible world* a *readier eye* to discern such objects, or whether it were only the sovereign and gracious *providence* of God which thus directed them, *they* probably saw that "glory of the Lord." Possibly to *them* at a distance, it might seem a *new star* hanging over Judæa; but after two years of wonder and suspense about it, they were informed by God what it signified; and when they came near the place of the Lord's nativity, it is likely that this *glory* once again appeared for their fullest satisfaction. *This*, till I see a *better* account, must be that which I shall take about "the star of the wise men in the East." But I am now to add, that in all *ages* there have been *stars* to lead men unto the Lord Jesus Christ: *angelical men* employed in the ministry of our Lord have been those happy *stars;* and *we* in the West have been so happy as to see some of the first magnitude; among which one was Mr. Richard Mather.

§ 2. It was at a *small* town, called Lowton, in the county of Lancaster, *Anno* 1596, that so *great* a man, as Mr. Richard Mather was born, of parents that were of credible and ancient families. And these his parents, though by some disasters their estate was not a little sunk below the means of their ancestors, yet were willing to bestow a liberal education on *him;* upon occasion whereof Mr. Mather afterwards thus expressed himself:

"By what principles and motives my parents were chiefly induced to keep me at school, I have not to say, nor do I certainly know: but this I must needs say, that this was the singular good providence of God towards me, (who hath the hearts of all men in his hands,) thus to incline the hearts of my parents; for in this thing the Lord of heaven shewed me such favour, as had not been shewed to many my predecessors and contemporaries in that place."

They sent him to school at Winwick, where they boarded him in the *winter;* but in the *summer*, so *warm* was his desire of learning, that he travelled every day thither, which was *four miles* from his father's house. Whilst he was thus at school—*Multa tulit fecitque Puer**—he met with an extremity of discouragement from the *Orbilian*† harshness and fierceness of the pædagogue; who, though he had bred many fine scholars, yet, for the severity of his *discipline*, came not much behind the master of Junius, who would beat him *eight times* a day, whether he were in *a* fault, or *no*

* For in boyhood he endured and accomplished much. † Orbilius was the name of Horace's school-master.

fault. Our young Mather, tired under this captivity, at last frequently and earnestly importuned of his father that, being taken from the school, he might be disposed unto some secular calling; but when he had waded through his difficulties, he wrote this reflection thereupon:

"God intended better for me than I would have chosen for my self; and therefore my father, though in other things indulgent enough, yet in this would never condescend to my request, but by putting me in hope that, by his speaking to the master, things would be amended, would still over rule me to go on in my studies: and good it was for me to be over ruled by him and his discretion, rather than to be left to my own affections and desire. But, O that all school-masters would learn wisdom, moderation, and equity, towards their scholars! and seek rather to win the hearts of children by righteous loving and courteous usage, than to alienate their minds by partiality and undue severity; which had been my utter undoing, had not the good providence of God and the wisdom and authority of my father prevented."

§ 3. Yea, and here Almighty God made use of his otherwise cruel school-master to deliver this hopeful young man from an apprenticeship unto a Popish merchant, when he was very near falling into the woful snares of such a condition; which mercy of Heaven unto him was accompanied with the further mercy of living under the ministry of one Mr. Palin, then preacher at Leagh; of whom he would long after say, "That though his knowledge of that good man was only in his childhood, yet the remembrance of him was even in his old age comfortable to him; inasmuch as he observed such a penetrating efficacy in the ministry of that man, as was not in the common sort of preachers."

§ 4. There were at this time in Toxteth Park near Liverpool a well-disposed people, who were desirous to erect a school among them for the good education of their posterity. This people, sending unto the school-master of Winwick, to know whether he had any *scholar* that he could recommend for a *master* of their new school, Richard Mather was by him recommended unto that service; and at the perswasion of his friends to attend that service, he laid aside his desire and his design of going to the university; not unsensible of what hath been still observed, *Scholas esse Theologiæ pedissequas, ac seminaria Reipublicæ.** Now, as it cannot justly be reckoned any blemish unto him, that at *fifteen years of age* he was a school-master, who carried it with such wisdom, kindness, and grave reservation, as to be *loved* and *feared* by his young folks, much above the most that ever used the *ferula;* so it was many ways advantageous unto him to be thus employed. Hereby he became a more accurate *grammarian* than divines too often are; and at his leisure hours he so studied as to become a notable proficient in the other liberal arts.

Moreover, it was by means hereof that he experinced an effectual *conversion* of soul to God, in his tender years, even before his going to Oxford; and thus he was preserved from the *temptations* and *corruptions* which undid many of his contemporaries in the university. That more thorough

* That schools of Theology are the handmaids and nurseries of the State.

and real conversion in him was occasioned by observing a difference between his own walk and the most exact, watchful, fruitful, and prayerful conversation of some in the family of the learned and pious Mr. Edward Aspinwal, of Toxteth, where he sojourned. This exemplary walk of that holy man caused many sad fears to arise in his own soul, that he was himself *out of the way;* which consideration, with his hearing of Mr. Harrison, then a famous minister at Hyton, preach about regeneration, and his reading of Mr. Perkins' book, that shows, "how far a reprobate may go in religion;" were the means whereby the God of heaven brought him into the state of a *new creature.* The *troubles of soul* which attended his *new birth* were so exceeding terrible, that he would often retire from his appointed meals unto secret places, to lament his miseries; but after some time, and about the eighteenth year of his age, the good Spirit of God healed his broken heart, by pouring thereinto the evangelical consolations of "His great and precious promises."

§ 5. After this, he became a more eminent blessing, in the calling wherein God had now disposed him; and such notice was taken of him, that many persons were sent unto him, even from remote places, for their education; whereof not a few went well accomplished from him to the university. But having spent some years in this employment, he judged it many ways advantageous for him to go unto the university himself, that he might there converse with learned men and books, and more improve himself in learning than he could have done at home. Accordingly at Oxford, and particularly at Brazen-Nose-College in Oxford, he now resided, where, together with the satisfaction of seeing his *old scholars*, who had by his education been fitted for their being there, he had the opportunity further to enrich himself by study, by conference, by disputation, and other academical entertainment: as considering, that the *lamps* were to be *lighted*, before the *incense* was to be burned in the sanctuary. And here he was more intimately acquainted with famous Dr. Woral, by whose advice he read the works of Peter Ramus with a singular attention and affection; which advice he did not afterwards repent that he had followed.

§ 6. But it was not very long before the people of Toxteth sent after him, that he would return unto them, and instruct, not their children as a *school-master*, but themselves as a *minister:* with which invitation he at last complied; and at Toxteth, November 13, 1618, he preached his *first sermon* with great acceptance in a vast assembly of people: but such was the strength of his *memory*, that what he had prepared for *one*, contained no less than *six* long discourses. He was after this ordained with many others, by Dr. Morton, the Bishop of Chester, who, after the ordination was over, singled out Mr. Mather from the rest, saying, "I have something to say betwixt you and me alone." Mr. Mather was now jealous that some informations might have been exhibited against him for his Puritanism; instead of which, when the Bishop had him alone, what he said unto him

was, "I have an earnest request unto you, sir, and you must not deny me: 'tis that you would pray for me; for I know (said he) the prayers of men that fear God will avail much, and you I believe are such a one." And being so settled in Toxteth, he married the daughter of Edmund Holt, Esq. of Bury, in Lancashire, September 29, 1624, which vertuous gentlewoman God made a rich blessing to him for thirty years together, and a mother of six sons, most of whom afterwards proved famous in their generation.

§ 7. He preached every Lord's day twice at Toxteth, and every fortnight he held a Tuesday lecture at Prescot: besides which, he often preached upon the *holy-days*, not as thinking that any *day* was now *holy*, except the Christian weekly Sabbath, but because there was *then* an opportunity to cast the *net* of the gospel among *much fish* in great assemblies, which then were convened, and would otherwise have been worse employed. In *this*, he followed the examples of the apostles, who preached most in *populous places*, and this also on the Jewish Sabbaths, which yet were so far abrogated, that they charged the faithful to "let no man judge them" in imposing the observation thereof upon them.

He preached likewise very frequently at funerals, as knowing that though funeral sermons are wholly disused in some reformed churches, and have been condemned by some decrees of councils, yet this was chiefly because of the common error committed in the lavish "praises of the dead" on such occasions, which therefore he avoided; instead thereof, only giving "counsels to the living." Indeed, the custom of preaching at *funerals* may seem *ethnical* in its original; for Publicola made an excellent oration in the praise of Brutus, with which the people were so taken, that it became a custom for famous men, after this, at their death, to be so celebrated; and when the women among the Romans parted with their ornaments, for the public weal, the senate made it lawful for women also to be in the like manner celebrated. *Hinc mortuos Laudandi Mos fluxit, quem nos hodie servamus,** if Polydore Virgil may, as he *sometimes* may, be believed. But the Madgeburgensian *centuriators* tell us that this rite was not practised in the church before the beginning of the *apostacy*. However, this watchful minister of our Lord made his funeral speeches to be but a faithful discharge of his ministry in admonitions concerning the *last things* whereby the *living* might be edified. But thus in his publick ministry, he went over the twenty-fourth chapter in the second of Samuel; the first chapter of Proverbs; the first and sixth chapters of Isaiah; the twenty-second and twenty-third chapters of Luke; the eighth chapter of the Romans; the second Epistle to Timothy; the second Epistle of John, and the Epistle of Jude.

§ 8. Having spent about fifteen years, thus, in the labours of his ministry, his lecture at Prescot in fine, gave him to find the truth of Quintilian's

* Hence arose the fashion, still observed, of pronouncing eulogies over the dead.

observation, *Magnam Famam et Magnam Quietem, eodem Tempore, Nemo potest Acquirere.** Through the malice of Satan, and the envy of the satanical, there were now brought against him those complaints for his *non-conformity* to the *ceremonies,* which in August, 1633, procured him to be *suspended.* The suspension continued upon him till the November following, but then, by the intercession of some gentlemen in Lancashire, and the influence of Simon Biby, a near alliance of the Bishop's visitor, he was *restored.* After his restoration, he more exactly than ever studied the points of church-discipline; and the effect of his most careful studies was, that the Congregational way, asserted by Cartwright, Parker, Baines and Ames, was the pitch of Reformation which he judged the Scriptures directed the servants of the Lord humbly to endeavour. But this liberty was not longer lived than the year 1634, for the Arch-Bishop of York now was that gentleman whom King James pleasantly admonished of his preaching Popery, because of some unacceptable things in his conduct, which taught the people "to pray for a blessing on his dead predecessor;" and *he* now sending his visitors, among whom the famous Dr. Cousins was one, into Lancashire, where they kept their court at Wigan, among other *hard things*, they passed a sentence of suspension upon Mr. Mather, meerly for his non-conformity. His judges were not willing that he should offer the *reasons* which made him conscientiously so disposed, as then he was, but the "glorious Spirit of God" enabled him, with much wisdom, to encounter what they put upon him; insomuch, that in his private manuscripts, he entred this memorial of it:

"In the passages of that day, I have this to bless the name of God for, that the terrour of their threatening words, of their pursevants, and of the rest of their pomp, did not terrifie my mind, but that I could stand before them without being daunted in the least measure, but answered for my self such words of truth and soberness as the Lord put into my mouth, not being afraid of their faces at all: which supporting and comforting presence of the Lord, I count not much less mercy, than if I had been altogether preserved out of their hands."

But all means used afterwards to get off this unhappy *suspension* were ineffectual; for when the visitors had been informed that he had been a minister *fifteen* years, and all that while never wore a *surpliss*, one of them swore, "It had been better for him that he had gotten seven bastards."

§ 9. He now betook himself to a *private life*, without hope of again enjoying the liberty of doing any more *publick works* in his native land; but herewithal foreseeing a *storm* of calamities like to be hastened on the land, by the wrath of Heaven, incensed particularly at the injustice used in depriving the truly conscientious of their liberty, his wishes became like those of the deprived psalmist, "O, that I had wings like a dove! lo then would I wander far off, and remain in the wilderness; I would hasten my escape from the windy storm and tempest."

* Nobody can achieve great fame and great tranquillity at the same moment.

New-England was the retreat which now offered it self unto him: and accordingly, he drew up some arguments for his removal thither, which arguments were, indeed, the very reasons that moved the first fathers of New-England unto that unparalleled undertaking of transporting their families with themselves, over the Atlantic ocean:

I. A removal from a *corrupt* church to a *purer*. [of more *quiet* and *safety*.

II. A removal from a place where the truth and professors of it are *persecuted*, unto a place

III. A removal from a place where all the *ordinances* of God cannot be enjoyed, unto a place where they *may*.

IV. A removal from a church where the *discipline* of the Lord Jesus Christ is wanting, unto a church where it may be practised.

V. A removal from a place, where the ministers of God are unjustly inhibited from the execution of their functions, to a place where they may more freely execute the same.

VI. A removal from a place, where there are fearful signs of *desolation*, to a place where one may have well grounded hope of God's protection.

Such a removal he judged *that* unto New-England now before him.

These considerations were presented unto many ministers and Christians of Lancashire, at several meetings, whereby they were perswaded, and even his own people of Toxteth, who dearly loved him and prized him, could not gain-say it, that by removing to New-England, he would not *go out of his way*. And hereunto he was the more inclined by the letters of some great persons, who had already settled in the country; among whom the renowned Hooker was one, who in his letters thus expressed himself: "In a word, if I may speak my own thoughts freely and fully, though there are very many places where men may receive and expect more earthly commodities, yet do I believe there is no place this day upon the face of the earth where a gracious heart and a judicious head may receive more spiritual good to himself, and do more temporal and spiritual good to others." Wherefore, being satisfied in his design for New-England, after extraordinary supplication for the smiles of Heaven upon him in it, he took his leave of his friends in Lancashire, with affections on both sides like those wherewith Paul bid farewell to his in Ephesus; and in April, 1635, he made his journey unto Bristol, to take ship there; being forced, as once Brentius was, to change his apparel, that he might escape the pursevants, who were endeavouring to apprehend him.

§ 10. On May 23, 1635, he set sail from Bristol for New-England: but when he came upon the coasts of New-England, there arose an horrible hurricane, from the dangers whereof his deliverance was remarkable, and well nigh miraculous. The best account of it will be from his journal, where the relation runs in these words:

"AUGUST 15, 1635.—The Lord had not yet done with us, nor had he let us see all his power and goodness, which he would have us take the knowledge of. And therefore about break of day he sent a most terrible storm of rain and easterly wind, whereby we were, I think, in as much danger as ever people were. When we came to land, we found many mighty trees rent in pieces in the midst of the bole, and others turned up by the roots, by

fierceness thereof. We lost in that morning three anchors and cables; one having never been in the water before; two were broken by the violence of the storm, and a third cut by the sea-men in extremity of distress, to save the ship and their and our lives. And when our cables and anchors were all lost, we had no outward means of deliverance, but by hoisting sail, if so be we might get to sea, from among the islands and rocks where we were anchored. But the Lord let us see that our sails could not help us neither, no more than the cables and anchors; for by the force of the wind and storm, the sails were rent asunder, and split in pieces, as if they had been but rotten rags; so that of divers of them there was scarce left so much as an hand's-breadth that was not rent in pieces or blown away into the sea; so that at that time all hope that we should be saved, in regard of any outward appearance, was utterly taken away; and the rather, because we seemed to drive with full force of wind directly upon a mighty rock, standing out in sight above water; so that we did but continually wait, when we should hear and feel the doleful crushing of the ship upon the rock. In this extremity and appearance of death, as distress and distraction would suffer us, we cried unto the Lord, and he was pleased to have compassion upon us; for by his over-ruling providence, and his own immediate good hand, he guided the ship past the rock, asswaged the violence of the sea and of the wind. It was a day much to be remembered, because on that day the Lord granted us as wonderful a deliverance as, I think, ever any people had felt. The sea-men confessed they never knew the like. The Lord so imprint the memory of it in our hearts, that we may be the better for it, and be careful to please him, and to walk uprightly before him as long as we live! and I hope we shall not forget the passages of that morning until our dying day. In all this grievous storm, my *fear* was the less, when I considered the *clearness of my calling from God this way.* And in some measure (the Lord's holy name be blessed for it!) he gave us hearts contented and willing that he should do with us and ours what he pleased, and what might be most for the glory of his name; and in that we rested ourselves. But when news was brought us into the gun-room that the danger was past, Oh! how our hearts did then relent and melt within us! We burst out into tears of joy among ourselves, in love unto the gracious God, and admiration of his kindness, in granting to his poor servants such an extraordinary and miraculous deliverance, his holy name be blessed for evermore."

The storm being thus allayed, they came to an anchor before Boston, August 17, 1635, where Mr. Mather abode for a little while, and, with his vertuous consort, joined unto the church in that place.

§ 11. He quickly had *invitations* from several towns, to bestow himself upon them, and was in a great strait which of those invitations to accept. But applying himself unto *counsel*, as an *ordinance of God*, for his direction, Dorchester was the place, whereto a council, wherein Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker were the principal, did advise him. Accordingly to Dorchester he repaired; and the church formerly *planted* there being *transplanted* with Mr. Warham to Connecticut, another church was now gathered here, August 23, 1636, by whose choice Mr. Mather was now become their teacher. Here he continued a blessing unto all the churches in this wilderness until his dying day, even for near upon four and thirty years together. He underwent not now so many changes as he did before his coming hither; and he never changed his habitation after this till he went unto the "house eternal in the heavens;" albeit his old people of Toxteth vehemently solicited his return unto them when the troublesome Hierarchy in England was deposed.

§ 12. Nevertheless, if Luther's three tutors for an able divine—*study*, and *prayer*, and *temptation*—as Mr Mather could not leave the *two first*, so the *last* would not leave him; the wilderness whereinto he was come, he found not without its temptations. He was for some years exercised with spiritual distresses, and internal desertions, and uncertainties about his everlasting happiness; which troubles of his mind he revealed unto that eminent person Mr. Norton, whose well-adapted words comforted his weary soul. It was in these *dark hours* that a *glorious light* rose unto him, with a certain disposition of soul, which I find in his private papers thus expressed: "My heart relented with tears at this prayer, that God would not deny me an heart to bless him, and not blaspheme him, that is so holy, just, and good; though I should be excluded from his presence, and go down into everlasting darkness and discomfort." But when these terrible temptations from *within* were over, there were several and successive afflictions, which he did from *abroad* meet withal: of all which afflictions, the most calamitous was the death of his dear, good, and wise consort, by whose discreet management of his affairs he had been so released from all secular incumbrances, as to be wholly at liberty for the sacred employment of his ministry. However, after he had continued in his widowhood a year and a half, the state of his family made it necessary for him to apply himself unto a second marriage; which he made with the pious widow of the most famous Mr. John Cotton; and her did God make a blessing unto him the rest of his days.

§ 13. My describing his general manner of life, after he came to New-England, shall be only a transcribing of those vows which, though he made before his coming thither, yet he then renewed. In his private papers, wherein he left some records of the days which he spent sometimes in secret humiliations and supplications before the God of heaven, and of the assurances which with the tears of a melted soul in those days he received of blessings obtained for himself, his children, his people, and the whole country, I find recording the ensuing instrument:

"*Promissiones Deo factæ, per me,*
"Richardum Matherum.*
"21 D. 6 M. 1633.

Psal. lxvi. 13, 14.
Psal. cxix. 106.
Psal. lvi. 12.
Neh. ix. 33, with x. 29, 30, 31, &c.

"I. TOUCHING THE *MINISTRY.*

"1. To be more painful and dilligent in private preparations for preaching, by reading, meditation, and prayer; and not slightly and superficially—Jer. xlviii. 10; Eccles. ix. 10; 1 Tim. iv. 13. 15.

"2. In and after preaching, to strive seriously against inward pride and vain-glory.

"3. Before and after preaching, to beg by prayer the Lord's blessing on his word, for the good of souls, more carefully than in time past.—1 Cor. iii. 6; Acts xvi. 14.

* Promises made to God by me, Richard Mather.

"II. TOUCHING THE *FAMILY*.

"1. To be more frequent in religious discourse and talk, Deut. vi. 7.

"2. To be more careful in catechising children.—Gen. xviii. 19; Prov. xxii. 6; Eph. vi. 4. And therefore to bestow some pains this way, *every week* once; and if by urgent occasions it be sometimes omitted, to do it twice as much another week.

"III. TOUCHING *MY SELF*.

"1. To strive more against worldly cares and fears, and against the inordinate love of earthly things.—Mat. vi. 25, &c.; Psal. lv. 22; 1 Pet. v. 7; Phil. iv. 6.

"2. To be more frequent and constant in private prayer.—Mat. vi. 6, and xiv. 23; Psal. lv. 17; Dan. vi. 10.

"3. To practise more carefully, and seriously, and frequently, the duty of self-examination.—Lam. iii. 40; Psal. iv. 4; Psal. cxix. 59; especially before the receiving of the Lord's Supper; 1 Cor. xi. 28. [xx. 13.

"4. To strive against carnal security, and excessive sleeping.—Prov. vi. 9, 10; and Prov.

"5. To strive against vain jangling, and mispending precious time.—Eph. v. 16.

"IV. TOUCHING *OTHERS*.

"1. To be more careful and zealous, to do good unto their souls, by private exhortations, reproofs, instructions, conferences of God's word.—Prov. x. 21, and xv. 17; Lev. xix. 17; Psal. xxxvii. 30.

"2. To be ready to do offices of love and kindness, not only or principally for the praise of men, to purchase commendation for a good neighbour, but rather out of conscience to the commandment of God.—Phil. ii. 4; 1 Cor. x. 24; Heb. xiii. 16.

"Renewed with a profession of disabilities in my self, for performance, and of desire to fetch power from Christ, thereunto to live upon him, and act from him, in all spiritual duties.—15. D. 6. M. 1636.

RICHARD MATHER."

§ 14. His way of preaching was very plain, studiously avoiding obscure and foreign terms, and unnecessary citation of Latin sentences; and aiming to shoot his arrows, not over the *heads*, but into the *hearts* of his hearers. Yet so scripturally and so powerfully did he preach his plain sermons, that Mr. Hooker would say, "My brother Mather is a mighty man;" and indeed he saw a great success of his labours, in both Englands, converting many souls unto God. His voice was loud and big, and uttered with a deliberate vehemency, it procured unto his ministry an awful and very taking majesty; nevertheless, the substantial and rational matter delivered by him, caused his ministry to take yet more where-ever he came. Whence, even while he was a young man, Mr. Gellibrand, a famous minister in Lancashire, hearing him, enquired what his name was? when answer was made, that his name was Mather; he replied, "Nay, his name shall be *Matter;* for, believe it, this man hath good substance in him." He was indeed a person eminently judicious, in the opinion of such as were not in controversies then managed of his own opinion; by the same token, that when Dr. Parr, then Bishop in the Isle of Man, heard of Mr. Mather's being silenced, he lamented it, saying, "If Mr. Mather be silenced, I am sorry for it; for he was a solid man, and the Church of God hath a great loss of him." And it was because of his being esteemed so judicious a person, that among the ministers of New-England, he was improved

more than the most, in explaining and maintaining the points of Church-Government then debated. The discourse about the *Church-Covenant*, and the answer to the *thirty two questions*, both written in the year 1639, though they pass under the name of the ministers of New-England, Mr. Mather was the sole author of them. And when the "Platform of Church-Discipline" was agreed by a Synod of these churches, in the year 1647, Mr. Mather's model was *that* out of which it was chiefly taken.

And being thereto desired, he also prepared for the press a very elaborate composure, which he entituled, "*A Plea for the Churches of New-England.*"

Moreover, to defend the Congregational, in those lesser punctilio's, wherein it seems to differ from the "Presbyterian way of Church-Government," he printed one little book in answer to Mr. Herl, and another in answer to Mr. Rutherford; and yet was he so little Brownistically affected, that besides his apprehension of so vicious and infamous a man as Brown's not being likely to be the discoverer of any momentous truth in religion, he wrote a treatise to prove, that whatever *priviledge* and *liberty* may belong to the *fraternity*, the *rule* of the church belongs only to its *presbytery*. Furthermore, when the propositions of the Synod, in 1662, were opposed by Mr. Davenport, Mr. Mather was called upon to answer him; which he did, and therein, as in his former answers, he gave such instances of a close regard unto the *truth* and the *cause*, without the least expression or disrespect unto the *persons* answered, that, as my reverend friend Mr. Higginson hath said sometimes to me, "He was a pattern for all answers to the end of the world."

But as he judged that a preacher of the gospel *should* be, he *was* a very hard *student:* yea, so intent was he upon his beloved studies, that the morning before he died, he importuned the friends that watched with him to help him into the room, where he thought his usual *works* and *books* expected him; to satisfie his importunity, they began to lead him thither; but finding himself unable to get out of his lodging-room, he said, "I see I am not able; I have not been in my study several days; and is it not a lamentable thing, that I should lose so much time?" He was *truly* "abundant in his labours;" for though he was very frequent in hearing the word from others, riding to the lectures in the neighbouring towns till his disease disabled him, and even to old age writing notes at those lectures, as the renowned Hildersham likewise did before him; yet he preached for the most part of every Lord's day twice; and a lecture once a fortnight, besides many occasional sermons both in publick and private; and many "cases of conscience," which were brought unto him to be discussed. Thus his ministry in Dorchester, besides innumerable other texts of scripture, went over the book of Genesis, to chap. xxxviii.; the sixteenth Psalm; the whole book of the Prophet Zachariah; Matthew's gospel to chap. xv.; the fifth chapter in the first Epistle to the Thessa-

lonians; and the whole second Epistle of Peter; his notes whereon he reviewed and renewed, and fitted for the press before his death.

He also published a treatise of *justification*, whereof Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson gave this testimony: "Thou shalt find this little treatise to be like Mary's box of spikenard, which, washing the *paths* of Christ towards us, (as that did his *feet*) will be fit to perfume not only the whole house of God with the odour of his grace, but also thy soul with the oyl of gladness, above what creature comforts can afford. The manner of handling thou shalt find to be solid, judicious, succinct, and pithy, fit (by the blessing of Christ) to make wise unto salvation." And besides these things, he published *catechisms*, a lesser and a larger, so well formed, that a Luther himself would not have been ashamed of being a *learner* from them.

Nevertheless, after all these works, he was, as Nazianzen saith of Athanasius, Ὑψηλος τοῖς ἐργοις, ταπεινος δε τοῖς φρονημασι :—"As *low* in his *thoughts*, as he was *high* in his *works*." He never became "twice a child" through *infirmity*, but was always one, as our Saviour hath commanded us, in *humility*.

§ 15. A Jerom would weep at the *death* of such a man, as portending evil to the place of his former, useful, holy *life:* but such an occasion of tears, the death of Mr. Mather must at last give to his bereaved people.

Some years before his death, [having sent over unto his old flock in Lancashire, a like testimony of his concernment for them] he composed and published, "*A Farewel Exhortation to the Church and People of Dorchester*," consisting of *seven directions*, wherein his flock might read the design and spirit of his whole ministry among them; on a certain Lord's day he did, by the hands of his deacons, put these little books into the hands of his congregation, that so whenever he should by death take his *farewel* of them, they might still remember how they had been exhorted. But old age came now upon him, wherein, though his *hearing* was decayed, and (as with great Zanchy) the *sight* of one of his eyes, yet upon all other accounts he enjoyed an *health*, both of *body* and *spirit*, which was very wonderful, and agreeable as well to his hardy constitution, as to the *simple* and *wholsome* diet whereto he still accustomed himself. He never made use of any physician all his days; nor was he ever sick of any *acute disease*, nor in fifty years together by any sickness detained so much as one Lord's day from his publick labours. Only the two last years of his life, he felt that which has been called *Flagellum Studiosorum*,* namely, *the stone*, which proved the *tombstone*, whereby all his labours and sorrows were in fine brought unto a period.

§ 16. A council of neighbouring churches being assembled at Boston, April 13, 1669, to advise about some differences arisen there, Mr. Mather, for his age, grace, and wisdom, was chosen the Moderator of that reverend assembly. For divers days, whilst he was attending this consultation, he

* The scourge of the sedentary.

enjoyed his health better, than of some later months; but as Luther was at a Synod surprised with a violent fit of the *stone*, which caused him to return home, with little hope of life, so it was with this holy man. On April 16, lodging at the house of his worthy son, a minister in Boston, he was taken very ill with a total stoppage of urine, wherein, according to Solomon's expression of it, "The wheel was broken at the cistern." So his Lord found him about the blessed work of a peace-maker; and with an allusion to the note of the German *Phœnix*, Mr. Shepard, of Charlestown, put that stroke afterwards into his Epitaph:

*Vixerat in Synodis, Moritur Moderator in Illis.**

Returning by coach, thus ill, unto his house in Dorchester, he lay patiently expecting of his change; and, indeed, was a "pattern of patience to all spectators, for all survivors. Though he lay in a mortal extremity of pain, he never shrieked, he rarely groaned, with it; and when he was able, he took delight in reading Dr. Goodwin's discourse about patience, in which book he read until the very day of his death. When they asked "how he did?" his usual answer was, "Far from well, yet far better than mine iniquities deserve." And when his son said unto him, "Sir, God hath shewed his great faithfulness unto you, having upheld you now for the space of more than fifty years in his service, and employed you therein without ceasing, which can be said of very few men on the face of the earth;" he replied, "You say true; I must acknowledge the mercy of God hath been great towards me all my days; but I must also acknowledge that I have had many failings, and the thoughts of them abaseth me, and worketh patience in me." So did he, like Austin, having the "Penitential Psalms" before him until he *died*, keep up a "spirit of repentance" as long as he *lived*. Indeed, this excellent man did not speak much in his last sickness to those that were about him, having spoken *so much* before. Only his son perceiving the symptoms of death upon him, said, "Sir, if there be any special thing which you would recommend unto me to do, in case the Lord should spare me on earth after you are in heaven, I would intreat you to express it;" at which, after a little pause, with lifted eyes and hands, he returned, "A special thing which I would commend to you is, care concerning the rising generation in this country, that they be brought under the government of Christ in his church, and that when grown up, and qualified, they have baptism for their children. I must confess I have been defective as to practice; yet I have publickly declared my judgment, and manifested my desires to practice that which I think ought to be attended; but the dissenting of some in our church discouraged me. I have thought that persons might have right to baptism, and yet not to the Lord's Supper; and I see no cause to alter my judgment, as to that particular. And I still think, that persons qualified, according to the

* In Synods he had lived; he died their *Moderator*.

fifth proposition of the late Synod-Book, have right to baptism for their children." His dolours continued on him till April 22, at night; when he quietly breathed forth his last; after he had been about seventy-three years a citizen of the *world*, and fifty years a minister in the *church* of God.

§ 17. The presage which he had upon his mind of his own approaching dissolution, was like that in Ambrose among the ancients, and in Gesner, Melancthon, and Sandford, among the modern divines; whence the last of the texts, whereon he insisted, in his public ministry, was that in 2 Tim. iv. 6, 7, 8: "The time of my departure is at hand—I have finished my course." And the last before that, was that in Job xiv. 14: "All the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come." And for a private conference, he had prepared a sermon on those words, in 2 Cor. v. 1: "For we know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens;" but by his removal from this *house* to that, he was prevented in the preaching of the sermon. How ready he was for the *last end* of his days thus expected, is a little expressed in certain passages of his last will; the whole of which, if I should here transcribe it, after the example of Beza, writing the life of Calvin, and Bannosius, writing the life of Ramus, and other such examples, it would be no ungrateful entertainment, but I shall only offer that one paragraph, wherein his words were:

"Concerning *death*, as I do believe, it is appointed for all men once to die; so because I see a great deal of unprofitableness in my own life, and because God hath also let me see such vanity and emptiness even in the best of those comforts which this life can afford, that I think I may truly say, that 'I have seen an end of all perfection: therefore, if it were the will of God, I should be glad to be removed hence, where the best that is to be had doth yield such little satisfaction to my soul, and to be brought into his presence in glory, that there I might find (for *there* I know it is to be had) that satisfying and all-sufficient *contentment* in him, which under the sun is not to be enjoyed; in the mean time, I desire to stay the Lord's leisure. But thou, O Lord, how long!"

Thus lived and thus died Richard Mather; able to make his appeal unto an evil world, at his leaving of it:

Nullum Turbavi; Discordes Pacificavi:
*Læsus sustinui; nec mihi Complacui.**

§ 18. The special favour of God which was granted unto some of the ancients, that their *sons* after them succeeded in the ministry of the gospel —and which was particularly granted unto the happy fathers of Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, Basil and Hillary—*this* was enjoyed by many of those good men that planted our New-English churches, but by none more comfortably than by Mr. Mather. It is mentioned as the felicity of the blessed Vetterus, a Bohemian pastor in the former century, that he

* I ne'er raised discord, but have quench'd its flame;
All wrongs I suffered in my Master's name;
Nor has self-seeking been my life's great aim.

gave the church no less than *four* sons to be worthy ministers of the gospel. Such was the felicity of our Mather. Many years before he died, he had the comfort of seeing *four* sons that were preachers of no mean consideration among the people of God; it was counted the singular happiness of the great Roman Metellus, that he expired in the arms of his *four* sons, who were all of them eminent persons; as happy was our Mather; and, in a Christian account, much *more* happy. And since his death, our common Lord has been served by Mr. Samuel Mather, pastor of a church in Dublin; Mr. Nathanael Mather, pastor after him of the same church, but, before that, of Barnstable, and then of Rotterdam, and since that of a church in London; Mr. Eleazer Mather, pastor of a church at our Northampton; and Mr. Increase Mather, teacher of a church in Boston, and president of Harvard Colledge. Now, because this *mighty man*, and the youngest but one of these "arrows in his hand," were not only "lovely and useful in their lives," but also "in their deaths not divided," (for he died about three months after his father,) it will be pity to *divide* them, in the history of their lives; and therefore of this Mr. Eleazer Mather we will here subjoin some small account.

§ 19. Mr. Eleazer Mather, (born May 13, 1637,) having passed through his education in Harvard-Colledge, and having by the living and lively proofs of a renewed *heart*, as well as a well-instructed *head*, recommended himself unto the service of the churches, the church of Northampton became the happy owner of his *talents*. Here he laboured for *eleven years* in the vineyard of our Lord; and then the *twelve hours* of his *day's labour* did expire, not without the deepest lamentations of all the churches, as well as *his own;* then sitting along the river of Connecticut. As he was a very zealous preacher, and accordingly saw many *seals* of his ministry, so he was a very pious *walker;* and as he drew towards the end of his days, he grew so remarkably *ripe* for heaven, in an holy, watchful, fruitful disposition, that many observing persons did prognosticate his being not far from his end. He kept a diary of his experiences; wherein the last words that ever he wrote were these:

"JULY 10, 1669.—THIS evening, if my heart deceive me not, I had some sweet workings of soul after God in Christ, according to the terms of the covenant of grace. The general and indefinite expression of the *promise*, was an encouragement unto me to *look* unto Christ, that he would do that for me which he has promised to do for some, nor dare I exclude my self; but if the Lord will help me, I desire to lie at his feet, and accept of grace in his own way, and with his own time, through his power enabling of me. Though I am dead, without strength, help or hope in my self, yet the Lord requireth nothing at my hands in my own strength; but that by his power I should look to him, 'to work all his works in me and for me.' When I find a dead heart, the thoughts of this are exceeding sweet and reviving, being full of *grace*, and discovering the very heart and love of Jesus."

He died July 24, 1669, aged years about thirty-two.

Sic Rosa, sic Violæ, prima Moriuntur in Herba,
*Candida, nec Toto, Lilia, Mense nitent.**

§ 20. The dying words of his father unto his brother, about the *rising generation*, caused him, in the few Sabbaths now left before his own death, to preach several sermons upon the *methods* that should be taken for the conveying and securing of religion, with the good presence of God unto that generation [on 1 Kings viii. 57]. The notes which he left written of those pungent sermons were afterwards printed, and rēprinted, with a preface of his brother's: and when unto the other *signs* of churches left by God, therein mentioned—namely, the people's being abandoned unto a flighty spirit; and an ill use made of temporal prosperity; a spirit of division and contention, turning *religion* it self into *faction;* the efficacious and victorious operations of the Holy Spirit, withdrawn from ordinances —he added, the death of such men as are chief means of continuing the presence of God unto a people, he therein gave unto us too true an *interpretation* of the sad providence which was just going by death to remove him from this people unto a better world.

EPITAPHIUM.

RICHARDUS *hic dormit* MATHERUS
Lætatus Genuisse Pares.

Incertum est, Utrum Doctior, an Melior.
Anima et Gloria, non queunt humari.†

But that nothing may be wanting to his epitaph, I will transcribe the epitaph which the Reverend old Mr. John Bishop, the pastor of Stamford, provided for him:

In Pium, Doctum, et Præclarum, Dorcestrensem Matherum.‡

Sincerus Terris, noster jacet ecce MATHERUS;
Religionis Honos, qui tulit ejus onus.
Quicquid erat Synodis *Sacris de rebus agendum,*
Illa [Dei adjutu] sæpius Actor erat.
Magnus hic in magnis, non parvam rebus iisdem
Temporibus Variis contribuebat opem:
Consiliis Solidis, Doctrina, Dexteritate,
Judicio Claro, cumque labore gravi.

Nam Doctus, Prudens, Pius, Impiger, atque peritus,
In Sacris, nec non promtus ad omne Bonum.
Omnia per Christum potuit, credensque precansque
Tanta fuit Fides, Vis quoque tanta precum.
Hinc mihi Sublato Charo vi Mortis Amico,
Hæc Amor atque Dolor, composuere meus.

J. EPISCOPIUS.

* So dies the early violet and the rose;
So lilies wither ere the evening's close.

† Here sleeps RICHARD MATHER, whose fortune it was to have children equal to their sire. It is questionable In which he was superior—learning or virtue. His genius and his fame cannot be buried.

‡ *To the Pious, Learned and Renowned* MATHER, *of Dorchester.*

Here lies great MATHER, who so nobly wore
Religion's honours, and its burdens bore:
Who in the Synod, stayed by God alone,
Its counsels led, and made its acts his own;
And elsewhere aided—great among the great—
The Church's welfare and the civil state.
His solid judgment, learning, reason, skill,
He made subservient to his Master's will.

Prudent, efficient, bent on human weal,
For all good works he kept a ready zeal;
Resolving, through the power of faith and prayer,
In Christ all things to do—all things to dare.
In thoughts like these my spirit seeks relief,
This tribute rendering of its love and grief.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE LIFE OF MR. ZACHARIAH SYMMES.

§ 1. THE Emperour Probus having an honour for the *memory* of his friend Aradion, honoured him with a tomb two hundred foot *broad.* But our value for the memory of the divines that formerly served our churches, must not be measured by the breadth of our history concerning them. We cannot give much breadth to the room which we dedicate in this our history unto the memory of our Symmes, because we have not received very large informations concerning him. Nevertheless, according to the French proverb, *Un ministre ne doit Scavoir que sa Bible*—"A minister should know nothing but his Bible"—here was one worthy the name of a minister; for he *knew his Bible well*, and he was a *preacher* of what he *knew*, and a *sufferer* for what he *preached.*

§ 2. Reader, we shall not confound ourselves with fables and endless genealogies, but we shall truly edify our selves, if we enquire so far into the genealogy of Mr. Zachariah Symmes, as to recite a passage written by Mr. William Symmes, the father of our Zachariah, in a book which was made by a godly preacher, that was hid in the house of Mr. William Symmes, the father of William, from the rage of the Marian persecution:

"I note it as a special mercy of God, (writes he, in a leaf of that book) that both my father and mother were favourers of the Gospel, and hated idolatry, under Queen Mary's persecution. I came to this book by this means: going to Sandwich in Kent to preach, the first or second year after I was ordained minister, Anno 1587 or 88, and preaching in Saint Mary's, where Mr. Pawson, an ancient godly preacher, was minister, who knew my parents well, and me too at school; he, after I had finished my sermons, came and brought me this book for a present, acquainting me with the above-mentioned circumstances. And then he adds, I charge my sons Zachariah and William, before Him that shall judge the quick and the dead, that you never defile your selves with any idolatry or superstition whatsoever, but learn your religion out of God's holy word, and worship God as he him self hath prescribed, and not after the devices and traditions of men.—SCRIPSI, Dec. 6, 1602."

§ 3. Descended from such ancestors, our Zachariah was born April 5, 1599, at Canterbury, and the savoury expressions in the letters yet extant, which he wrote while he was a youth in the university of Cambridge, intimate that he was *new-born* while yet a *child.*

After his leaving the university, he was employed for a while in the houses of several persons of quality as a tutor to their children, but not without molestation from the Prelates for his *conscientious* non-conformity to certain rites in the worship of God, then imposed on the consciences of the faithful. When he had passed through these changes, he was chosen in the year 1621, to be a lecturer at Atholines, in the city of London: and after many troubles from the Bishops-Courts, for his *dissent* from things,

whereto his *consent* had never been required by the great "Shepherd and Bishop of our souls," he removed from thence in the year 1625 to Dunstable, where his troubles from the Bishops-Courts continuing, he at length transported himself with his family into an American wilderness. New-England, and Charles-town in New-England, enjoyed him all the rest of his days, even until February 4, 1670; when he retired into a better world.

§ 4. His epitaph at Charles-town, where he was honourably interred, mentions his having lived forty-nine years and seven months with his vertuous consort, by whom he had thirteen children, five sons and eight daughters, and annexes this distich:

A prophet lies under this stone:
His words shall live, though he be gone.

But as that eminent person ordered this clause for his own epitaph, instead of other glories and memoirs which used to adorn a monument, "Here lies the friend of Sir Philip Sidney," thus the epitaph of this eminent person might have mentioned one thing more, which might have gone in the room of many other testimonies to the ability, and integrity, and zeal, that signalized him: "Here lies the friend of Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs." For we have still to show the letters which that great man sent unto our Symmes, after his coming to New-England; letters wherein he compares the *love* between them, unto that between David and Jonathan: as having been a sort of sworn brothers to each other ever since their living together at the University.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE LIFE OF MR. JOHN ALLIN.

———Sequitur quem Vita perennis;
*Vivus enim Semper, qui bene vixit, erit.**

§ 1. WHY is the *dead* relation of father Abraham called "his dead," no less than *eight* several times in one short chapter? It seems, though *death* has dissolved our old relation to our *dead friends*, yet it has not released us from all our duty to them; they are still so far *ours*, that we owe something unto their memory. Reader, we are entertaining ourselves with our *dead;* but if we do nothing to keep *alive* their memory with us, we may blush to call them ours.

Among these, one is Mr. John Allin. But if there were such an officer in use among us, as once was among the Greeks, to measure the monuments of dead persons according to their vertues, he would greatly com-

* God for his portion endless life shall give, | For he who hath lived well, shall always live.

plain of it, that I have been able to recover no more memoirs of a person whose vertues and merits were far from the smallest size among those who "did worthily in Israel."

§ 2. He was born in the year 1596.

Having passed his *cursus*, in the *tongues* and *arts*, until he was, as Theodorit says of Innocent, Ἀγχινοια και συνεσει κοσμεμενος—*Ingenii et prudentiæ ornamentis egregiè Instructus:** he became a faithful preacher of Christ, choosing rather to dig in that rock of Zion than in a rock of diamonds.

It is an ancient observation, that there were three things done by the Holy Spirit of God on and for the prophets which were employed in publick service for him: one was to give them *courage* against the rage of adversaries. Another was, to give them *wisdom* for to regulate their conduct. A third was, to give them *vertue* and *holiness*, that their own consciences might not sting them, when they were to bestow aculeate rebukes upon the *vices* of other men.

This observation, which is as *useful* as *ancient*, was made by them that considered those words of the prophet Micah: "I am full of (1) power, by the Spirit of the Lord. And of (2) judgment. And of (3) vertue." With all of these excellencies did the *Holy Spirit* of God, in a gracious measure, adorn our Allin. But when the *evil Spirit* raised a storm of persecution upon the Puritans, in the English nation, these excellencies could not shelter this worthy man from the injuries of it; but rather exposed him thereunto. Leaving of England, whereof he might have taken that farewel,

Non careo Patriâ, me caret illa magis,†

he chose an American wilderness for his country: and cheerfully conformed his *genteel spirit* unto the difficulties of such a wilderness: being only of Austin's mind about the banished Christians, *Miserrimum esset, si alicubi duci poterant, ubi Deum suum non invenissent.‡*

§ 3. He was a sufficient scholar, and (which is the way to become so) a diligent student; but yet his experimental acquaintance with Christianity taught him to be of the mind which the learned Suarez expressed, when he did use to say, "That he esteemed more that little pittance of time which he constantly set apart every day for the private examination of his own heart, than all the other part of the day which he spent in voluminous controversies." His accomplishments were considerable; and being a very humble man, he found that sanctified knowledge grows most luxuriant in the fat valleys of humility: being a very patient man, he found the *dew* of Heaven, which falls not in a stormy or cloudy night, was always falling on a soul ever serene, with the meekest patience. He was none of those low-built thatched cottages, that are apt to catch *fire:*

* Fully equipped in the graces of genius and understanding.

† I love, but need thee not, sweet native shore; | Thou needest me, and yet shalt need me more.

‡ It would be the depth of wretchedness if they could be banished to a place where they could not find their God.

but, like an high-built castle or palace, free from the combustions of *passion*. He was indeed one of so sweet a temper, that his friends anagrammatised JOHN ALLIN into this:

IN HONI ALL.

§ 4. His polemical abilities were discovered in a treatise called, "*A Defence of the Nine Positions;*" wherein (being of Calvin's mind, "ink is too dear and costly with us, if we doubt to spend ink in writing, to testifie those things which martyrs of old sealed with their blood:") he, with Mr. Shepard of Cambridge, handle the points of church-reformation; at what rate, not my pen, but our famous old Mr. Cotton's in his preface to a book of Mr. Norton's may describe unto us:

"Shepardus, *una cum* Allinio *Fratre*, (*Fratrum dulce par,*) *uti eximiâ pietate florent ambo, et Eruditione non mediocri, atque etiam Mysteriorum Pietatis prædicatione* (*per Christi Gratiam*) *efficaci admodum, ita egregiam novarunt Operam in abstrusissimis Disciplinæ nodis fœliciter enodandis. Verba horum Fratrum, uti suaviter spirant Pietatem, Veritatem, Charitatem Christi*; *ita speramus fore* (*per Christi Gratiam*) *ut multi, qui a Disciplinâ Christi alienores erant, odore horum unguentorum Christi effusorum delibati atque delincti, ad amorem ejus et pellecti et pertracti, eam avidius arripiunt atque amplexentur.*"*

Moreover, another judicious discourse of his, in defence of the Synod held at Boston, in the year 1662, has declared his principles about church-discipline, as well as his *abilities* to maintain his *principles*. The person against whom he wrote this defence, was that very person whose *life* shall be the very next in our history; for,

Hi Motus Animorum atque hæc certamina tanta,
Pulveris exigui Jactu compressa, quiescunt.†

§ 5. When the holy church of Dedham was gathered, in the year 1638, he became their pastor; and in the pastoral care of that church he continued until August 26, 1671; when, after ten days of easie sickness, he died, as Myconius well expresses it, *Vitaliter mori;*‡ in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

Now, according to that of Jerom, *Lacrymæ Auditorum Tuæ sint Laudes;*§ behold, reader, the *praises* of this excellent man. His flock published the two last sermons that ever he preached; one whereof was on Cant. viii. 5: "Who is this that comes up from the wilderness, leaning on her

* SHEPARD, together with his brother ALLIN, (a charming brotherhood,) not only exhibit extraordinary piety and learning, and even efficiency (through the grace of Christ) in preaching the mysteries of godliness, but also have succeeded most happily in elucidating, with true originality, some of the most abstruse questions of Church Government. To such an extent doth the language of these brethren breathe the spirit of piety, truth, and Christian charity, that we hope that (through the same grace of Christ) many who are now averse to His discipline, may, when touched and anointed with the true Christian perfumes diffused through these pages, and so allured to the love of Christ, embrace him with the greater eagerness.

† These heated conflicts, which so fiercely rage,
A handful of light dust shall soon assuage.—VIRGIL. *Geor.* iv.

‡ A death most like to life.

§ The tears of thy hearers should be thy praises.

beloved?" The other on John xiv. 22: "Peace I leave with you." But they write their preface with tears; and with fearful praises they celebrate him, as one altogether above their praises: and a "constant, faithful, diligent steward in the house of God; a man of peace and truth, and a burning and a shining light." Adding, "The crown is fallen from our heads: Oh! that it were with us as in times past!" which desire of theirs has been happily answered in two most worthy successors.

The character once given to Philippus Gallus may very justly be now made the epitaph of our John Allin:

EPITAPHIUM.

JOHANNES ALLINIUS.

Vir Sincerus, Amans pacis, patiensque Laborum,
*Perspicuus, Simplex, Doctrinæ purus Amator.**

CHAPTER XXIII.

CADMUS AMERICANUS,† THE LIFE OF MR. CHARLES CHANCEY.

Suadet Lingua, Jubet Vita.‡

§ 1. THERE was a famous person in times, by chronological computation, as ancient as the days of Joshua, known by the name of Cadmus; who carried not only *people*, but *letters* also, from Phœnitia into Bœotia. The Grecian fable of a *serpent*, in the story of Cadmus, was only derived from the name of an Hivite, which by his nation belonged unto him; for an *Hivite* signifies a *serpent* in the language of Syria. This renowned Cadmus was indeed a Gibeonite, who having been well treated by Joshua, and by Joshua not only continued in the comforts of life, but also instructed and employed in the service of the true God, he retained ever after most honourable sentiments of that great commander. Yea, when after ages, in their songs, praised Apollo for his victory over the dragon Pytho, they uttered but the disguised songs of Canaan, wherein this Cadmus had celebrated the praises of Joshua for his victory over Og the King of Bashan. Cadmus having been (as one of the Greek poets writes of him) educated in Hebron or Debir, the universities of Palestine, was fitted thereby to be a leader in a great undertaking; and when the oppression of Cushanrishathaim caused a number of people to seek out *new seats*, there were many who, under the conduct of Cadmus, transported themselves into Greece, where the notions and customs of an Israelitish original were therefore a long while preserved, until they were confounded with Pagan degenera-

* Sincere, peace-loving, ready to endure;
In language simple, and in doctrine pure.

† The American Cadmus.

‡ His tongue advises, and his life persuades.

cies. There is reason to think that a colony of Hebrews themselves did now *swarm* out into Peloponnesus, where the book of Maccabees will help us to find Lacedemonians (or Cadmonians, that is, the followers of Cadmus, in their true etymology) "of the stock of Moraham;" and we know that Strabo tells us that Cadmus had Arabians (and the Israelites were by such heathen writers accounted so) in his company. Accordingly, when we read that a *college* among the old Grecians was called *academia*, we may soon inform our selves that it was at first called Cadmia or Cadmea, in commemoration of Cadmus the Phœnician; to whom those parts of the world were first beholden for such nurseries of good literature and religion.

These researches into antiquity had not in this place been laid before my reader, if they might not have served as an *introduction* unto this piece of New-English history; that when some ecclesiastical oppressions drove a colony of the truest Israelites into the remoter parts of the world, there was an academy quickly founded in that colony: and our Chancey was the Cadmus of that academy; by whose vast labour and learning the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ, served by all the human sciences, hath been conveyed unto posterity.

It is now fit that a few memoirs of that reverend man should fill our pages.

§ 2. Mr. Charles Chancey was an Hartfordshire man; born in the year 1589, of parents that were both honourable and religious. Being sent from thence to Westminster-school, his hopeful proficiency in good literature, within a short while, ripened him for the university. And it was one thing which caused him to have the more feeling resentments of the famous Powder-Plot, the *report* whereof will make a *noise* as long as the fifth of November is in our kalendar; that at the time when that plot should have taken its horrid effect, he was at that school, which must also have been blown up, if the Parliament-house had perished. The university of Cambridge was that which afterward instructed and nourished this eminent person, and fitted him for the service wherein he had opportunity afterwards to demonstrate that he was indeed such a person. The particular college whereof he was here a member, was Trinity College; by the same token, that in the *Lachrymæ Cantabrigienses*,* published by the Cantabrigians, on the death of Queen Ann, I find him in that style composing and subscribing one of the most witty Latin poems in that whole collection. Here he proceeded Batchelour of Divinity: and having an intimate acquaintance with that great man Dr. Usher, whom all men have confessed worthy of the character wherewith Voetus mentions him, *Vastæ Lectionis et eruditionis Theologus, inque Antiquitate Ecclesiastica Versatissimus*,† he had hereby an opportunity farther to advantage himself with the ancient monuments in King James' library.

* The tears of Cambridge.

† A theologian of great reading and acquirements, admirably versed in the antiquities of the church.

§ 3. By the head of the houses he was chosen *Hebrew*-professor; but the Vice-Chancellour, Dr. Williams, preferring a kinsman of his own to that place, at the same time he put our Mr. Chancey into the place of *Greek*-professor; and as one well known to be an accurate *Grecian,* it was *he* that afterwards was the C. C. the *Vir Doctissimus et Piissimus,** whose ἐπιχρισις† you have at the beginning of Leigh's "*Critica Sacra*" upon the New-Testament. He was indeed a person incomparably well skilled in all the learned languages, especially in the Oriental, and eminently in the Hebrew, in his obtaining whereof his conversation with a Jew for the space of a year was no little advantage to him. I know that the Hebrew tongue, as an exception to the general rule, *Difficilia quæ Pulchra,*‡ is more *easily attained* than any that I have yet observed; and hence we see even our English women, sometimes in a *little while*, and with a *little pains*, grown as expert at it as the ladies Pausa or Blasilla, by Jerom therefore celebrated; and I have wished that many in the world were more moved by those words of a worthy author, *Ausim spondere, illos qui Studiis Hebraicis tantum Temporis Impenderent, quantum Tubulo Nicotianæ imbibendo, (quo nunc pars bona Studiosorum pro Hydragogo uti consuevit) tum Mane, tum Vesperi, impendi solet, progressus in hujusce Linguæ Cognitione haud Vulgares brevi esse facturos, adeo ut mirentur, se esse tum doctos, antequam Didicerint.*§ Nevertheless, this tongue is as easily *forgotten.* But being once *attained*, and therewithal *preserved* and *improved*, good men will find as our Mr. Chancey did that the conjunct *profit* and *pleasure* of it were inexpressible; and that the *talents* wherewith it would furnish them to do so many services for the Church of God, were such as to make them join with Luther in his protestation, "That he would not part with his knoweldge of the Hebrew for many thousands of pounds;" or to approve the (usual) modest words of Melancthon, "*Scio me vix primis Labris degustasse Hebraicas Literas; sed tamen hoc Ipsum, quod didici quantulumcunque est, propter Judicium de Religione, Omnibus Mundi Regnis omniumque opibus Longe Antepono.*‖

§ 4. When he left the university, he became a diligent and eminent preacher of the gospel at Marston; but after some time he removed himself to Ware, where the "hand of the Lord was with him, and many believed, and turned unto the Lord." Here it was that the successes of his faithful ministry, in the *instruction* of the ignorant and the *conversion* of the ungodly, became a matter of much observation.

But when Satan wanted a *Shibboleth* for the discovering and extinguishing such an holy ministry throughout the nation, the miserable Arch-Bishop Laud served him with a license for *sports* on the *Lord's day;* whereby the

* Most learned and pious man. † Critical estimate. ‡ The most beautiful studies are the most difficult.

§ I would dare to promise, that if students will devote to the study of the Hebrew tongue as much time at morning and evening as some persons spend in smoking their tobacco-pipes, (which, by the way, a good share of our students now-a-days use for an absorbent,) they will make such uncommon progress in the mastery of the language, that they will be surprised at the proficiency which they have unconsciously attained.

‖ I know I have scarcely touched Hebrew Literature with my lips; but nevertheless I prefer my very trifling acquaintance with it, as a key to religious knowledge, to all the kingdoms of the world and the riches of the universe.

people were after an horrid manner invited unto the profanation of that sacred rest; and indeed of every thing *sacred* with it. Then it was that our Mr. Chancey, hearing the *drums* beat for *dances* and *frolicks* on the Lord's day, was, like other good men, afraid that God would break the *rest* of the kingdom, and cause *drums* to be beaten up for *marches* and *battels* on that very day. But when he was inhibited from attending of other exercises, on the afternoons of the Lord's day he set himself to *catechise* as many as he could, both old and young; which, as the *bishop* in *sheeps' cloathing* said, was "as bad as preaching." And by such methods he still continued serving the interests of the gospel.

§ 5. But about this time there arose a storm of most unreasonable, but irresistible *persecution* upon those ministers who were well-wishers to the *progress* of the Protestant reformation in the kingdom; and Mr. Chancey was one of those who suffered in it. In Mr. Rushworth's collections for the year 1629, I find this passage:

"Mr. Charles Chancey, minister of Ware, using some expressions in his sermon, that 'Idolatry was admitted into the church;' that 'the preaching of the gospel would be suppressed;' that 'there is much Atheism, Popery, Arminianism and Heresy, crept into the church:' and this being looked upon to raise a fear among the people that some alteration of religion would ensue; he was questioned in the High Commission; and by order of that court the cause was referred to the Bishop of London, being his ordinary; who ordered him to make a *submission* in Latin."

This worthy man being, by the terrors and censures of that infamous court, suddenly surprised unto a sort of *submission*, which gave too good an acknowledgment of the constitution, whereinto the Laudian faction was then precipitating the Church of England, he no sooner got a little out of the *temptation*, but he signalized his *repentance* of that submission, with a *zeal* not unlike that of the blessed Cranmer against his own *right hand* for subscribing his *recantation*. Although he was not long without the faith of his having this his too sudden compliance with the demands of his persecutors "forgiven in heaven," yet he never forgave himself as long as he lived on earth; he would on all occasions express himself extreamly dissatisfied, as well at the *ill things* then advanced in the Church of England, as at himself also for ever in the least, consenting to those things. Those memorable Puritans which were driven into America, all of them had a dislike of the *deformities* which they saw yet cleaving to the Church of England; but I question whether any disliked them with such fervent expressions of indignation as our Mr. Chancey, who thus took the *revenges* of a deep *repentance* upon his own conformity to them. And few suffered for non-conformity more than he, by *fines*, by *gaols*, by necessities to *abscond*, and at last by an *exile* from his native country. Yea, though he had lived a very exact life, yet when he came to die, more than forty years after this, he left these words in his last will and testament:

"In regard of corrupt nature, I do acknowledge my self to be a child of wrath, and sold under sin, and one that hath been polluted with innumerable transgressions and mighty sins, which, as far as I know and can call to remembrance, I keep still fresh before me, and desire with mourning and self abhorring still to do, as long as life shall last; and especially my so many sinful compliances with and conformity unto vile human inventions, and will-worship, and hell-bred superstition, and patcheries sticht into the service of the Lord, (which the English Mass book, I mean, the 'Book of Common Prayer,' and the 'Ordination of Priests,' &c., are fully fraught withal.)"

§ 6. There was once a Parliament in England, whereto a speech of no less a man than the Lord Digby made a complaint, "that men of the best conscience were then ready to fly into the wilderness for religion:" and it was complained in an elegant speech of Sir Benjamin Rudyard's, "A great multitude of the King's subjects, striving to hold communion with us, but seeing how far we were gone, and fearing how much farther we would go, were forced to fly the land, very many into salvage wildernesses, because the land would not bear them: do not they that cause these things cast a reproach upon the government?" And in a notable speech of Mr. Fiennes, "a certain number of ceremonies, in the judgment of some men unlawful, and to be *rejected of all churches*, in the judgment of all other *reformed churches*, and in the judgment of our own church, but *indifferent*, yet what *difference*—yea, what *distraction* have these *indifferent* ceremonies raised among us? What hath deprived us of so many thousands of Christians, which desired, and in all other respects deserved to hold communion with us; I say, what hath deprived us of them, and scattered them into I know not what places and corners of the world, but these *indifferent ceremonies?*" It was then that Mr. Pym, in the name of the House of Commons, impeaching *A. B.* Laud, before the House of Lords had these expressions: "You have the King's loyal subjects banished out of the kingdom, not as Elimelech, to seek for bread in foreign countries, by reason of the great scarcity which was in Israel; but travelling abroad for the bread of life, because they could not have it at home, by reason of the *spiritual famine* of God's word, caused by this man and his partakers: and by this means you have the industry of many thousands of his majesty's subjects carried out of the land." And at last the whole House of Commons put this article in the remonstrance, which they then made unto the King: "The Bishops and their Courts did impoverish many thousand; and so afflict and trouble others, that great numbers, to avoid their miseries, departed out of the kingdom, some into New-England and other parts of America."

But it is now time to tell my reader that, in the *transportations* thus reasonably and parliamentarily complained of, one of the most considerable persons removing into America was Mr. Charles Chancey, who arrived at Plymouth in New-England a few days before the great earthquake which happened January 1, 1638.

§ 7. After he had spent some time in the ministry of the gospel with

Mr. Reyner of Plymouth, he removed unto a town a little northward of it, called Scituate, where he remained for *three* and *three* times *three* years, cultivating the vineyard of the Lord in that place. Of this his ministry at Scituate let me preserve at least this one remembrance: having his ordination renewed at his entrance upon this *new relation*, he did at that solemnity preach upon those words, in Prov. ix. 3, "Wisdom hath sent forth her maidens:" and in his discourse, making a most affectionate reflection upon his former compliances with the temptations of the High Commission Court, he said, with tears "Alas, Christians! I am no maiden; my soul hath been defiled with false worship; how wondrous is the free-grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, that I should still be employed among the maidens of wisdom!"

Afterwards, upon an invitation from his old people at Ware to return unto them, he purposed a removal with his family back to England; but when he came to Boston in order thereunto, the overseers of Harvard-Colledge at Cambridge, which now wanted a President, by their vehement importunity, prevailed with him to accept the government of that society; wherein worthily "chusing their way, and sitting chief, and dwelling as a King in the midst of his army," he continued unto the day of his death. From this time I behold him as another Elijah, shedding his benign influences on the "school of the prophets;" and with immense labours instructing, directing, and feeding the "hope of the flock in the wilderness." At his instalment, he concluded his excellent oration, made unto a venerable assembly, then filling the Colledge-Hall, with such a passage as this, unto the students there: *Doctiorem certe Præsidem, et huic Oneri ac Stationi multis Modis Aptiorem, vobis facile licet Invenire, sed Amantiorem, et vestri Boni Studiosiorem, non Invenietis.** And certainly he was as good as his word. How *learnedly* he now conveyed all the *liberal arts* unto those that "sat at his feet;" how *wittily* he moderated their disputations and other exercises; how *constantly* he expounded the Scriptures to the Colledge-Hall; how *fluently* he expressed himself unto them, with Latin of a Terentian phrase, in all his discourses; and how *carefully* he inspected their *manners*, and was above all things concerned for them, that they might answer a note which he gave them—["When you are your selves interested in the Lord Jesus Christ and his righteousness, you will be fit to be teachers of others: Isaiah cries, *Now send me!* when his sins were pardoned: but without this, you are fit for nothing:"]—will never be forgotten by many of our most worthy men, who were made *such* men by their education under him: for we shall find as many of his disciples in our catalogue of graduates, as there were in that *colledge* of *believers* at Jerusalem, whereof we read in the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. But if there were any disadvantages of an *hasty temper*

* Although you can easily find a more learned President than myself, and better qualified in many respects for this duty and station, you could not have found one more affectionate towards you or more zealous for your good.

sometimes in his conduct, they still were presently so corrected with his *holy temper*, that this did but invite persons to think the more of that Elias to whom we have compared him; and therefore, as they were forgotten by every one in the very day of them, they are at this day much more to be so: Mr. Urian Oakes, that preached his funeral sermon, well said, "The mention thereof was to be wrapped up in Elijah's mantle." But if the whole country were sensible of the blessing which all New-England enjoyed in our Chancey now at Cambridge, the church of Cambridge, to whom he now joined and preached, had a very particular cause to be *so*. And *so* indeed they were; by the same token, that when he had been above a year or two in the town, the church kept a whole day of THANKSGIVING to God, for the mercy which they enjoyed in *his* being there.

§ 8. He was a most indefatigable *student*, which with the blessing of God rendered him a most incomparable *scholar*. He rose very early, about four a clock, both winter and summer; and he set the scholars an example of *diligence* hardly to be followed. But *Bene Orasse, est Bene Studuisse*:* by interweaving of constant *prayers* into his holy *studies*, he made them indeed holy; and my reader shall count, if he pleases, how oft in a day he addressed Heaven with solemn devotions, and judge whether it might not be said of our Charles, as it was of Charles the Great, (which is indeed the way to become *great*,) *Carolus plus cum Deo, quam cum Hominibus loquitur*;† when I have told that at his first getting up in a morning, he commonly spent near an hour in secret prayer, before his minding any other matter; then visiting the colledge-hall, he expounded a chapter (which was first read from the *Hebrew*) of the Old Testament, with a short prayer before, and a long one after his exposition: he then did the like upon another chapter, with a prayer before and after, in his family: about eleven a clock in the forenoon, he retired again about three-quarters of an hour for secret prayer. At four a clock in the afternoon he again did the like. In the evening he expounded a chapter (which was first read into the *Greek*) of the New-Testament, in the colledge-hall, with a prayer in like manner before and after; the like he did also in his family; and when the bell rang for nine at night, he retired for another hour of secret prayer before the Lord. But on the Lord's day's morning, instead of his accustomed exposition, he preached a sermon upon a text, for about three-quarters of an hour, in the colledge hall. Besides all this, he often set apart whole days for prayer with fasting alone by himself; yea, and sometimes he spent whole nights in prayer, before the "Heavenly Father who sees in secret." Many days of prayer with fasting he also kept with his religious consort: and many such days he also kept with his family, calling in the company and assistance of three or four godly neighbours: besides what he did more publickly among the people of God. Behold, how near this good man approached unto the strictest and highest sense of *praying always*.

* To pray well, is to study well.

† CHARLES converses more with God than with men.

Chrysostom tells us that Christ and Paul commanded us to make our prayers, Βραχειαι και πυκνας, και εξ ὀλιγων διαλειμματων—"short and frequent, and with little distances between them." And Cassianus mentions it, as the universal consent of ancients, *Utilius censent Breves Orationes, sed creberrimas fieri.** The prayers of our Chancey were such for their *frequency*, whatever they might be sometimes for their *brevity*. Moreover, 'twas his constant practice, not only on the Lord's days in the evenings, but every day, morning and evening, after he had expounded a chapter, to examine his children and servants with some fit questions thereupon. On the Lord's days, once a fortnight, he preached publickly in the forenoons: but when he did not so, he had the morning sermon repeated at noon, and the afternoon sermon repeated at night, and both the sermons repeated once more in the evening, before the next Lord's day: at which times he still took occasion to reinforce the more notable truths occurring in the sermons, with pertinent applications of his own.

At this rate this eminent person "ran the race that was set before him:" and though one would have thought that so laborious a *race* must have been quickly run, yet, if that may be an encouragement unto diligent followers, let them know that fourscore years of age dispatched it not; he continued a "green olive tree" in the "house of God," long after he was gray headed for age; and in his old age he did not leave off to bring forth *fruit* unto the praise of God. I find that the *law of redemption*, in the last chapter of Leviticus, (in Hos. iii. 2, alluded unto) valued a man above sixty but at fifteen shekels; whereas a man between twenty and sixty was valued at (an homer of barley, or) no less than fifty shekels. But the worth of our Chancey at *eighty*, continued much what as it was when he was under *sixty;* and he was a person of great *worth* and *use* unto the last. Indeed, it was his laudable ambition to be so. Whence, after age had enfeebled him, the fellows of the colledge once leading this venerable old man to preach a sermon in a winter-day, they, out of affection unto him, to discourage him from so difficult an undertaking, told him, "Sir, you'll certainly die in the pulpit." But he laying hold on what they said, as if they had offered him the greatest encouragement in the world, pressed the more vigorously through the snow-drift, and said, "How glad should I be, if what you say might prove true!"

§ 9. He kept a diary, the loss of which I cannot but mention with regret; nevertheless, I can report thus much of it, that it was methodized under the heads of *sins* and *mercies*. Under the head of *sins*, he took notice of his failings, as if he had spoken a passionate word, or been dull and cold in his duties, and the like. Under the head of *mercies*, he took notice of the special and more signal favours which Heaven bestowed upon him. He was also very much in meditation, and in that one important kind and part of it, self-examination, especially in his preparations for the Lord's

* That they thought it most salutary to make short prayers, and to make them often.

table. From his diary we have recovered a little relating thereunto; and for a *specimen*, the reader shall here have a few of his notes, which he entitled,

SELF-TRIALS BEFORE THE SACRAMENT.

TRIAL OF MY *PART IN CHRIST.*

1. I am subject to the commandment of believing on his person.
2. I rest and rely upon *him only* for salvation.
3. I resolve, by God's help, to leave all for him.
4. All my *hopes* are in him, and he is my peace.
5. By his *spirit* given me.
6. That I walk "not after the flesh, but after the spirit."
7. By many tokens of his love to me.

TRIALS OF MY *FAITH.*

1. By the *growth* of it.
2. By the *life* of it.
3. By the *fruits* of it.

TRIAL OF MY *REPENTANCE.*

By the *nature* of it: that is, change of mind, and my purpose to turn from all sin to God; "dying daily to sin."

TRIAL OF MY *UPRIGHTNESS* TOWARDS GOD.

1. My care to keep his commandments.
2. That his "commandments are not grievous to me."
3. Desire of union with him, and "cleaving to him with full purpose of heart."

TRIAL OF MY *BROTHERLY LOVE.*

1. Not to suffer sin upon any one.
2. To love all the saints for truth's sake.
3. Love of the Godly dead.

By reciting those qualifications of a Christian, by which this exemplary Christian would examine himself, I have described how exemplarily he *himself* was qualified.

§ 10. His conduct of himself in his ministry (wherein he preached over the whole Gospel of John, the Acts of the Apostles, the three Epistles of John, and largely handled the doctrine of Self-denial, Faith, Justification, Adoption, Sanctification, and many other occasional subjects) will be most exactly apprehended from the council which I find him writing to another minister, in a letter dated December 20, 1665.

"In your ministerial work (saith he) let me give you a few directions:

"1. Be much in prayer to God: thereby you shall find more *succour* and *success* in your ministry, than by all your study.

"2. Preach much about the misery of the state of nature, the preparatives to conversion; the nature of conversion, or effectual calling; the necessity of union and communion with Christ; the nature of saving and justifying faith, and the fruits thereof—love and good works, and sanctification.

"3. Explain the words of your text clearly; bring clear proof of parallel scriptures; let your reasons be Scripture-reasons; but be most in application; which is spent in five uses, refutation of error, information of the truth, correction of manners, exhortation and instruction in righteousness. All which you find in 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. And there is a fifth use, viz: of comfort, 1 Cor. xiv. 3.

"4. Preach not high notions. Read Ames' *Medulla;* and the explication of 1 Cor. ii. 1 2. Neither use any *dark Latin words*, or any derived thence, which poor people can't understand, without explaining of them, so that the poorest and simplest people may understand all.

"5. I advise you being once in office to catechise every Lord's day in the afternoon, so as to go through the *catechise* once in a year.

"Finally, be very careful of scriptural rules to God's ministers, Ὀρθομεῖν τον λογον, ορθοπαδεῖν και ἐν προσευχαις προσκαρτερεῖν."*

Thus did he advise, without occasion to make confession of the poet, which of all is the most unhappy for the preacher.

——*Monitis sum minor ipse meiis.*†

He was, indeed, an exceeding plain preacher, frequently saying, *Artis est Celare Artem*;‡ and yet a more *learned* and a more *lively* preacher has rarely been heard. He would therefore mention it, as a pious and prudent complaint of Reverend Mr. Dod, "That too many ministers deal like unskilful archers; they shoot over the heads, and much more over the hearts of their hearers, and miss their mark, while they soar so high by handling deep points; or by using of obscure and dark expressions or phrases in their preaching." But for the preaching of our Chancey, the same account may be given of it that Photius gives about the preaching of Athanasius: *In Sermonibus ubique in Locutione Clarus est, et Brevis, et Simplex, Acutus tamen et Altus, et Argumentationibus, omnio vehemens, et in his Tanta Libertas, ut Admirabilis sit.*§

§ 11. In the colledge whereof he was president, he did the part, Τῆ φιλανθρωπια και φιλοθεῳ παιδευτῃ—"*An instructor inspired with the love of God and the love of souls.*" But if the reader expect any further account of this reverend man—what he *was*, what he *thought*, and what he *preached*—let him give himself the edifying pleasure of reading what he *printed.* But of his printed composures, the more considerable were his twenty-six sermons upon *justification*, published in the year 1659. On the motive which he mentioned in the preface thereunto—"My particular employment," saith he, "wherein I hope that my desire is to serve the Lord in truth, and to seek the great benefit of youth and students, who are to be trained up, Ἐν νουθεσια τῆ Κυριῳ—that is, *in the doctrine of the Lord*—that may put a right understanding into them, hath moved me to represent this *doctrine of justification* as a standard of truth and salvation to them; which they should hold fast, and as the Lord shall call them thereunto *hold forth* in their generations." It had been an usual thing with him solemnly to caution scholars against those *doctrines* which *exalt man* and *debase Christ:* and he thought particularly with Luther, *Amisso articulo justificationis et amissa est simul tota Doctrina Christiana.*‖

* To divide rightly the word, to walk uprightly, and be instant in prayer.

† I cannot reach the standard of my own admonitions. ‡ It is the glory of art to conceal the art.

§ In his discourses, his diction is perspicuous, terse, and simple: yet is his reasoning ingenious, profound, and powerful, and at the same time conducted with marvellous ease.

‖ Let the single article of *Justification by Faith* be lost, and the whole system of Christian doctrine is lost with it.

And agreeably to that caution, we have him, in this his most judicious treatise, maintaining—

"That justification is a judicial proceeding, wherein the sentence of God *absolves* and *acquits* the sinner from the guilt of sin, and accepts him as a just person unto eternal life.

"That the justification of a sinner before God, in the *decree* of it, in the *purchase* of it, and in the *application* of it, is to be ascribed unto the free grace of God, and yet there is also a glorious concurrence of strict justice thereunto.

"That the Son of God, condescending to be the *surety* of his chosen, took their *debt* upon himself, and by suffering the full punishment which was due for their sins, made that satisfaction unto the justice of God, whereupon we receive the remission of sins, which, without such a satisfaction, had been impossible.

"That none of the afflictions which befal the faithful are proper punishments for sin, but the *corrective* dispensions of a careful *father*, and the *sanative* dispensations of a prudent *healer*.

"That yet many Godly men smart for their boldness in sin: and when Paul writing to saints, tells them, 'If you live after the flesh, you shall die,' he speaks not only of temporal, but of eternal death: for though 'tis not possible for saints to die eternally, 'tis as possible for them to *die* eternally as to *sin* eternally.

"That we are not justified by faith, as it is a work in us, nor is our *act* of believing any part of the matter of that righteousness wherein we stand righteous before God. But faith does only justifie us relatively, or as it has reference to its *object*, the Lord Jesus Christ and his righteousness, or as it receives the mercy of God in the Lord Jesus Christ; or as the beggar's hand receiving a bag of gold enricheth him: it is but a passive instrument; and the words of James, 'That a man is justified by works, and not by faith alone,' do not oppose the other words of Paul, but only assert that a justifying faith is in this opposed unto a false and dead faith, it will certainly be effectual to produce good works in the believer.

"That believers, notwithstanding the forgiveness of their sins, ought often to renew all the expressions of repentance for their sins, and still to be fervent and instant in prayer for pardon; inasmuch as we have need of having remission afresh applied unto us; and we also need the joys and fruits of our pardon, and the grace to make a right use thereof.

"That the whole obedience of the Lord Jesus Christ, both active and passive, belongs to that perfect righteousness which is required in order to justification; and this righteousness of God is conveyed unto believers by way of imputation: it is reckoned and accounted theirs, upon their apprehending of it; which imputation is a gracious act of God the Father, whereby as a *judge* he accounts the sins of the believer unto the surety, as if he had committed the same, and the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ unto the believer, as if he had performed that obedience.

"That still it follows not that every believer is a Redeemer and a Saviour of others, as the Lord Jesus Christ himself is; it is the righteousness of the surety, and not the suretiship it self, that is imputed unto the believer: the suretiship is proper unto our Lord, and because the vertue which is in the head is communicated unto the members, 'tis frivolous thence to argue, that every member is thereby made an head, and has the influence of our head upon the rest.

"That as Adam was the common root of all mankind, and so his first sin is imputed unto all his posterity; thus our Lord Jesus Christ is the common root of all the faithful, and his obedience is imputed unto them all."

This was the old faith of New-England about that most important article of *justification;* an article wherein all the duties and comforts of our holy religion are more than a little concerned. And I thought I could not make a fitter present unto the "sons of my mother," than by thus laying before the scholars of Harvard-Colledge an abstract of what the venerable old President of that colledge left as a *legacy* unto them.

All that I shall add upon it is, that as 'tis the observation of our Dr. Owen, in his most judicious book of justification:

"I am not satisfied that any of those who at present oppose this doctrine, do in holiness and righteousness, and the exercise of all Christian graces, surpass those who in the last ages, both in this and other nations, firmly adherred unto it, and who constantly testified unto that effectual influence which it had into their walking before God; nor do I know that any can be named amongst us in the former ages, who were eminent in holiness, and many such there were, who did not cordially assent unto that which we plead for. And it doth not yet appear in general that an attempt to introduce a doctrine contrary unto it, has had any great success in the reformation of the lives of men."

So our holy Chancey was an eminent instance to confirm something of this observation. Albeit he were so elaborately solicitous to exclude good works from any share in the "antecedent condition of our justification;" yet there were few men in the world who more practically and accurately acknowledged the necessity of good works in all the justified: and so afraid was he of defiling his own soul, and of disturbing his own peace, by the admission of any known sin, that though he made so many stated supplications every day, yet, if he had fallen into any misbecoming passion, or any sensible distemper or disorder of heart in the day, it occasioned his immediate retirement for another prayer extraordinary before the Lord.

§ 11. I remember that upon the article in the *praises* of a good man, [Psal. i. 3,] "He brings forth his fruit in his season," there is a notable gloss of Aben Ezra, to this purpose: *Anima Rationalis, plena Sapientiæ, in Tempore Senectutis opportuno, separatur a Corpore, sicut Fructus ab Arbore, et non moritur ante Diem.** Such a *tree* was our Chancey, and such was his fate. This eminent *soldier* of our Lord Jesus Christ, after he was come to be fourscore years of age, continued still to "endure hardness as a good soldier of the Lord Jesus Christ;" and still professed, with the aged Polycarp, That he "was not willing to leave the service of the Lord, that had more than fourscore years been a good master to him." When his friends pressed him to remit and abate his vast labours, he would reply, *Oportet Imperatorem Stantem mori;*† according he *stood* beyond expectation, directing in the learned *camp*, where he had been a *commander*. At length, on the commencement in the year 1671, he made a farewel oration, wherein he took a solemn farewel of his friends, and then sent for his children, upon whom he bestowed a solemn blessing, with fervent prayers, commending them to the grace of God. So like aged R. Simeon, once ('tis by some thought) the president of a college at Jerusalem, he kept *waiting* and longing for his call, "to depart in peace!" Accordingly the *end* of this year proved the *end* of his days: when illness growing upon him, the reverend Mr. Urian Oakes, after his requested supplications, asked

* The rational soul, ripe in wisdom, is detached from the body in the fulness of years, like fruit from a tree, and does not prematurely perish.

† An emperor ought to die standing.

him to give a *sign* of his hopeful and joyful assurances, if he yet had them, of his entering into eternal glory; whereat the speechless old man lifted up his hands, as high towards heaven as he could lift them, and so his renewed and ripened soul flew thither, February 19, 1671, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the seventeenth year of his presidentship over Harvard-Colledge. He left behind him no less than six sons: every of which had received the laurels of degrees in the colledge; and some of them from the hands of their aged father. Their names were Isaac, Ichabod, Barnabas, Nathanael and Elnathan, (which two were twins) and Israel. *All* of these did, while they had opportunity, preach the gospel; and *most*, if not *all* of them, like their excellent father before them, had an eminent skill in *physick* added unto their other accomplishments; which, like him, they used for the good of many; as indeed it is well known that, until two hundred years ago, *physick* in England was no profession distinct from *divinity;* and accordingly princes had the same persons to be their *physicians* and their *confessors.* But only two of them are now living; the *first* and the *last:* the one in England, the other in New-England; Isaac, now a pastor of a church in London, and an author of several well known treatises; Israel, now a pastor of a church in our Stratford, where he is at this day a rich blessing to the colony of Connecticut. The happy mother of these worthy sons was Catharine, the daughter of Robert Eyre, Esq., who, dying a little before her consort, had her holy life quickly after published; namely, by the publication of the *directions* for an *holy life*, which her pious father left as a legacy for his children: directions whereof I shall say but this, that as they express the true spirit of Puritanism, so they comprise the wisest, the fruitfullest, the exactest, and the holiest *rules of living* that ever I saw together in any short human composure; and the reprinting of them would not only give a description of the heavenly conversation endeavoured by our great Charles Chancey, whom we have hitherto been considering, but also procure the admiration, if not imitation, of them that read it.

§ 12. New-England having enjoyed such a privilege, and such a president as our Chancey, governing a college, I will conclude this account thereof with certain passages which this reverend man published in a sermon, on Amos ii. 11—"I raised up of your sons for prophets, and of your young men for Nazarites,"—preached at Cambridge the day after one of the commencements:

"God hath wonderfully erected schools of learning, and means of education for our children, that there might be continually some comfortable supply and succession in the ministry. Is it not so, O ye people of God in New-England! But then let me testify against you in the Lord's name, for great unthankfulness to the Lord for so great a mercy. The great blessing of a painful ministry is not regarded by covetous earth worms; neither do the schools of learning, that afford oyl to the lamps, come into their thoughts, to praise the Lord for them. Or, some little good they apprehend in it, to have a minister to spend the Sabbath, and to baptize their children, and keep them out of harm's way, or teach them to write and

read, and cast accounts; but they despise the *angel's bread*, and count it *light stuff* in comparison of other things, yea, there be many in the country that account it their happiness to live in the vast howling wilderness, without any ministry or schools, and means of education for their posterity; they have much liberty, they think, by this *want*. Surely their practice about their children is little better than the merciless and unnatural profaneness of the Israelites, 'that sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils!' And many make wicked returns of these blessings, and fearfully abuse them, and seek what they can to weary out ministers, and pull down schools of learning, or, which is all one, deny or withhold maintenance from them; as good as to say 'Rase them, rase them to the foundations!' But how exceeding hateful unto the Lord is this unthankfulness! Do you thus requite the Lord, ye foolish people and unwise?

"But then let scholars mainly intend, labour, and study for this; to be prophets and Nazarites: and therefore let speaking to edification, exhortation, and comfort be aimed at in all your studies; and behave your selves as being set apart in peculiar manner for the Lord. To use the 'vessels of the temple' to quaff and carouse in, was a Babylonish practice. You should have less to do with the world and worldly delights, and be less cumbred than others with the affairs of this life."

All that we will add of this good old man, shall be the epitaph, which is now to be read on his tomb-stone in Cambridge:

Conditum hic est Corpus,
CAROLI CHAUNCÆI,
S. S. Theologiæ Baccalaur.
ET
Collegii Harvardini Nov-Angl. Per XVII. Annorum Spacium Præsidis Vigilantissimi,
Viri Plane Integerrimi, Concionatoris Eximii, Pietate
Pariter ac Liberali Eriditione Ornatissimi.
Qui Obiit in Domino, Feb. XIX. An. Dom. M.DC.LXX.I.
*Et Ætatis suæ, LXXX.II.**

CHAPTER XXIV.

LUCAS;† THE LIFE OF MR. JOHN FISK.

Ἰατρος γαρ ἀνηρ πολλῶν ἀνταξιος ἀλλων.‡

§ 1. Among the most famous preachers and writers of the gospel with which the primitive church was blessed, there was "Luke, the beloved physician;" of whom Jerom elegantly says, *Quomodo Apostoli de Piscatoribus piscium, Piscatores Hominum facti sunt, ita de Medico Corporum in Medicum Versis est Animarum; cujus Liber quotiescunque legitur in Ecclesiis, toties Medicina non cessat:*§ that blessed scholar and collegue of the Apostle

* Here is buried the body of CHARLES CHANCEY, Bachelor of Divinity, and for the space of seventeen years a most faithful President of Harvard Colledge in New-England—a man of unsullied integrity, an accomplished debater, gifted with equal merit in piety and scholarship. He died in the Lord, February 19th, A. D. 1671, aged 82.

† Luke. ‡ A physician is worth many common men.

§ As apostles were converted from fishermen into fishers of men, so Luke, from a physician of bodies, became a physician of souls; and as long as his writings are read in our churches, there will be no lack of medicine.

Paul, who (as Jerom also tells us) according to the opinion of some, intends the volume which had been penned by this Luke, as often as he uses that expression in his epistles, "according to my gospel."

And among the first preachers and writers which rendered the primitive times of New-England happy, there was one who might likewise be called "a beloved physician;" one to whom there might also be given the *eulogy* which the ancients think was given to Luke, "a brother whose praise was in the gospel throughout all churches."

This was Mr. John Fisk.

§ 2. Mr. John Fisk was born in the parish of St. James (called for distinction "one of the nine parishes") in the county of Suffolk, about the year 1601, of pious and worthy parents, yea, of grand-parents and great-grand-parents eminent for zeal in the true religion. There were six brothers in the infamous reign of Queen Mary, whereof three were Papists and three were Protestants—I may say *Puritans;* and of the latter (whereof none were owned by the former) two were sorely persecuted. For one of these brethren, the pursevant having a kindness, gave him a private and previous notice of his coming with an *order* to seize him; whereupon the good man first called his family to prayer, hastned away to hide himself in a ditch, with his godly wife, which had a sucking child at her breast. The pursevant being near at hand, a *thorn* in the hedge gave such a *mark* to the child's face, as never went out; whereat the child beginning to roar, the mother presently clapt it to the breast, whereby it was quieted at once, and there was no discovery then or after made of these confessors. Another of these brethren, from whom our Fisk was descended, was then (to avoid *burning*) hid many months in a *wood-pile;* and afterwards, for half a year in a *cellar*, where he diligently employed himself in profitable manufactures; by *candle light*, after such a manner as to remain likewise undiscovered; but his many hardships brought that excessive *bleeding* upon him, that shortned his days, and added unto the cry of the "souls under the altar."

§ 3. Our John was the eldest of four children, all of whom afterwards came to New-England with him, and left a posterity with whom God established his holy covenant. His parents having devoted him unto the service of the Lord Jesus Christ, they sent him first unto a grammar-school, two miles from the place of their abode, whither his *diligent soul* was, instead of *wings*, every day to carry him. His education at the school having fitted him for the university, he went unto Cambridge, where he was admitted into (as I think) Immanuel College, in which he resided until he became a graduate. Some time after this, being both by *art* and by *heart* well prepared for it, he applied himself unto the work to which he had been devoted; namely, the preaching of the gospel; but the *silencers* grew so hard upon him for his non-conformity, that upon the advice of his friends, he set himself to study *physick*, and upon a thorough examination, he obtained a licence for publick practice. When he

was about eight and twenty years of age, he married a vertuous young gentlewoman; several hundreds of pounds of whose patrimony were denied her upon the displeasure of *her* father, at her coming to New-England.

But upon the death of his father, who had committed unto him the care of his mother and his two sisters, and his youngest brother, he thought it his duty to remove into New-England, where he saw an opportunity of returning unto the quiet exercise of his ministry. He and that excellent man Mr. John Allin came aboard in a disguise, to avoid the fury of their persecutors; but after they were past the Land's-end, they entertained the passengers with two sermons every day, besides other agreeable devotions, which filled the voyage with so much of religion, that one of the passengers being examined about his going to divert himself with an hook and line, on the Lord's day, he protested, "that he did not know when the Lord's day was; he thought every day was a Sabbath day; for," he said, "they did nothing but pray and preach all the week long."

§ 4. Mr. Fisk arrived in New-England in the year 1637, having had nothing to render the voyage uncomfortable, but only that his aged *mother* died quickly after he came aboard, and his only *infant* quickly after he came ashore. He came well stocked with servants, and all sorts of tools for husbandry and carpentry, and with provisions to support his family in a wilderness for three years together; out of which he charitably lent a considerable quantity to the country, which he then found in the distresses of a war with the Pequot Indians. He now sojourned about three years at Salem, where he was both a *preacher* to the church, and a *tutor* unto divers young scholars (whereof the well-known Sir George Downing was one) as he was afterwards unto his own children, when the want of grammar-schools at hand made it necessary. From thence he removed unto a place adjoining thereunto, which is now called Wenham: where on October 8, 1644, a church was gathered, of which he continued the pastor in that place for more than twice seven years: contented with a very mean salary, and consuming his own fair estate for the welfare of the new plantation.

§ 5. About the year 1656 he removed with the major part of his church to another new town, called Chelmsford; and there he spent the remainder of his days. Of the afflictions which now disciplined him, one of the saddest was the loss of his *concordance;* I mean, of his godly and worthy *consort*, who by her incomparable expertness in the Scriptures had rendred any other concordance of the Bible useless unto his library. This vertuous woman lost her sight for some years before she died; under which disaster a most exemplary patience was produced in her, by her *view* of "the things which are not seen and are eternal:" and at length, after many admonitions unto her friends to improve their sight well whilst they had it, she had on February 14, 1671, her *eyes opened*, by their being

closed; and was by death carried from *faith* unto immediate and everlasting *sight:* after which *he* married again.

§ 6. Twenty years did he *shine* in the "golden candlestick" of Chelmsford; a plain, but an able, painful, and useful preacher of the gospel; rarely, if ever, by sickness hindred from the exercise of his ministry. As Marcilius Ficinus having written one book, "*De Sanitate Tuenda,*"* and another book, "*De Valetudine Restituenda,*"† concluded his course with writing his book, "*De Vita Cœlitus Comparande:*"‡ thus our Mr. Fisk, now superseded his care and skill of dispensing medicines for the *body,* by doing it for the *soul.* But although he did in his ministry go through an exposition of almost all the Scripture in both Testaments, and unto his Lord's day sermons added a monthly lecture on the week-day, besides his discourses at the private meetings of the faithful, and his exact and faithful cares to keep up church-discipline, yet none of his labours were more considerable than his *catechetical.* It is by the excellent Owen excellently well observed, "That unless a man has some good satisfaction concerning the spiritual condition of those that are committed unto his charge, he can never approve himself among them *a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth:* and the work of the ministry is not by any means more evacuated, and rendered ineffectual, than when men have not a certain design to deal with their hearers according to what they are perswaded that their spiritual estate doth require." Our Fisk therefore did, by most laborious catechising, endeavour to know the state of his flock, and make it good: and hence, although he did himself compose and publish a most useful catechism, which he entituled, "*The Olive Plant Watered,*" yet he chose the Assembly's Catechism for his publick expositions, wherewith he twice went over it, in discourses before his afternoon-sermons on the Sabbath.

§ 7. Towards the *end* of his life, he *began* to labour especially under two maladies, either of which were enough to try the most consummate patience of any man living; these were, first, the *stone,* and then the *gout;* which at last were followed with convulsions, that brought his laborious life unto an end; and gave him the experience of Streitbergerus' motto *Qui non est Crucianus non est Christianus.*§ Yea, for a complication of maladies, his condition became not unlike the blessed Calvin's, of whom the historian relates, "That he was troubled with as many infirmities as in different subjects might have supplied an hospital."

On the second Lord's day of his confinement by illness, after he had been many Lord's days carried unto the church in a chair, and preached, as in the primitive times they still treated, sitting, he was taken with convulsions, which renewed so fast upon him, that within a few days he did, on January 14, 1676, see a "rest from his labours:" having first after this

* On the preservation of health.
† On the receiving of health.
‡ On the attainment of life eternal.
§ He who is not crucified, is no Christian.

manner blessed his four children, two sons and two daughters, who were by his bed-side waiting for his blessing: "You are as a shock of corn bound up, or as twins made beautiful by the covenant of grace. You have an interest in the sure mercies of David; those you have to live upon. Study to emulate one another; but in the best, in the best. Provoke one another to love. The God of your forefathers bless you all." And added unto his younger son, the present worthy pastor of Braintree. concerning his wife and his two children, then absent, "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, bless you, and your posterity after you."

We will now leave him, uttering the words of Weinrichius, in his

EPITAPH.

Vixi, et quem dederas cursum mihi, Christe, *peregi:*
*Pertæsus Vitæ, suaviter opto mori.**

CHAPTER XXV.

SCHOLASTICUS:† THE LIFE OF MR. THOMAS PARKER.

§ 1. It may without any ungrateful comparisons be asserted, that one of the greatest scholars in the English nation was that renowned Robert Parker who was driven out of the nation for his non-conformity to its unhappy ceremonies in the worship of God. It was the honour of that great man to be the *father* of such learned books as that of his "*De Politia Ecclesiastica*,"‡ and that "*Of the Cross*;" as well as *foster father* to that of Sandford's "*De Descensu Christi ad Inferos*;"§ yea, to be in some sort the *father* of all the *non-conformists* in our age, who yet would not call any man their *father*. But let it not be counted any *dishonour* unto him that he was also the natural *father* of our Thomas Parker.

§ 2. This Mr. Thomas Parker was the only son of his *father*, who being very desirous to have him a scholar, committed him unto perhaps a godly, but a very severe master. Under this hard master, though he was well nigh discouraged by the dulness which he apprehended in his own capacity, yet the consideration of his father's desire made him, with an early piety, to join his prayers unto his pains, that he might have his education prospered; and God so prospered him, that he arrived unto a desirable degree of knowledge, both in the *tongues* and in the *arts*.

§ 3. He had been admitted into Magdalen Colledge in Oxford; but after the exile of his father, he removed unto Dublin in Ireland, where he found from Dr. Usher the same favourable aspect which that eminent person did use to cast upon young students that were ingenious: and

* Saviour! the work thou gavest me is done:
I sigh for rest: oh! take me to thine own.

† The School-man.

‡ On Ecclesiastical Polity.

§ On the Descent of Christ into Hell.

from thence he went after his father into Holland, where Dr. Ames favoured him with his encouragements and assistances in the prosecution of his honest studies now at Leyden.

§ 4. As his diligence was indefatigable, so his proficiency was proportionable: and he was particularly considerable there for his disputations upon the points then most considerably controverted. It was at the age of twenty-two that he drew up his most judicious and approved theses, "*De Traductione Peccatoris:*"* which were bound up with Dr. Ames, his "*Opuscula,*"† in some editions of his answer to Grevinchovius. Those most accurate Theses being thus published as the composure of another, our humble Parker, though instigated thereunto, did yet refuse to do himself the justice of publishing himself some other way to be the author of them. This neglect of his, he said, was to chastise the "vanity of his own young mind, which had been too much pleased with the accuracy of his own early performance in those *theses.*" But the author of the theses afterwards came to be well known, by the providence of God, when whole books came to be written by learned men upon them; whereof one was entituled, "*Parkerus Illustratus.*"‡

But before this age of twenty-two, he proceeded master, with the general applause of all, and the special esteem of Maccovius, a man renowned in the Belgick universities. In the diploma then given him, they testifie, *Illum non sine magnâ Admiratione audiverimus,*—and *Se Philosophiæ Artiumque liberalium peritissimum declaraverit.*§

§ 5. Maccovius would hereupon have had Sibrandus Lubbertus, the moderater of the Classis there, to have ordained our Parker a Presbyter, as an acknowledgment of his exceeding worth; but though Lubbertus could not but acknowledge it, yet, out of a secret grudge, he would not allow of the ordination. Whereupon Maccovius rode unto the states at Leodin, with complaints of Lubbertus for so ill a thing as letting such a person as this Parker go away under any cloud of disrespect; and the states thereupon wrote unto Lubbertus to admit him: but the haste of his return into England prevented it.

§ 6. Residing at Newberry in England, he applied himself with an invincible industry unto the study of "school divinity:" in which profound and knotty study he found such "ensnaring temptations," that he afterwards laid it all aside, for the "knowledge of Jesus Christ crucified." The wise Bullinger would with too much reason say, *Unus Seneca plus sinceriora Theologiæ posteritati reliquit, quam omnes fer omnium Scholasticorum Libri.*‖ The great Chamier would with a like reason say, *Solere se Scholasticos consulere, non aliter quàm si quis aliquando palatium invisens, post Aularum, cubiculorum et cœnaculorum magnificentiam etiam Latrinas non*

* On the Conversion of the Sinner. † His smaller works. ‡ Parker Illustrated. [arts.
§ We have listened to him with no little admiration, and he has proved himself most proficient in the liberal
‖ One Seneca has left more pure theologic maxims to posterity than can be found in the great mass of all the writings of the scholastics.

*dedignetur inspicere, sed paucis, ob fœtorem.** The learned Whitaker would say of the school-men, *Plus habent Argutiarum quam Scientiæ, plus Scientiæ quam Doctrinæ, plus Doctrinæ quam usus, plus usus quam sapientiæ ad salutem.*† Our Parker conversed indeed with the school-men, until he almost became one of them himself: but not such an one as Luther meant, when he said, *Qui Theologum Scholasticum videt, videt Septem peccata mortalia:*‡ for he grew sick of all the learning that he had got from the school-men; and would often say, "All the use I now make of all my school-learning is this: I have so much to deny for the sake of my Lord Jesus Christ." Nor was he insensible of what Sir Walter Rawleigh observed concerning the school-men, that they taught their followers rather to *shift*, than to *resolve* by their *distinctions.*

§ 7. From thence removing with several devout Christians out of Wiltshire into New-England, he was ordained their pastor at a town (on his and their account) called Newberry; where he lived many years, by the holiness, the humbleness, the charity of his life, giving his people a perpetual and most lively commentary upon his doctrine.

§ 8. The strains which his immoderate studies gave unto his organs of sight, brought a miserable defluxion of rheum upon his eyes; which proceeded so far, that one of them swelled until it came out of his head, and the other grew altogether dim some years before his death. Under this extreme loss he would, after a Christian and pleasant manner, give himself that consolation: "Well, they'll be restored shortly, at the resurrection."

The Jews, upon the dim sight of Eli, have an observation, that none are mentioned in the Scripture, as afflicted with failure of sight, but such as were afflicted either in their *children* or in their *pupils.* Our Parker had no children to afflict him, and his pupils were such as to comfort him; yet failure of sight was his calamity.

§ 9. In the latter part of his life, he bent himself unto the study of the Scripture-prophecies; being, as has been said of Dr. Usher, instigated thereunto. It was with an assiduous conjunction of meditations and supplications that he followed this delightful study till he had written several volumes, a great part of them in Latin; whereof no part was ever published but one upon Daniel, which he wrote in English. If some of his expositions upon those difficult parts of the Scripture, have been since confuted by some great authors, who disliked them, we may, on more accounts than one, consider him as the Homer of New-England; and add,

Aliquando Bonus Dormitat Homerus.§

* He generally consulted the scholastic writers, after the manner of a person who, visiting a palace, should not disdain, after having surveyed the magnificence of saloon, chamber, and dining-hall, to inspect the meanest apartments of the scullion: in other words, sparingly, on account of their offensiveness.

† They have more wit than knowledge, more knowledge than learning, more learning than experience, more experience than wisdom unto salvation.

‡ To see a theological school-man, is to see the seven deadly sins.

§ Sometimes the matchless Homer seems to nod.—HORACE, *Ars Poet.* 359.

§ 10. He went unto the immortals, in the month of April, 1677, about the eighty second year of his age; and after he had lived all his days a *single man*, but a great part of his days engaged in *apocalyptical studies*, he went unto the apocalyptical virgins, who "follow the Lamb whithersoever he goes."

He was a person of a most extensive *charity*, which grain of his temper might contribute to that largeness in his principles about church-government, which exposed him unto many temptations amongst his neighbours, who were not so principled. He would, indeed, express himself dissatisfied at the edge which there was in the writings of his father against the Bishops; and he did himself write a preface unto a book, whereupon Mr. Charles Chancey bestowed a *short answer*, which begins with this *shorter censure:*

"Let it not be an offence to any Christian that there hath been found one like to Urijah the priest, that would set up the altar of Damascus among us, to thrust out the brazen altar of the Lord's institution; viz: Mr. Thomas Parker, who has published a book, pleading for Episcopacy; wherein is found, Πῶλος λαλιζων, a *colt* kicking against his *dam*."

Such a difference in apprehension, and in affection too, did on that occasion discover it self between those good men, who are now joyfully met, *Ubi Luthi Luthero cum Zuinglio, optime jam Convenit.**

Yet the alienation between them was not so great as that between Theoclus and Pollinis, who, being burnt in one funeral fire, after they had killed one another, the very flame of that fire divided it self; the flame of their funeral fire would not be united. Chancey and Parker are united in our church-history; the funeral respects which are here paid unto both of them, agree very well together. Now,

That which the learned, pious, and sweet-spirited Bucholtzer provided for himself, we will now assign unto this our sweet-spirited Parker (who spent his life much in chronological studies, like that great Bucholtzer,) for an

EPITAPH.

Hic, Pie Christie! Tuo recubat quæsita cruore,
Inque; Tuo Gremio, Parvula dormit Ovis.
Reddidit hæc Animam balanti Voce Fidelem:
Huic Pastor dices, Intret Ovile meum.†

AN APPENDIX.

CONTAINING MEMOIRS OF MR. JAMES NOYES.

WHEN we had thus finished our Memoirs of Mr. Parker, our second thoughts told us, that *some* of Mr. Noyes must accompany them. Sending therefore to my excellent friend, Mr. Nicholas Noyes, the present

* Where now for Luther to commune in Zingle is the joy of both.

† JESUS! thy lamb, blood-purchased, on thy breast
Is sweetly sleeping—in confiding rest;
Soon, soon to hear, in heavenly accents told,
A peaceful welcome to the Shepherd's fold.

minister of Salem, for some account concerning a person so nearly related unto him, he favoured me with the following relation. And though he were pleased in his letters to tell me, "that he had sent me only a rude immethodical jumble of things, intending that I should serve my occasions out of them, for a composition of my own," yet I find that I shall not give my readers a better satisfaction, any way, than by transcribing the words of my friend. The account, in his own words, is too elegant and expressive to need any alteration:

"Mr. James Noyes was born, 1608, at Choulderton in Wiltshire, of godly and worthy parents. His father was minister of the same town, a very learned man, the school-master of Mr. Thomas Parker. His mother was sister to the learned Mr. Robert Parker, and he had much of his education and tutorage under Mr. Thomas Parker. He was called by him from Brazen-Nose-College in Oxford, to help him in teaching the free school at Newberry; where they taught school together till the time they came to New-England. He was converted in his youth by the ministry of Dr. Twiss and Mr. Thomas Parker, and was admired for his piety and his vertue in his younger years. The reason of his coming to New-England was, because he could not comply with the ceremonies of the Church of England. He was married in England to Mrs. Sarah Brown, the eldest daughter of Mr. Joseph Brown, of Southampton, not long before he came to New-England, which was in the year 1634. In the same ship came Mr. Thomas Parker, Mr. James Noyes, and a younger brother of his, Mr. Nicholas Noyes, who then was a single man; between which three was more than ordinary endearment of affection, which was never shaken or broken but by death. Mr. Parker and Mr. James Noyes, and others that came over with them, fasted and prayed together many times before they undertook this voyage; and on the sea Mr. Parker and Mr. Noyes preached or expounded, one in the forenoon, the other in the afternoon, every day during the voyage, unless some extraordinary thing intervened, and were abundant in prayer.

"When they arrived, Mr. Parker was at first called to preach at Ipswich, and Mr. Noyes at Mistick, at which places they continued nigh a year. He had a motion made unto him to be minister at Watertown; but Mr. Parker and others of his brethren and acquaintance, settling at Newberry, and gathering the *tenth* of the churches in the colony, and calling Mr. Noyes to be the teacher of it, he preferred that place; being lothe to be separated from Mr. Parker, and brethren that had so often fasted and prayed together, both in England and on the Atlantic sea. So he became the teacher of that church, and continued painful and successful in that station something above twenty years, without any considerable trouble in the church. Notwithstanding his principles, as to *discipline*, were something differing from many of the brethren, there was such condescension on both parts, that peace and order was not interrupted. He was very much loved and honoured in Newberry; his memory is precious there to this day, and his catechism (which is a publick and standing testimony of his understanding and orthodoxy in the principles of religion) is publickly and privately used in that church and town hitherto. He was very well learned in the *tongues*, and in Greek excelled most. He was much read in the fathers and the schoolmen. And he was much esteemed by his brethren in the ministry. Twice he was called by Mr. Wilson and others to preach in the time when the Antinomian principles were in danger of prevailing, which he did with good success and to the satisfaction of those that invited him. Mr. Wilson dearly loved him; and it so happened once at Newberry that he preached in the forenoon about holiness so *holily* and *ably*, that Mr. Wilson was so affected with it as to change his own text, and pitch upon Mr. Noyes' for the afternoon; prefacing his discourse with telling the auditory that his brother Noyes' discourse about holiness in the forenoon had so much impression upon his mind, he knew not how in the afternoon to pursue any other argument. His conversation was so unquestionably godly, that they who differed from him in smaller

matters, as to discipline, held a most amicable correspondence with him, and had an high estimation of him. Although he was very averse to the ceremonies of the Church of England, accounting them needless, many ways offensive and hurtful at the best, and the rigorous imposition of them abominable and intolerable, so that he left England for their sake; yet he was not equally averse to Episcopacy, but was in opinion for *Episcopus Præses*,* though not for *Episcopus Princeps*.† His own words testify this, for so he wrote: 'It seemeth he that was called *Antistes Præpositus*,‡ the Bishop, in a Presbytery, by process of time was only called Bishop, though all elders are also according to their office essentially Bishops, and differing only in gradual jurisdiction.' He no ways approved of a governing vote, in the fraternity, but took their consent in a silential way. He held Ecclesiastical councils so far authoritative and binding, that no particular elder or society might seem to have independency and sovereignity, or the *major part* of them have liberty to sin with impunity. He was equally afraid of ceremonies and of schism; and when he fled from *ceremonies* he was afraid of being guilty of *schism*. For that reason he was jealous (if not too jealous) of particular church-covenants; yet he accounted them adjuncts of the covenant of grace. He held profession of faith, and repentance, and subjection to the ordinances, to be the *rule* of admission into church-fellowship; and that such as show a willingness to repent, and be baptised in the name of the Lord Jesus, without known dissimulation, are to be admitted thereto: and that it depended more on God's providence, than his ordinances, to render church members sound in faith; and that God took into covenant some that were vessels of wrath, as for other ends, so to facilitate the conversion of their elect children. He was as religious at home as abroad, in his family and in secret, as he was publickly; and they that best knew him, most loved and esteemed him. Mr. Parker and he kept a private fast once a month so long as they lived together, and Mr. Parker after his own death, till his own departure. Mr. Noyes bitterly lamented the death of K. Charles I., and both he and Mr. Parker too had too great expectations of K. Charles II.; but Mr. Parker lived to see his expectations of Charles the Second frustrated. He had a long and tedious sickness, which he bore patiently and chearfully; and he died joyfully in the forty-eighth year of his age, October 22, 1656. He left six sons and two daughters, all of which lived to be married, and have children, though since one son and one daughter be dead. He hath now living fifty-six children, grand-children, and great-grand-children. And his brother that came over with him a single man, is through the mercy of God yet living; and hath of children, grand-children, and great-grand-children, above an hundred: which is an instance of divine favour, in making the 'families of his servants in the wilderness like a flock.' There was the greatest amity, intimacy, unanimity, yea, unity imaginable between Mr. Parker and Mr. Noyes. So unshaken was their friendship, nothing but death was able to part them. They taught in one school; came over in one ship; were pastor and teacher of one church; and Mr. Parker continuing always in celibacy, they lived in one house, till death separated them for a time; but they are both now together in one heaven, as they that best knew them have all possible reason to be perswaded. Mr. Parker continued in his house as long as he lived; and as he received a great deal of kindness and respect there, so he showed a great deal of kindness in the educating of his children, and was very liberal to that family during his life and at his death. He never forgot the old friendship, but shewed kindness to the *dead* in shewing kindness to the *living*.

"Mr. Parker and Mr. Noyes were excellent singers, both of them; and were extraordinary delighted in singing of psalms. They sang four times a day in the publick worship, and always just after evening-prayer in the family, where reading the Scripture, expounding, and praying, were the other constant exercises. Mr. Parker and Mr. Noyes were of the same opinion with Dr. Owen about the Sabbath; yet in practice, were strict observers of the evening after it. Mr. Parker, whose practice I myself remember, was the strictest observer of the Sabbath that ever I knew. I once asked him, seeing his opinion was otherwise, as to

* A presiding bishop. † A lord bishop. ‡ The Presiding Priest.

the evening belonging to the Sabbath, why his *practice* differed from his *opinion*? He answered me, 'Because he dare not depart from the footsteps of the flock, for his private opinion.'

"Being got into some passages of Mr. Parker's life before I am aware, I will insert a few more; and you may make what use of them you please. He kept a school, as well as preached, at Newbury in New-England. He ordinarily had about twelve or fourteen scholars. He took no pay for his pains, unless any present were freely sent him. He used to say, 'He lived for the churches' sake,' and begrutched no pains that were for its benefit; and by his good will he was not free to teach any but such as were designed for the ministry by their parents; for he would say, 'He could not bestow his time and pains unless it were for the benefit of the church.' Though he were blind, yet such was his memory, that he could in his old age teach Latin, Greek and Hebrew, very artificially. He seldom corrected a scholar, unless for *lying* and *fighting*, which were unpardonable crimes in our school. He promoted learning in his scholars by something an unusual way; encouraging them to learn lessons and make verses, besides and above their stinted tasks, for which they had *pardons* in store, that were kept on record in the school, and were for lesser school-faults, such as were not immoralities and sins against God, crossed out; but he always told them they must not think to escape unpunished for sin against God by reason of them; though for some lesser defects about their lessons, they were accepted. I heard him tell Mr. Millar, the minister, that the great changes of his life had been signified to him before-hand by *dreams*. And I heard him say, that before a fiery temptation of the devil befel him, he had a very terrible representation in a dream of the devil assaulting of him, and he wrestled with him, and had more than once like to have prevailed against him; but that when he was most likely and most near to be overcome, he was afresh animated and strengthened to resist him; till at length the devil seemed to break abroad like a flash of lightning, and then disappeared; and that not long after, the most dismal temptation of Satan befel him that ever he was sensible of, and that all the passages of that temptation answered the forementioned representation; and that the hazards of it, and his fresh supplies when almost vanquished, and his deliverance was so remarkable, that every day he had lived since that time, he had given thanks to God particularly for his assistance of him in that temptation, and his deliverance out of it: though it were twenty years before the time of his now telling me concerning it. Mr. Parker excelled in liberty of speech, in praying, preaching, and singing, having a most delicate sweet voice; yet he had all along an *impulse* upon his spirit, that he should have the *palsey* in his *tongue* before he died. His voice held extraordinarily until very old age; and I think the more, because his *teeth* held sound and good until then; his custom being to wash his mouth and rub his teeth every morning. Some few years before his death, he began to complain of the tooth-ache, and then he quickly began to lose his teeth; and now he said, 'The daughters of his musick began to fail him.' And about a year and half before he died, *that* which he had long feared befel him, viz: the palsey in his tongue; and so he became speechless, and thus continued until death; having this only help left him, that he could pronounce letters, but not syllables or words. He signified his mind, by *spelling* his words, which was indeed a tedious way, but yet a mercy so far to him and others. During that time, which was in our first Indian war, when the Indians broke in upon many towns, and committed horrible outrages, and tormented such as they took captives, one night he fell into a dreadful tentation, lest the Indians should break in upon Newbury, and the inhabitants might generally escape by fighting or flying, but he being old and blind, and grown decrepit, he must of necessity fall into their hands; and that being a minister, they would urge him by torture to blaspheme Christ, and that he should not have grace to hold out against the tentation of Indian torture; and with the very fear of this, he was for the most part of the night in such agonies of soul, that he was on the very brink of desparation; but at length, God helpt him, by bringing to his mind two places of Scripture: that in Isa. li. 12, 13: 'I, even I, am he that comforts thee; who art thou, that thou shouldest be afraid of a man that shall die, and for-

gettest the Lord thy Maker!' And that in Rom. viii. 35, 36: 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?—For thy sake we are killed all the day long;—Nay, in all these things, we are more than conquerors through him that hath loved us.' Sleep departed from him that night, by reason of the horrour of that tentation; and the joy that came towards morning he was wonderfully affected with; and in the morning early, he pronounced all this to me letter by letter, and glorified God. Once hearing some of us laughing very freely, while, I suppose, he was better busied in his chamber above us, he came down, and gravely said to us, 'Cousins, I wonder you can be so merry, unless you are sure of your salvation!' He was a very holy and heavenly-minded man, and as much mortified to the world as almost any in it. He scarce called any thing his *own* but his *books* and his *cloaths*. When he was urged, to vindicate himself to be the author of the '*Theses de Traductione Peccatoris ad Vitam*,'* he utterly refused it; saying, being young at the time when he made them, he was afraid he had not so fully aimed at the glory of God as he ought to have done. But a while after, one unbeknown to him in Holland, reprinted them, with the name of the author, and set him forth with more advantage than would have been modest or proper for himself to have done; giving him his parental as well as personal honour; and saying that his father was *Pater dignus tali Filio*;† and that he was *Filius dignus tali Patre*.‡ Thus 'he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.'

"Mr. Wilson once, on occasion of his cælibacy, said to him, That if there could be anger in heaven, his father would chide him when he came there, because he had not, like him, a son to follow him. But he had many spiritual children, that were the seals of his ministry: he was also a father to the fatherless; and many scholars were little less beholden to him for their education, than they were to their parents for their generation.

"The occasion of his cælibacy was this: at the time that he meditated marriage, he was assaulted with violent temptations to infidelity, which made him regardless of every thing, in comparison of confirming his faith about the truth of the Scriptures. This occasioned his falling into the study of the prophecies, which proved a means of confirming his faith; but he fell so in love with that study, that he never got out of it until his death: and the church had doubtless had much benefit by his profound studies in that kind, could the bishops have been perswaded to license his books; which they refused, because he found the Pope to be prophesied of, where they could not understand it. His whole life, besides what was necessary for the support of it, by food and sleep, was prayer, study, preaching, and teaching school. I once heard him say, he felt the whole frame of his nature giving way, which threatened his dissolution to be at hand: but 'he thanked God, he was not amazed at it.'

"To conclude all I intend concerning Mr. Parker or Mr. Noyes, I shall give you Mr. Parker's character of Mr. Noyes, who best knew him, and whose testimony of him is very credible:

"'Mr. James Noyes, my worthy collegue in the ministry of the gospel, was a man of singular qualifications, in piety excelling, an implacable enemy to all heresie and schism, and a most able warriour against the same. He was of a reaching and ready apprehension, a large invention, a most profound judgment, a rare, and tenacious, and comprehensive memory, fixed and unmovable in his grounded conceptions; sure in words and speech, without rashness; gentle and mild in all expressions, without all passion or provoking language. And as he was a notable disputant, so he never would provoke his adversary, saving by the short knocks and heavy weight of argument. He was of so loving, and compassionate, and humble carriage, that I believe never any were acquainted with him, but did desire the continuance of his society and acquaintance. He was resolute for truth, and in defence thereof had no respect to any persons. He was a most excellent counsellor in doubts, and could strike at an hair's-breadth, like the Benjamites, and expedite the entangled out of the briars.

* Propositions concerning the conversion of the sinner unto life.

† A father worthy of such a son.

‡ A son worthy of such a father.

He was courageous in dangers, and still was apt to believe the best, and made fair weather in a storm. He was much honoured and esteemed in the country, and his death was much bewailed. I think he may be reckoned among the greatest worthies of this age.'"

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE LIFE OF MR. THOMAS THACHER.

*Virtutem Virtus pariat; De lumine Lumen prodeat.**

§ 1. ATHANASIUS, writing the life of his Antonius, describes him as propounding to his own observation and imitation the various excellencies of the good men whom he conversed withal: the το χαριεν, or *good carriage* of one; the το προς τας ευχας συντονον, or *prayerfulness*, of another; the το ἀοργητον, or *lenity*, of a third; the το φιλανθρωπον, or *humanity* of a fourth; attending to one τῶ ἀγρυπνῦντι, or keeping of his *watchfulness;* to another τῶ φιλολογῦντι, or loving of *learning;* remarking of one, τον ἐν καρτερια, in his *patience;* of another, τον ἐν νηστειαις και χαμευνιαις, in his *fastings* and *hardships:* regarding the την πραοτητα, or *mansuetude*, of one; the την μακροθυμιαν, or *longanimity* of another: but, παντων ὁμῦ την εἰς τον χριστον ευσεβειαν και την προς ἀλληλους ἀγαπην, the *piety* of them all toward the Lord Jesus Christ, and the *charity* of them all towards one another.

Such *excellencies* of good men have been set before my reader, in the Lives that we have written of several such good men, who were the "excellent on the earth." But if my reader would see a *many* of those excellencies meeting together in one man, there are not many in whom I could more hopefully promise him such a sight, than in our excellent Mr. Thomas Thacher, who is now, therefore, to be considered.

§ 2. Mr. Thomas Thacher was born May 1, 1620, the son of Mr. Peter Thacher, a reverend minister at Salisbury, in England: one whom, in a letter of Dr. Twiss to Mr. Mede, at the end of his works, we find joined with famous Mr. White of Dorchester, in a conversation, wherein the learned exercises of that great man made a grateful entertainment. And because it may be some satisfaction unto good men to see instances multiplied, for the confirmation of a matter mentioned by Mr. Baxter, in his proof of infant baptism, where he says:

"As large experience as I have had in my ministry, of the state of souls, and the *way* of conversion, I dare say, I have met not with *one* of *very many*, that would say, that they knew the *time when* they were converted: and of those that would say so, by reason that they then found some more *remarkable change*, yet they discovered such stirrings and workings before, that many, I had cause to think, were themselves mistaken. I was once in a meeting of very many Christians, the most eminent for zeal and holiness of most in the land, of whom divers were ministers, and some at this day as famous and as much followed as any I know in Eng-

* Let virtue beget virtue: let light bring forth light.

land; and it was there desired, that every one should give in the *manner* of their conversion, that it might be observed what was God's ordinary way; and there was but ONE, that I remember, of them all, that could conjecture at the time of their first conversion."

It shall here be noted, that this was the experience of our Thacher. The regenerating and verticordius grace of Heaven took advantage from his religious education, insensibly, as it were, to steal into the heart of this young disciple.

He afterwards affirmed that he was never able to determine the *time* when the spirit of God first began to convince him and renew him; only he could say, with the reverend blind man, "I was blind, but now I see." When Thacher was *a child*, the Lord loved him, and this child also loved the Lord: he was an Abijah that, "while he was a child," had many "good things in him towards the Lord God of his father;" he was a Timothy that, while he was a child, knew the holy Scriptures: he was a Samuel that, in his childhood, was visited by the Holy Spirit: he was a Josiah, that while he was yet young, "sought after the Lord: and so much remarked was his *early piety*, that while he was in his earliest minority, they would say of him, "There goes a Puritan." It might indeed be said of him, as they report of St. Nicholas, that he led a life, *Sanctissimè, ab ipsis Incunabulis Inchoatam.** And it might be said by him, as it was by the blessed ancient in his confessions, *Domine, puer cœpi rogare te Auxilium et Refugium meum, et rogavi parvus, non parvo affectu.*†

§ 3. Having been well educated at the grammar school, he had the offer of his father to perfect his education at the university, either of Cambridge or Oxford. But considering the impositions of things, to him appearing *unwarrantable*, whereto he then must have exposed himself, he conscientiously declined his father's offer, and chose rather to venture over the Atlantic ocean, and content himself with the meannesses of America, than to wound his own conscience for the academical priviledges of England.

When his parents discerned his inclination, they permitted his removal to New-England: intending themselves, within a year or two, with their family, to have removed thither after him: which intention was prevented by the death of his mother, before it could be effected.

He arrived at Boston, June 4, 1635. In which year he was wonderfully preserved from a shipwreck, with his uncle, wherein a worthy minister, one Mr. Avery, lost his life, as elsewhere we have related. A day or two before that fatal voyage from Newberry to Marblehead, our young Thacher had such a strong and sad impression upon his mind about the issue of the voyage, that he with another would needs go the journey by land, and so he escaped perishing with some of his pious and precious friends by sea.

§ 4. 'Tis well known that in the *early* days of Christianity, there were no colledges (except we will say the Catechetick Lecture at Alexandria

* Most holily begun at the very cradle.

† Lord! in boyhood I began to implore thine aid and protection: I prayed as a little child, but not with little [feeling.

was one) for the breeding of young ministers; but the bishop of every church took the care to educate and elevate some young men, who might be prepared thereby to succeed in their place when they should be dead and gone. And in the early days of New-England, they were for a little while obliged unto such a method of providing young men for the service of the churches. Thus our Thacher, by the good providence of God, was now cast into the family and under the tuition of that reverend man, Mr. Charles Chancey; who was afterwards the President of Harvard-Colledge, in our Cambridge. Under the conduct of that eminent scholar, he became such an one himself; and his indefatigable studies were so prospered, that he became *Aliquis in Omnibus*,* without the blemish usually, but sometimes *unjustly* annexed unto it, *Nullus in Singulis*.† He was not unskilled in the *tongues*, especially in the Hebrew, whereof he did compose a Lexicon; but so comprized it, that within *one sheet* of paper, he had every considerable word of the language. And he was as well skilled in the *arts*, especially in *logic*, whereof he gave demonstration, in his being a most *irrefragable* disputant on some great occasions.

Moreover, it was his custom, once in three or four years time, at *successive hours*, to go over the *tongues* and *arts* at such a rate, that his good skill in them continued fresh unto the last. And to all his other accomplishments, there was this added, that he was a most incomparable *scribe;* he not only wrote all the sorts of hands in the best copy-books then extant, with a singular exactness and acuteness, but there are yet extant monuments of Syriac, and other oriental characters of his writing, which are hardly to be imitated. He had likewise a certain *mechanic genius*, which disposed him in his recreations unto a thousand *curiosities*, especially the ingenuity of *clock-work*, wherein at his leisure he did things to admiration.

§ 5. On May 11, 1643, he was married unto the daughter of that venerable man Mr. Ralph Partridge, the minister of Duxbury. The consort whom the favour of Heaven thus bestowed upon him, was a person of a most amiable temper; one pious, and prudent, and every way worthy of the man to whom she became a *glory*. By her he received three sons and one daughter; and when she had continued three sevens of years with him, she went after a very triumphant manner to be for ever with the Lord, June 2, 1664, uttering those for her dying words, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly: why are thy chariot-wheels so long a coming?"

§ 6. Having, as a *candidate* of the ministry, by his most commendable *preaching* and *living*, abundantly recommended himself unto the service of the churches, he was invited by the church of Weymouth to take the pastoral charge of them; whereto he was ordained, January 2, 1644. And here he did for many years fulfil his ministry, not only with elaborate and affectionate sermons twice every Lord's day, and in a lecture once a fortnight; but also in catechising the *lambs* of his flock, for which he like-

* Knowing a little of every thing. † Good in nothing.

wise made a Catechism. These also he would at fit seasons call to an account concerning their proficiency under the means of grace: and such as he found ripe for an admission unto the highest mysteries, at the table of the Lord, he would encourage to put themselves upon the publick and usual probation, in order thereunto, but such as he found *short*, he would suitably, faithfully, and fervently advise unto the preparations, wherein they appeared hitherto defective. And God crowned these methods and labours of his holy servant with observable successes; which were seen in the great growth of the church whereof he had the oversight. But one excellency that shined above the other glories of his ministry was, that *excellent spirit of prayer* which continually breathed in him. It has been used among the arguments for men to be much in prayer, that the *dignity* of the person praying is thereby much augmented; and Chrysostom, in his book, "*De Deo Orando*,"* says: "The very angels cannot but honour him whom they see familiarly and frequently to be admitted unto the audience, and, as it were, discourse with the Divine Majesty." Now, though *this honour have all the saints*, yet our Thacher had more than ordinary share of this honour; he was a person much in prayer, and as he was much in prayer, so he had an eminency above most men living, for his *copious*, his *fluent*, his *fervent* manner of performing that sacred exercise.

It was an heaven upon earth to be present at the notable salleys of a raised soul, a lively faith, and a tongue, toucht with a "coal from the altar," with which, in his prayers, he did *Cœlum tundere et Misericordiam extorquere*.†

§ 7. After the death of his first wife, he married a second in Boston, which, with a concurrence of many obliging circumstances, occasioned his removal thither. And it was afterwards found that "He who holds the stars in his right hand," had a purpose of service to be done for his name in that populous town, by the *talents* of this his "good and faithful servant." For in the month of May, 1669, a *third* church *swarming* out from the *first* in Boston, which afterwards made one of the most considerable congregations in the colony, this worthy person was chosen the pastor of that church: and installed in the pastoral charge thereof, February 16, 1669, wherein he continued until he died. From this time, I behold him in the metropolis of the English America, not only dispensing both *light* and *warmth* unto his own particular flock, but also, as he had opportunity, expressing a "care of all the churches." And for the comfort of those worthy ministers who commonly have their spirits *buffeted* with strong *temptations* and sore *dejections*, before their performing any special service of their ministry, I'll mention one passage that may a little describe how this worthy man became so useful: he would say to his son, "Son, I never preach a sermon till I cannot preach at all!"

§ 8. As he was in his whole behaviour a serious, holy, and useful man, so in his government of his family, he so well "ruled his own house," as to

* On Prayer to God.

† To storm Heaven and wrest from it its mercy.

give particular demonstrations of his abilities to "take care of the Church of God." His domesticks both *loved* him and *feared* him; and he was most conscientiously and exemplarily careful about their *interiour* as well as *temporal* welfare. This appeared especially in the management of his *family worship;* wherein he usually read a portion of the Scriptures, both morning and evening, and he would raise *doctrines* from every verse with brief *confirmations*, and close *applications* thereof as he went along. Yea, sometimes one might hear from him thus, in *one family exposition*, as entertaining a variety of truth, notably and pungently expressed, as in *several publick sermons:* and he has told his worthy son, for his encouragement unto such exercises, that he had found as much advantage by *them*, as by most of his other studies of divinity; adding, that he looked upon it as the Lord's gracious accomplishment of that word, "Shall I hide any thing from Abraham? I know Abraham, that he will teach his house."

§ 9. He was one very *watchful* over the souls of his people, and *careful* to preserve them from *errors* as well as *vices:* but of all errors, he discovered an antipathy unto none more than that *sink* of all errors, QUAKERISM. It was in his time, namely, about the year 1652, that there appeared a *new sect* of people in the world, which, from the odd motions of their bodies, that attended especially their first *perversion*, were called QUAKERS; and it was not long after their first appearance, that New-England began to be troubled with them. Their *spirit of the hat*, and their fopperies of *thou* and *thee*, in their language to a single person, were the least of those things which gave our Thacher a dissatisfaction at them; that which caused him to employ a most fervent zeal against those hereticks, was the horrible *end* of their heresies, to lead men into a pit of *darkness*, under a pretence of *the light*, and *annihilate* all the *sensible* objects of our holy religion, under a pretence of advancing the *spiritual;* so that we must have no Bible, no Jesus, no Baptism, no Eucharist, no ordinances, but what shall be evaporated into *dispensations*, *allegories*, and meer *mystical notions:* when he saw that quite contrary to the tendency and character of every *truth*, which is to *abuse the creature*, the main design of Quakerism is to exalt *man*, and find that in *man* himself, which may be instead of *Saviour*, *Scripture*, *Heaven*, *righteousness* and all *institutions* unto him, he could not but adore the justice and vengeance of God, in permitting such a *spiritual plague* to be inflicted on places where the gospel had been more eminently sinned against; but he set himself with the more of a pastoral diligence to defend his own flock from the contagion: and hence, when he heard of any *books* left by the Quakers in any houses of his neighbourhood, he would presently repair to the houses, and obtain those venomous pamphlets from them: for which, that the *wolves* barked more at him than at many other men, and would sometimes come with their *faces* hideously *blacked*, and their *garments* fearfully *torn*, into his congregation, whereby the neighbours were frighted unto the danger of their lives, is not at all to be wondred at. In

this his pastoral care, he met with some experiments that were extraordinary; whereof one shall here be related. It has here sometimes been remarked, that a very sensible *possession* of the devil has attended the first arrest of Quakerism on the minds of men, and the seducers have, with a real and proper *witchcraft*, by certain *ceremonies* conveyed it unto them. Agreeably hereunto, an inhabitant of Weymouth having bought certain Bibles at Boston, lodged the night following at a tavern, where two Quakers lodged with him. The Quakers fell to disgracing and degrading the Bibles, wherewith he had furnished himself, as a *dead letter*, and advised him to hearken to the *light within*, which would sufficiently direct him to Heaven; and the effect of their *enchantments* was, that before morning the poor man was as very a Quaker as the best of them. In the morning he was carrying back his Bibles to the book-sellers, as books now become altogether *useless;* and resolving to keep no *dead letter* any longer in his hands; but in the way he was met by Mr. Thacher, who, seeing the man look wild and strange, and of an *energumen* countenance, over-perswaded him to go aside with him, that he might enquire a little further to his condition. He carried the poor man into a neighbour's house, and privately there talked with him, and prayed with him, and by the wonderful blessing of Heaven, immediately recovered him from the error of his way: the man was never any more a Quaker, but ever after this, wonderfully thankful unto God and unto this his servant for his recovery.

§ 10. The last that I shall mention of the *excellencies* that signalized this worthy man shall be his claim to the accomplishments of an *excellent physician.* He that for his lively ministry was justly reckoned among "the angels of the churches," might for his *medical* acquaintances, experiences, and performances, be truly called a Raphael. Ever since the days of Luke the evangelist, skill in *physick* has been frequently professed and practised by persons whose more declared business was the study of *divinity.* To say nothing of such monks as *Ægidius Atheniensis*, or *Constantinus Afer*, or *Johannes Damascenus*, or *Trusianus Florentinus*, and to say nothing of Henry Bochelt, a Bishop, or of *Albicus*, an Arch Bishop, or of *Ludovicus Patavinus*, a Cardinal, or of John XXII., a Pope, all of whom were notable physicians, our English nation has commonly afforded eminent physicians, who were also ministers of the gospel.

But I suppose the greatest frequency of the *angelical conjunction* has been seen in these parts of America, where they are mostly "the poor to whom the gospel is preached," by pastors whose compassion to them in their poverty invites them to supply the want of able physicians among them, and such an universally serviceable pastor was our Thacher. They were the priests of Egypt, of Greece, and of Rome, who reserved in the archives of their temples the stories and methods of the *cures* wrought on the recovered persons, who brought thither their thankful sacrifices; and by the priests were directions hence communicated unto such as wanted

cures for the like distempers. As the art of healing was first brought into some order by the hands of officers that have been set apart for the care of souls; thus, that art has been happily exercised by the hands of church-officers in all ages, who have administred unto the *souls* of people the more effectually, for being able to administer unto their *bodies*. And a singular *artist* herein was our Thacher; who, knowing that every rank of *generous men* had at some time or other afforded persons eminent for skill in physick; yea, that it had been studied by no less than such *crowned heads* as *Mithridates* and *Hadrianus* and *Constantinus Pogonatus*, he thought it no ways misbecoming him to follow the example. How many hundreds in this way fared the better for him, I cannot say; but this I can say, that as King *Zamolxes* of *Thracia*, who was of old a renowned physician, would give this as the reason why the Greeks had the diseases among them so much uncured, "because they neglected their souls, the chief thing of all:" so our Thacher was blessed of God in his faithful endeavours to make *natural* and *spiritual* health accompany each other in those that were about him.

§ 11. But, *Contra Vim Mortis*——Nothing will exempt from the arrest of *death*. It happened that this excellent man preached for my father a sermon on 1 Pet. iv. 18: "The righteous scarcely saved;" the last words of which sermon were, "When a saint comes to die, then often it is the hour and power of darkness with him; then is the last opportunity that the devil has to vex the people of God; and hence they then sometimes have the greatest of their distresses. Do not think him no godly man that then meets with doubts and fears; our Lord Jesus Christ then cries out, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' God help us, that as we live by faith, so we may walk in it." And these proved the *last words* that ever he uttered in any sermon whatsoever. For visiting a sick person, after his going out of the assembly, he got some harm, which turned into a fever, whereof he did, without any "hour and power of darkness" upon his own holy mind, expire on October 15, 1678. He left behind him two worthy sons, Mr. Peter Thacher, who is at this time the pastor of the church at Milton, and one from whose pious labours, not the English only, but even the Indians also, receive the "glad tydings of salvation;" and Mr. Ralph Thacher, minister of the word at Martha's Vineyard. And he likewise left one printed *off-spring* of his mind; for as the reverend prefacer thereto observes, "When the Lord knew that Boston, yea, that New-England would have cause for many days of humiliation, he therefore stirred up the heart of his servant aforehand to give instructions and directions concerning the acceptable performance of so great a duty," he did in the year 1674 preach on the nature of a sacred fast; and some of his hearers, who wrote after him, when he preached, afterwards published it under the title of, "*A Fast of God's Chusing.*"

§ 12. The church of this worthy man at Weymouth has been entertained

with one *curiosity*, which, by way of appendix to his life, is not unworthy to be related:

One Matthew Prat, whose religious parents had well instructed him in his minority, when he was twelve years of age became totally *deaf* through sickness, and so hath ever since continued. He was taught after this to *write*, as he had been before to *read;* and both his reading and his writing he retaineth perfectly, but he has almost forgotten to *speak;* speaking but *imperfectly*, and scarce *intelligibly*, and very *seldom*. He is yet a very judicious Christian, and being admitted into the communion of the church, he has therein for many years behaved himself unto the extream satisfaction of good people in the neighbourhood. Sarah Prat, the wife of this man, is one also who was altogether deprived of her *hearing* by sickness when she was about the third year of her age; but having utterly lost her hearing, she has utterly lost her *speech* also, and no doubt all remembrance of every thing that refers to *language*. Mr. Thacher made an essay to teach her the use of *letters*, but it succeeded not: however, she has a most quick apprehension of things by her *eye*, and she discourses by *signs*, whereat some of her friends are so expert, as to maintain a conversation with her upon any point whatever, with as much *freedom* and *fulness* as if she wanted neither *tongue* nor *ear* for conference. Her children do learn her *signs* from the breast: and speak sooner by her *eyes* and *hands* than by their *lips*. From her infancy she was very sober and modest; but she had no knowledge of a Deity, nor of any thing that concerns another life and world. Nevertheless, God of his infinite mercy has *revealed* the Lord Jesus Christ, and the great *mysteries* of salvation by him, unto her, by a more *extraordinary* and *immediate* operation of his own *spirit* upon her. An account of her *experiences* was written from her, by her husband; and the elders of the church employing her husband, with two of her sisters, who are notably skilled in her way of communication, examined her strictly hereabout: and they found that she understood the *unity* of the divine essence, the *trinity* of persons in the Godhead, the *personal union* in our Lord, the *mystical union* between our Lord and his church; and that she was acquainted with the impressions of *grace* upon a *regenerate soul*. She was under great exercise of mind, about her internal and eternal state; she expressed unto her friends desire of help; and she made use of the Bible, and other good *books*, and with tears remarked such passages as were suitable to her own condition. Yea, she once, in her exercise, wrote with a pin upon a trencher, three times over, "Ah, poor soul!" and therewith, before divers persons, burst into tears. At a sermon she would enquire after the text, which being shewn her, she would look and muse upon it: and she strangely knows the *names* of those with whom she is acquainted; insomuch that if they be names found in the Scripture, she will turn and find, and point them there. It seems that *written words* are a sort of *hieroglyphicks* unto her.

She was admitted into the church with the general approbation of the faithful, nor would the most judicious casuist in the world—a Luther, a Melancthon, a Gerhard, an Alting, a Baldwin—have scrupled her admission to the *sacred mysteries:* and her carriage is that of a grave, gracious, holy woman.

The wonderful circumstances of this couple may justly be added unto the "entertainments for the curious," which we have in the young man and maid mentioned by Camerarius, who, though *deaf* and *dumb*, could read and write and cypher, and know a man's meaning by the motion of his lips. And the person mentioned by *Platerus*, who, though born *deaf* as well as *dumb*, yet could express his thoughts in a table-book, and comprehend what was written by others in it, and with edification attend upon the ministry of *Œcolampadius:* and both Mr. Crisp of London, and Gennet Lowes of Edinburgh, who, though naturally *deaf*, and by consequence *dumb*, could yet see what people spoke, by seeing them when they spoke: and, in a word, the exquisite sence of the *mutes* in the Ottoman Court, related by Rycaut in his history of that empire.

An epitaph must now be sought for this worthy man: and because the nation and quality of the *author*, will make the composure to become a curiosity, I will here, for an Epitaph, insert an elegy which was composed upon this occasion by an Indian youth, who was then a student of Harvard Colledge (his name was Eleazar):

IN OBITUM VIRI VÈRE REVERENDI

D. THOMÆ THACHERI,

QUI AD

Dom. ex hâc vitâ migravit, 18, 8, 1678.

Tentabo Illustrem tristi memorare dolore,
Quem Lacrymis repetunt Tempora nostra, Virum.
Memnona *sic Mater, Mater ploravit Achillem,*
Justis cum Lacrymis, cumque Dolore gravi.
Mens stupet, ora silent, justum nunc palma recusat
Officium: Quid? Opem Tristis Apollo negat?
Ast, Thachere, *Tuos conabor dicere laudes,*
Laudes Virtutis, quæ super Astra volat.
Consultis Rerum Dominis, Gentiquæ togatæ
Nota fuit virtus, ac tua Sancta Fides.
Vivis post Funus, Fœlix post Fata; Jaces Tu:
Sed Stellas *inter* Gloriæ *nempe* Jaces.
Mens Tua jam cœlum repetit; Victoria parta est:
Jam Tuus est Christus, quod meruitque tuum.
Hic Finis Crucis; magnorum hæc meta malorum;
Ulterius non quo progrediatur erit.
Crux jam cassa manes; requiescunt ossa Sepulchro;
Mors moritur; Vitæ Vita Beata redit.
Quum tuba per Densas sonitum dabit ultima Nubes,
Cum Domino Rediens Ferrea Sceptra geres.
Cœlum tum scandes, ubi Patria Vera piorum;
Prævius hanc Patriam nunc tibi Jesus *adit.*
Illic vera Quies; illic sine fine voluptas;
Gaudia et Humanis non referenda sonis.

ELEAZAR. *Indus Senior Sophista.*

ON THE DEATH OF THAT TRULY REVEREND MAN,

THOMAS THACHER,

WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE FOR HIS HEAVENLY HOME,

OCTOBER 18, 1678.

I SING of one, though tears bedew the page,
Mourned by the present as the former age;
Mourned as was Memnon, by Achilles slain,
When o'er his corse his mother knelt in vain.
Mind, voice, and strength have lost their wonted fire,
As if the Muse would weep, but not inspire.
THACHER, 'tis virtue that thy name endears—
Virtue, that climbs beyond the starry spheres.
To men of station and of low degree
Thy faith shone far, like beacons o'er the sea.
Though dead, thou livest: victory crowns thy brow:
The grace that saved thee, glorifies thee now.
Thy cross of suffering thou shalt bear no more—
Temptations, perils, sorrows, all are o'er.
Death, the destroyer, dies—the last of foes,—
And life, renewed, to life immortal grows.
When the last trumpet, fearfully and loud,
Peals like the thunder through the parted cloud,
And the great Judge of all shall spread his throne,
Thou shalt sit with Him as a chosen son:
Then through the skies seek realms of endless day,
To which thy Saviour hath prepared the way.
There, mid delights for human thought too sweet,
Thy rest is pure—thy pleasure infinite.

ELEAZAR, *an Indian Senior Sophister.*

Σῶμ' ἐχει ἡ κονις, ἐπι γῆς τ' ὄνομ' ἐποτ' ὀλεῖται,
Κλεινον ἐν ἡμετεροις κ' ἐσομενοισι χρονοις·
Ψυχη δ' ἐκ ρεθεων πταμενη, βἡ ἐρανον ἀιπεινον,
Μιχθεῖς' ἀθανατος πνευμασιν ἀθανατοις.
ELEAZAR, *Indus Senior Sophista.*

[Translation of the preceding.]

THOUGH earth contains his dust, his name is yet immortal:
It shall light the future ages as o'er the past it beamed:
While his soul, set free from prison, seeks the ever-open portal
Where the shining ones are waiting to welcome the redeemed.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE LIFE OF MR. PETER HOBART.

§ 1. IT was a saying of Alphonsus (whom they sir-named, "the wise, King of Arragon,") that "among so many things as are by men possessed or pursued in the course of their lives, all the rest are baubles, besides old wood to burn, old wine to drink, old friends to converse with, and old books to read." Now, there having been Protestant and reformed colonies here formed, in a *new* world, and those colonies now growing *old,* it will certainly be no unwise thing for them to converse with some of their *old friends,* among which one was Mr. Peter Hobart, whom therefore a *new book* shall now present unto my readers.

§ 2. Mr. Peter Hobart was born at or near Hingham, a market town in the county of Norfolk, about the latter end of the year 1604. His parents were eminent for piety, and even from their youth "feared God above many;" wherein their zeal was more conspicuous by the impiety of the neighbourhood, among whom there were but three or four in the whole town that minded serious religion, and these were sufficiently maligned by the irreligious for their Puritanism. These parents of our Hobart were such as had obtained each other from the God of heaven, by Isaac-like prayers unto him, and such as afterwards "besieged Heaven" with a continual importunity for a blessing upon their children; whereof the second was this our Peter. This their son was, like another Samuel, from his infancy dedicated by them unto the ministry, and in order thereunto, sent betimes unto a grammar-school; whereto, such was his desire of learning, that he went several miles on foot every morning, and by his early appearance there, still shamed the sloth of others. He went afterwards unto the free-school at Lyn, from whence, when he was by his master judged fit for it, he was admitted into a colledge in the University of Cambridge; where he remained, studied, profited, until he proceeded Batchellor of Arts; giving all along an example of sobriety, gravity, aversion from all vice, and inclination to the service of God.

§ 3. Retiring then from the university, he taught a grammar-school; but he lodged in the house of a conformist minister, who, though he were no friend unto Puritans, yet he employed this our young Hobart sometimes to preach for him: and when asked, "What his opinion of this young man was?" he said, "I do highly approve his abilities; he will make an able preacher: but I fear he will be too precise." When the time for it came, he returned unto the university, and proceeded Master of Arts: but the rest of his time in England was attended with much *unsettlement* of his condition. He was employed here and there, as godly people could obtain permission from the parson of the parish, who upon any little disgust would recal that permission: and yet all this while, by the blessing of God upon his own diligence and discretion, and the frugality of his vertuous consort, he lived comfortably. The last place of his residence in England was the town of Haverhil, where he was a lecturer, laborious and successful in the vineyard of our Lord.

§ 4. His parents, his brethren, his sisters, had not without a great affliction to him embarked for New-England; but some time after this, the cloud of prelatical impositions and persecutions grew so black upon him, that the solicitations of his friends obtained from him a resolution for New-England also, where he hoped for a more settled abode, which was most agreeable to his inclination. Accordingly, in the summer of the year 1635, he took ship, with his wife and four children, and after a voyage by constant sickness rendred very tedious to him, he arrived at Charles-town, where he found his desired relations got safe before him. Several towns now addressed him to become their minister; but he chose with his father's family and some other Christians to form a new plantation, which they called Hingham; and there gathering a church, he continued a faithful pastor and an able preacher for many years. And his old people at Haverhil indeed, in some time after, sent most importunate letters unto him, to invite his return for England: and he had certainly returned, if the letters had not so miscarried, that before his advice to them, there fell out some remarkable and invincible hindrances of his removal.

§ 6. Not long after this, he had (as his own expression for it was) "his heart rent out of his breast," by the death of his consort; but his Christian, patient, and submissive resignation, was rewarded by his marriage to a second, that proved a rich blessing unto him. His house was also edified and beautified with many children, on whom when he looked he would say, sometimes with much thankfulness, "Behold, thus shall the man be blessed that feareth the Lord!" and for whom he employed many tears in his prayers to God, that they might be happy, and, like another Job, offered up his daily supplications.

His love to learning made him strive hard that his hopeful sons might not go without a learned education; and accordingly we find four or five

of them wearing laurels in the catalogue of our graduates; and several of them are at this day worthy preachers of the gospel in our churches.

§ 7. He was mostly a morning student, not meriting the name of *Homo Lectissimus*,* as *he* in the witty epigrammatist, from his *long lying a bed;* and yet he would improve the darkness of the evening also for solemn, fixed, and illuminating meditations. He was much admired for *well-studied sermons;* and even in the midst of secular diversions and distractions, his active mind would be busie at providing materials for the composure of them. He much valued that rule, *study standing;* and until old age and weakness compelled him, he rarely would study sitting: which practice of his he would recommend unto other students, as an excellent preventive of that *Flagellum Studiosorum*,† the *stone*. And when he had an opportunity to hear a sermon from any other minister, he did it with such a diligent and reverent attention, as made it manifest that he worshipped God in doing of it: and he was very careful to be present still, at the beginning of the exercises, counting it a recreation to sit and wait for the worship of God.

Moreover, his heart was knit in a most sincere and hearty love towards pious men, though they were not in all things of his own perswasion. He would admire the grace of God in good men, though they were of sentiments contrary unto his; and he would say, "I can carry them in my bosome:" nor was he by them otherwise respected.

§ 8. There was deeply rooted in him a strong antipathy to all *profanities*, whereof he was a faithful reprover, both in publick and in private; and when his reproofs prevailed not, he would "weep in secret places."

Drinking to excess, and mispence of precious *time*, in tipling or talking with vain persons, which he saw grown too common, was an evil so extremely offensive to him, that he would call it, "Sitting at meat in an idol's temple;" and when he saw that vanity grow upon the more high professors of religion, it was yet more distastful to him, who in his own behaviour was a great example of temperance.

Pride, expressed in a gaiety and bravery of apparel, would also cause him with much compassion to address the young persons with whom he saw it *budding*, and advise them to correct it, with more care to *adorn their souls* with such things as were of *great price before God:* and here likewise his own example joined *handsomeness* with *gravity*, and a moderation that could not endure a show. But there was no sort of men from whom he more *turned away* than those who, under a pretence of zeal for church discipline, were very pragmatical in *controversies*, and furiously set upon having all things carried *their way*, which they would call "the rule;" but at the same time were most insipid creatures, destitute of the "life and power of godliness," and perhaps *immoral* in their conversations. To these he

* "Lectus," which means "select" or "eligible," signifies also "a bed." Hence the *double entendre* of the text—"a most eligible man," or, "a man most *a-bed*."

† The scourge of the sedentary.

would apply a saying of Mr. Cotton's, "That some men are all church, and no Christ."

§ 9. He was a person that met with many temptations and afflictions, which are better forgotten than remembered; but he was internally and is now eternally a gainer by them. It is remarked of the Patriarch Jacob, that when he was a very old man, and much older than the most that lived after him, he complained, "Few and evil have been the days of the years of my life:" in which complaint the *few* is explained by the *evil;* his days were *winter-days*, and spent in the *darkness* of sore calamity. Winter-days are twenty-four hours long as well as other days; yea, longer, if the equation of time should be mathematically considered: yet we count them the *shorter days.* Thus, although our Hobart lived unto old age, he might call his days *few*, because they had been *evil.* But "Mark this perfect man, and behold this upright one; for the end of this man was peace." In the spring of the year 1670, he was visited with a sickness that seemed the "messenger of death;" but it was his humble desire that, by having his life prolonged a little further, he might see the education of his own younger children perfected, and bestow more labour also upon the conversion of the young people in his congregation: "I have travelled in the ministry in this place thirty-five years, and might it please God so far to lengthen out my days, as to make it up forty, I should not, I think, desire any more." Now, the Lord heard this desire of his praying servant, and added no less than *eight* years more unto his days. The most part of which time, except the last three-quarters of a year, he was employed in the publick services of his ministry.

Being recovered from his illness, he proved that he did not flatter with his lips in the vows that he had made for his recovery; for he now set himself with great fervour to gather the *children* of his church under the saving *wings* of the Lord Jesus Christ; and in order thereunto he preached many pungent sermons, on Eccl. xi. 9, 10, and Eccl. xii. 1, and used many other successful endeavours.

§ 10. Though his labours were not without *success*, yet the success was not so general and notable but that he would complain, "Alas, for the barrenness of my ministry!" And when he found his lungs decay by *old age* and *fever*, he would clap his hands on his breast, and say, "The bellows are burnt, the founder has melted in vain!" At length, infirmities grew so fast upon this painful servant of our Lord, that in the summer of the year 1678 he seemed apace drawing on to his end; but after some revivals he again got abroad; however, he seldom, if ever, preached after it, but only administered the *sacraments.* In this time his *humility*, and consequently all the other graces which God gives unto the humble, grew exceedingly and observably; and hence he took delight in hearing the commendations of other men, though sometimes they were so unwisely uttered as to carry some *diminutions* unto himself; and he set himself

particularly to put all respect and honour upon the ministers that came in the time of his weakness to supply his place. After and under his confinement, the singing of psalms was an exercise wherein he took a particular delight; saying, "That it was the work of Heaven, which he was willing to anticipate." But about eight weeks before his expiration, he did with his aged hand ordain a successor; which when he had performed with much solemnity, he did afterwards, with an assembly of ministers and other Christians, at his own house, joyfully sing the song of aged Simeon, "Thy servant now lettest thou depart in peace." He had now "nothing to do, but to die;" and he spent his hours accordingly in assiduous preparations; not without some dark intervals of *temptation;* but at last with "light arising in darkness" unto him. While his *exteriour* was *decaying*, his *interiour* was *renewing* every day, until the twentieth day of January, 1678, when he quietly and silently resigned his holy soul unto its faithful Creator.

EPITAPHIUM.

D. PETRI HOBARTI,

Ossa sub hoc Saxo Latitant, defossa Sepulchro,
*Spiritus in Cœlo, carcere, missus agit.**

CHAPTER XXVIII.

A MAN OF GOD, AND AN HONOURABLE MAN.

THE LIFE OF MR. SAMUEL WHITING.

Hi mihi Doctores semper placuere, docenda
Qui faciunt, plus, quam qui facienda docent.†

§ 1. WHEN the miserable Saul applied himself to the Witch of Endor for the invoking of and consulting with some *spirit* in the *invisible world*, he chose that the spirit should rather appear in the shape of the venerable Samuel, than in any other. A dispute is raised among learned men, on the occasion of the spirit thus raised, "who it should be?"—for while some think that, beyond the expectation, and unto the astonishment of the Witch, it was the true Samuel which now appeared; in as much as the apparition is five times over called by the name of Samuel, and the apocryphal Ecclesiasticus affirms of Samuel, that "after his death he prophesied:" and several of the fathers and of the school-men, herein followed by Mendoza, Delrio, Dr. More, Mr. Glanvil, and others, are of this opinion: they imagine, with Lyra, that God then sent in the real Samuel, *unlooked*

* Beneath this stone his buried ashes lie,
But his freed spirit is beyond the sky.

† Teachers who *do* what should be *taught*,
Have pleased me best—'tis very true;
Better than those, so often sought,
Who *teach* the things they ought to *do*.

for, as *he* came upon Balaam, when employed about his *magical impostures:* there are more, who judge that it was a spirit of the same kind with that which is described by Porphyrius, παντλαμορφον τε και πολοτροπον—"changing themselves into multifarious forms, one while acting the parts of dæmons, another while of angels, and another while the souls of the deceased:" of which opinion was Tertullian, and the author of the *Quest. et Resp.** ascribed unto Justin Martyr, and the generality of Protestants: who cannot perswade themselves that the Lord would have so far countenanced Necromancy or Psycomancy as to have let the *real* Samuel come upon the solicitations of an enchantress; and that the *real* Samuel would not have discoursed at the rate of the *spectre* now exhibited.

Let the disputants upon this question wrangle on: while we by a very lawful and laudable *art* will fetch another Samuel from the dead: and by the happy *magick* of our pen, reader, we will bring into the view of the world a venerable old man—a Samuel who shall entertain us with none but comfortable and profitable tidings.

§ 2. Mr. Samuel Whiting drew his first breath at Boston, in Lincolnshire, November 20, A. D. 1597. His father, a person of good repute there, the *eldest son* among many brethren, an alderman, and sometimes a mayor of the town, had three sons; the second of these was our Samuel, who had a learned education by his father bestowed upon him, first at Boston school, and then at the university of Cambridge. He had for his companion in his education his cosen german, the very renowned Anthony Tuckney, afterwards doctor, and master of St. John's Colledge: they were *school*-fellows at Boston, and chamber-mates at Cambridge; they both belonged unto Immanuel-Colledge, and they continued an intimate friendship, when they left the seats of the Muses, which indeed was not "quenched by the many waters" of the Atlantick when they were a thousand leagues asunder. It was while he was thus at the university that the good Spirit of God made early impressions of grace upon his young soul; and the cares of his pious tutor (I think Mr. Yates) to instruct him in matters of *religion*, as well as of *literature*, were blessed for the imbuing of his mind with a tincture of *early piety;* which was further advanced by the ministry of such preachers as Dr. Sibs and Dr. Preston: so that in his *age* he would give thanks to God for the divine favours which he thus received in his *youth*, and when he was entering into his *rest*, where he expected the most intimate communion with our glorious Immanuel, and with the "spirits of just men made perfect," he could with joy reflect upon the anticipations of it, which he enjoyed in the retired walk of Immanuel-Colledge.

§ 3. Having proceeded Master of Arts, he removed from Cambridge, and became a chaplain to Sir Nathanael Bacon and Sir Roger Townsend, where he did for three years together, with prayers, with sermons, with catechising, and with a grave and wise deportment, serve the interest of

* Questions and Answers.

religion, in a family which had no less than *two knights* and *five ladies* in it. He next removed unto Lyn, in the county of Norfolk, and spent another three years as a collegue in the ministry of the gospel with a reverend and excellent man, Mr. Price. But the great content which he took in his present scituation, and society, and service, was interrupted at length by complaints made unto the Bishop of Norwich for his non-conformity unto those rites which never were of any use in the church of God, but only to be *tools* by which the worst of men might thrust out the best from serving it. Being cited unto the High Commission Court, he expected that he should lose the most of his estate for his being a non-conformist; but before the time for his appearance, according to the citation, came, King James died; and so his trouble at this time was diverted. The Earl of Lincoln afterwards interceding for him, the Bishop was willing to promise that he would no farther worry him, in case he would be gone out of his diocess, where he could not reach him; and therefore leaving Lyn, he exercised his ministry at Skirbick, near Boston in Lincolnshire, for a considerable while, with no inconsiderable fruit; refreshed with the delightful neighbourhood of his old friends, and especially those eminent persons Mr. Cotton and Mr. Tuckney, to both of whom he had some affinity, as from both of them no little affection.

§ 4. Having buried his first wife, by whom he had three children—two sons, who died in England, and one daughter, afterwards matched with one Mr. Thomas Weld, in another land—he married the daughter of Mr. Oliver St. John, a Bedfordshire gentleman, of an honourable family, nearly related unto the Lord St. John of Bletso. This Mr. St. John was a person of incomparable breeding, vertue, and piety; such that Mr. Cotton, who was well acquainted with him, said of him, "He was one of the compleatest gentlemen, without affectation, that ever he knew." And this his daughter was a person of singular piety and gravity; one who by her discretion freed her husband from all *secular avocations;* one who upheld a daily and constant communion with God in the *devotions* of her closet; one who not only *wrote* the sermons that she heard on the Lord's days with much dexterity, but *lived* them, and *lived* on them all the week. The usual phrase for an *excellent woman* among the ancient Jews was, "one who deserves to marry a priest:" even such an *excellent woman* was now married unto Mr. Whiting. This gentlewoman having stayed with her worthy consort forty-seven years, went in the seventy-third year of her age unto Him to whom her *soul* had been some scores of years *espoused.* Mr. Whiting had by her four sons and two daughters. Three of the sons lived unto the estate and stature of men; and had a learned education. Samuel is at this day a reverend, holy, and faithful minister of the gospel in the New-English town of Billerica: John was intended for a physician, but became a preacher, first at Butterwick, then at Leverton in Lincoln-

shire, where he died a godly conformist: Joseph is at this day a worthy and painful minister of the gospel at Southampton upon Long-Island.

§ 5. After he had abode several years at Skirbick, soon after Mr. Cotton's removal, he fell into such trouble for his non-conformity to the *vanities* which men had "received by tradition from their Popish fathers," and this through the complaint of the same unhappy man, it is said, who procured the trouble of Mr. Cotton, that he found he must *be gone:* but New-England offered it self as the most hopeful and quiet, and indeed the only place that he could be gone unto. The ecclesiastical *sharks* then drove this Whiting over the Atlantic sea unto the American strand. Let it not be a matter of *wonder*, that persons of a *conscience* rightly informed and inclined, chose rather to undergo an uncomfortable *exile* from the best *island* under heaven to as hard a *desart* as any upon earth, rather than to conform to the ceremonies of the English Liturgy. If the things had been as *lawful* in the judgment of the *sufferers* as they were in the pretences of the *imposers*, they were not so fond of *miseries* as to have refused conformity. But it was of old observed, that when *sinful things* were commanded, *Nihil obstinacius Christiano*—nothing is more *obstinate* than a Christian *dissenter;* and it is a commendable *obstinacy!* The faithful in Tertullian's time would undergo any thing rather than use the *ceremonies* of *idolaters*, though they might have used them to another *end*, and with another *mind* than *they*. The first planters of New-England knew that the ceremonies retained in the Church of England had been first invented and practised by idolaters: and knowing that all the abominations of the Popish Mass originally sprang from an imposed Liturgy, they thought it no *nicety* to have declined all compliance with such a thing, though they should not have had, as they had, numberless *objections* against it. The very *words* used in the *rites* then required, were feared by those good men, as dangerous; after they read those words of the Rhemists, "While they say, *ministers*, let us say, *priests;* when they call it, *a communion table*, let us call it, *an altar*. Let us keep our old words, and we shall keep our old things, our religion." But much more did these good men fear the *rites* of *things* themselves; especially when they saw them to be not only *unscriptural* and *uninstituted*, but also of *pernicious consequence* to the very *vitals of religion*. For this they had the example of Peter Martyr, who wished that the reformed churches, keeping up these things, would be sensible, *Evangelium iis manentibus, non satis esse firmum:*—that the gospel cannot be secure, while the ceremonies continue: they had the example of Martin Bucer, who complained that the *ceremonies* and the *preaching* of the *word*, mutually *expel* one another. Where *knowledge* through the preaching of the gospel prevails, there the love of *these* withers, and where the *love* of *these* prevails, there *knowledge* decays: they had the example of the divines of Hamburgh, who looked upon such ceremonies to be the

Cuniculi—the *secret mines*—by which the Papists would convey themselves under our *foundations*, and overthrow our churches. And if they did then entertain Austin's fear—*In Multitudine Ceremoniarum periclitatur Fides**—I wish the *event* had less confirmed it. It is very certain, in the English nation, they served only as Gileadites, to keep the *passages* of the church, so that no minister, how able or worthy soever, could pass, unless he could pronounce that *Shibboleth*. And if the man of Bern, mentioned by Melancthon, who would rather be *martyred* than observe one *fast* in the Popish manner, were to be *commended* for his fidelity to Christ, though it seemed such a *little matter*, these good men must not be *reproached* for this, that they would rather be *exiled* than to conform to those things, which were like the pretended "indifferent things" imposed in the old German instrument called the *Interim*, namely, *Semina Corruptelæ*—the seeds of Romish corruption. It is time for me now, without any further observation, to add concerning our Whiting. His vertuous consort was far from discouraging him, through any unwillingness in her to forsake her native country, or expose her own person first unto the hazards of the ocean, and then unto the sorrows of a wilderness: but though some of her friends were much against it, yet she rather *forwarded*, than *hindred* her husband's inclination for America. When he shipped himself, he took with him all that he had; and whereas he might have reserved his lands in England, which would have yielded him a considerable annual revenue, and notable accession to the small salary, which he was afterwards put off withal; yet judging that he never should return to England any more, he sold all, saying, "I am going into the wilderness to a sacrifice unto the Lord, and I will not leave an hoof behind me."

He took shipping about the beginning of April, 1636, and arrived May 26, after he had been so very sick all the way, that he could preach but one sermon all the while: and he would say, "that he had much rather have undergone six weeks imprisonment for a good cause, than to undergo six weeks of such terrible sea-sickness as he had been now tried withal."

But in a sermon after his arrival, he thus expressed his apprehensions and consolations:

"We in this country have left our near and our dear friends; but if we can get nearer to God here, he will be instead of all, and more than all unto us: He hath all the fulness of all the sweetest relations bound up in him. We may take out of God, which we forsook in father, mother, brother, sister, friends that hath been as near and as dear as our own soul."

§ 6. When he came ashore, his friends at the New-English Boston, with many of whom he had been acquainted in Lincoln-shire, let him know how glad they were to see him; and having lodged about a month with his kinsman, Mr. Adderton Haugh, he removed unto Lyn, the church there inviting him to be their pastor; and in the pastoral care of that flock he spent all the rest of his days. The year following, Mr. Thomas Cobbet

* In the multitude of ceremonies, faith itself is in peril.

followed him; and soon after his arrival at New-England, became his collegue in the service of the church at Lyn. Great was the love that sweetned the labours and whole conversation and vicinity of these fellow-labourers; the rays with which they illuminated the house of God, *sweetly united;* they were almost every day together, and thought it a *long day* if they were not so; one rarely travelling abroad without the other: and these two angelick men seemed willing to give one another as little jostle as the angels upon Jacob's ladder did unto one another, while one was descending and another ascending there. How *little stipends* these great servants of the church were oppressed, but yet contented withal, may be gathered from this one story:

The ungrateful inhabitants of Lyn one year passed a town vote, that they could not allow their ministers above thirty pounds apiece that year for their salary: and, behold, the God who will not be mocked, immediately caused the town to lose three hundred pounds, in that one specie of their cattel, by one disaster.

However, Mr. Whiting found such a blessing of God upon his *little*, that he would cheerfully say, "He questioned whether, if he had abode in England, where his means were much more considerable, he could have brought up three sons at the university there, as he did at Harvard-Colledge here." But after they had lived about a score of years together, Mr. Cobbet was, upon the death of Mr. Rogers, translated unto Ipswich; from this time was Mr. Whiting mostly alone in his ministry; "and yet not alone, because the Heavenly Father was with him." And as he drew near his end, he had his youngest son for his assistant.

In the sixty third year of his age, A. D. 1659, he began to be visited with the grinding and painful disease of the stone in the bladder, with which he was much exercised [and the reader that knows any thing of it, will say it was *exercise* enough] until he came to be "where the weary are at rest." He bore his affliction with incomparable patience; and he had one favour which he much asked of God, that though small stones, with great pains, often proceeded from him, and he scarce enjoyed one day of perfect ease after this until he died, yet it is not remembred that he was ever hindred thereby one day from his publick services. And whereas it was expected, both by himself and others, that as he grew in years, the torments of his malady would grow upon him, it proved much otherwise; the torments and complaints of his distemper abated as his age increased. At length a *senile atrophy* came upon him, with a wasting Diarrhœa, which brought Lyn into *darkness*, December 11, 1679, in the eighty third year of his *peregrination*.

§ 7. For his learning he was many ways well accomplished: especially he was accurate in Hebrew, in which primitive and expressive language he took much delight; and he was elegant in Latin, whereof among other demonstrations he gave one in an oration at one of our commencements:

and much of his vacant hours he employed in history: history, which made good unto him her ancient character:

Omnis nunc nostrâ pendet Prudentia Sensu,
*Riteque nil, nostra qui caret Arte, sapit.**

History, whose great votary, Polybius, truly asserts, *Nulla hominibus facilior ad Vitæ institutionem via est, quam Rerum ante gestarum Cognitio.*† And he was no less a man of temper than of learning: the peculiar sweetness and goodness of his temper must be an *essential stroke* in his character; he was wonderfully happy in his meek, his composed, his peaceable disposition: and his meekness of wisdom out-shone all his other attainments in learning; for there is no humane literature so hardly attained, as the discretion of a man to regulate his anger. His very countenance had an amiable smile continually sweetning of it: and his face herein was but the true image of his mind, which, like the upper regions, was marvellously free from the storms of passions.

In prosperity he was not much elated, in adversity he was not much dejected; under provocations he would scorn to be provoked. When the Lord would not express himself unto Elijah in the wind, nor in the earthquake, nor in the fire, but in the still voice, I suspect, lest one thing intended among others, might be an admonition unto the prophet himself, to beware of the boisterous, uneven, inflamed efforts, whereto his natural constitution might be ready to betray him.

This worthy man, as taking that admonition, was for doing every thing with a still voice. He knew himself to be born, as all men are, with at least a dozen passions; but being also *new born*, he did not allow himself to be hagridden with the enchantments thereof. The philosopher of old called our passions by the just name of *unnurtured dogs;* but these dogs do often worry the children of God themselves; even a great Luther, who removed the foulest abominations out of the house of God, could not hinder these dogs from infecting of his own heart: however, this excellent (because cool, therefore excellent) spirited person, kept these dogs with a strong chain upon them; and since man was created with a dominion over the beasts of the field, he would not let the θηρια τῆς ψυχῆς.‡ hold him in any slavery. He lived as under the *eye* and *awe* of the great God; and, as Basil noted, *Potest Miles coram Rege suo non irasci, ob solum Regiæ majestatis Eminentiam:*§ thus the fear of God still restrained him from those ebullitions of wrath which other men are too fearless of. As virulent a pen as ever blotted paper in the English nation, pretends to observe—

"That some men will pray with the ardours of an angel, love God with raptures of joy and delight, be transported with deep and pathetick devotions, talk of nothing but the unspeakable pleasures of communion with the Lord Jesus, be ravished with devout and

* He nothing knows who hath not learned my art, | And he knows all who knows what I impart.

† Nothing more facilitates the right ordering of our lives than a knowledge of former events.

‡ The wild beasts of the temper.

§ The soldier must not dare to be angry in presence of his sovereign, out of respect to the royal majesty.

seraphick meditations of heaven, and like the blessed spirits there, seem to relish nothing but spiritual delights and entertainments: who, when they return from their transfiguration to their ordinary converse with men, are churlish as a cynick, passionate as an angry wasp, envious as a studious dunce, and insolent as a female tyrant; proud and haughty in their deportment; peevish, petulant, and self-willed, impatient of contradiction, implacable in their anger, rude and imperious in all their conversation, and made up of nothing but pride, malice, and peevishness."

But if any have ever given occasion for this observation, there was none given by our Whiting, who would have thought himself a fish out of his element, if he had ever been at any time any where but in the *Pacifick* Sea. And from this account of his temper, I may now venture to proceed unto his vertue; by which I intend the holiness of his renewed heart and life, and the change made by the supernatural grace of Christ upon him, without which all vertue is but a name, a sham, a fiction. He was a very holy man; as the ancients hath assured us, *Ama Scientiam Scripturarum et Vitia Carnis non Amabis*:* thus by reading daily several chapters in both Testaments of the Scriptures, with serious and gracious reflections thereupon, which he still followed with secret prayers, he grew more holy continually, until, in a flourishing *old age*, he was found fit for transplantation.

His worship in his family was that which argued him a true child of Abraham; and his counsel to his children was grave, watchful, useful, savoury, and very memorable. And if meditation (which was one of Luther's great things to make a divine) be a thing of no little consequence to make a Christian, this must be numbered among the exercises whereby our Whiting became very much improved in Christianity. Meditation (which is *Mentis-Ditatio*)† daily enriched his mind with the dispositions of Heaven; and having a *walk* for that purpose in his orchard, some of his flock that saw him constantly taking his *turns* in that walk, with hand, and eye, and soul, often directed heavenward, would say, "There does our dear pastor walk with God every day."

In fine, as the Apostle Peter says, "They that obey not the word, yet with fear behold the chaste conversation of them who do." And as Ignatius describes the pastor of the Trallians for one "of such a sanctity of life, that the greatest Atheist would have been afraid to have looked upon him:" even so the natural conscience in the worst of men paid an homage of reverence to this holy man where ever he came.

§ 8. Though he spent his time chiefly in his beloved study, yet he would sometimes visit his flock; but in his visit, he made conscience of entertaining his neighbours with no discourse but what should be *grave*, and *wise*, and *profitable;* as knowing that, *Quæ sunt in Ore Populi Nugiæ, sunt in Ore Pastoris Blasphemiæ.*‡ And sometimes an *occasional word* let fall by him, hath had a notable effect: once particularly, in a journey, being at an inn upon the road, he over-heard certain people in the next room so *merry* as

* Love the study of the Scriptures, and you will spurn the lusts of the flesh. † The enriching of the mind.
‡ What are mere idle words in the mouths of common people, become blasphemies when uttered by a minister.

to be too loud and rude in their *mirth;* wherefore, as he passed by the door, he looked in upon them, and with a sweet majesty, only dropt those words: "Friends, if you are sure that your sins are pardoned, you may be wisely merry." And these words not only stilled all their noise for the present, but also had a great effect afterwards upon some of the company. Indeed, his conversation preached where-ever he was; as being sensible of the Jewish proverb, *Propheta qui transgreditur Prophetiam suam propriam Mors ejus est in Manibus Dei:** but in the pulpit he laboured especially to approve himself a preacher. In his *preaching*, his design was *Prodesse magis quam placere:*† and his practice was, *Non alta sed apta proferre.*‡ But what a proper and useful *speaker* he was, we may gather from what we find him when a writer.

There are especially two *books* wherein we have him yet living among us. In the fate and fire of Sodom, there was a notable *type* of the conflagration that will arrest this polluted world at the day of judgment: and the famous prayer of Abraham (who, as R. Bechai imagines, had some hope when he deprecated that ruine for the sake of *ten righteous ones*, that Lot and his wife, and the four daughters which tradition hath assigned him, and his four sons-in-law, would have made up the number) on that occasion, is indeed a very rich portion of Scripture. Now, our Whiting published a volume of sermons upon that prayer of Abraham; wherein he does raise, confirm, and apply *thirty-two* doctrines, which he offered unto the publick (as he says in his preface) "as the words of a dying man;" hoping that, as Constantine the Great would stoop so low as to kiss Paphnutius' maimed eye, so the Lord Jesus Christ would condescend to put marks of his favour on (that which he humbly calls) "a maimed work." But that which encouraged him unto this publication, was the acceptance which had, before this, been found by another treatise of his upon the day of judgment it self. In the fifty-eight chapter of Isaiah, the Lord promises a time of wondrous *light* and *joy* unto his restored people, and the consolations of a lasting *sabbatism:* things to be accomplished at the *second coming* of our Lord. Now, to prepare for that *blessedness*, those very things be required which our Lord Jesus Christ afterwards mentioned, in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew, as the qualifications of those whom he will admit into his blessed kingdom. There seems, at least, a little reason for it, that at the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, one of the first things will be a glorious translation, wherein the members of Christian churches will be called before him, and be examined, in order to the determination of their state under the New Jerusalem that is to follow: either to take their part in the glories of that city and kingdom for the thousand years to come, and by consequence what ensues thereupon, or to be exiled into the confusions of them that

* The doom of the prophet who is false to his own prophecy is in the hands of God.

† Rather to profit than to please. ‡ To promulgate, not high things, but fit things.

are to be without. Now, though 'tis possible that whole discourse of our Lord may nextly refer to no more than this transaction, yet inasmuch as the generality of interpreters have carried it unto the more general and ultimate proceedings of the *last judgment*, our Whiting did so too; and he has given us *forty-two doctrines* thereupon, so handled as to suit the edification of all readers. The notes are short, and but the concise heads of what the author prepared for his weekly exercises; nevertheless, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Mitchel observe in their preface thereunto: That the reader, by having "much in a little room," is the better furnished with variety of matter, worthy of *meditation*, for want of which many a man does digest little of what he reads. They say, "It is a good saying of one, 'that the reading of many diverse heads, without some interlaced meditation, is like eating of marrow without bread.' But he that shall take time to pause upon what he reads (where *great truths* are but in *few words* hinted at) with intermixed meditations and ejaculations, suitable to the matter in hand, will find such truths concisely delivered, to be like marrow and fatness, whereof a little does go far, and feed much."

But a little poetry must now wait upon the memory of this worthy man:

UPON THE VERY REVEREND SAMUEL WHITING.

Mount, Fame, the glorious chariot of the sun;
Through the world's *cirque*, all you, her heralds, run:
And let this great saint's merits be reveal'd,
Which, during life, he studiously concealed.
Cite all the Levites, fetch the sons of art,
In these our dolours to sustain a part.
Warn all that value worth, and every one
Within their eyes to bring an Helicon.
For in this single person we have lost
More riches, than an India has engrost.

When Wilson, that plerophory of love,
Did from our *banks*, up to his *center* move,
Rare Whiting quotes Columbus on this coast,
Producing gems, of which a King might boast.
More splendid far than ever Aaron wore,
Within his breast, *this* sacred Father bore.
Sound doctrine *Urim*, in his holy cell,
And all perfections *Thummim* there did dwell.
His holy vesture was his *innocence*,
His speech, *embroideries* of curious *sence*.
Such awful gravity this doctor us'd,
As if an angel every word infus'd.
No turgent stile, but Asiatic store;
Conduits were almost full, seldom run o'er
The banks of Time: come visit when you will,
The streams of nectar were descending still:
Much like Septemfluous Nilus, rising so,
He watered Christians round, and made them grow.
His modest *whispers* could the conscience reach,
As well as *whirlwinds*, which some others preach;
No Boanerges, yet could touch the heart,
And clench his *doctrine* by the meekest art.
His learning and his language, might become
A province not inferiour to Rome.
Glorious was Europe's heaven when such as these,
Stars of his size, shone in each diocess.

Who writ'st the fathers' lives, either make room,
Or with his name begin your second tome.
Ag'd Polycarp, deep Origen, and such
Whose *worth* your quills—your *wits* not them, enrich;
Lactantius, Cyprian, Basil too the great,
Quaint Jerom, Austin of the foremost seat,
With Ambrose, and more of the highest class,
In Christ's great school, with honour, I let pass;
And humbly pay my debt to Whiting's ghost,
Of whom both Englands, may with reason boast.
Nations for men of lesser worth have strove,
To have the *fame*, and, in transports of love,
Built *temples*, or fix'd *statues* of pure gold,
And their vast worth to after-ages told.
His modesty forbad so fair a tomb,
Who in ten thousand hearts obtain'd a room.

What sweet composures in his angel's face!
What soft affections, melting gleams of grace!
How mildly pleasant! by his closed lips,
Rhetorick's bright body suffers an eclipse.
Should half his sentences be truly numbred, [bard:
And weigh'd in wisdom's scales, 'twould spoil a Lom-
And churches' homilies, but *homily* be,
If venerable Whiting, set by thee.
Profoundest *judgment*, with a *meekness* rare,
Preferr'd him to the Moderator's chair;
Where, like Truth's champion, with his piercing eye
He silenced errors, and made Hectors fly.
Soft answers quell *hot passions;* ne'er too soft
Where solid Judgment is enthron'd aloft.
Church doctors are my witnesses, that here
Affections always kept their proper sphere,
Without those wilder eccentricities,
Which spot the fairest fields of men most wise.
In pleasant places fall that peoples' line,
Who have but shadows of men thus divine.

Much more their presence, and heaven-piercing prayers,
Thus many years to mind our soul-affairs.
A poorest soil oft has the richest mine;
This weighty oar, poor Lyn, was lately thine.
O wondrous mercy! but this glorious light
Hath left thee in the terrours of the night.
New-England, didst thou know this mighty one,
His weight and worth, thou'dst think thyself undone:
One of thy golden chariots, which, among
The clergy, rendered thee a thousand strong:
One who, for learning, wisdom, grace, and years,
Among the Levites hath not many peers:
One, yet with God a kind of *heavenly band*,
Who did whole regiments of woes withstand:
One that prevailed with Heaven; *one* greatly mist
On earth; he gain'd of Christ whate'er he list:
One of a world; who was both born and bred
At Wisdom's feet, hard by the Fountain's head.
The loss of such an one, would fetch a tear
From Niobe her self, if she were here.

What qualifies our grief, centers in this,
Be our *loss* near so great, the *gain* is his.

B. THOMPSON.

We will now leave him, with such a distich as Wigandus provided for his own

EPITAPH.

In Christo Vixi, Morior, Vivoque WHITINGUS;
*Do Sordes Morti, cætera, Christe, Tibi.**

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE LIFE OF MR. JOHN SHERMAN.

Vetustas judicavit Honestum, ut Mortui Laudarentur.—THUCID.†

§ 1. THAT great Athanasius, whom some of the ancients justly called *Propugnaculum Veritatis*‡ others *Lumen Ecclesiæ*,§ others, *Orbis Oraculum*,‖ is in the funeral oration of Gregory Nazianzen on him so set forth: "To commend Athanasius, is to praise vertue it self." My pen is now falling upon the memory of a person whom, if I should not commend unto the church of God, I should refuse to praise vertue it self, with learning, wisdom, and all the qualities that would render any person amiable. I shall proceed then with the endeavour of my pen, to *immortalize* his *memory*, that the signification of the name Athanasius may belong unto him, as much as the grace for which that great man was exemplary.

§ 2. Mr. John Sherman was born of godly and worthy parents, December 26, 1613, in the town of Dedham, in the county of Essex. While he was yet a child, the instruction of his parents, joined with the ministry of the famous Rogers, produced in him that "early remembrance of his Creator," which more than a little encouraged them to pursue and expect the good effects of the *dedication* which they had made of him unto the service of the Lord Jesus Christ in the work of the gospel. His education at school was under a learned master, who so much admired his youthful piety, industry, and ingenuity, that he never bestowed any *chastisement* upon him; except once for his giving the *heads of sermons* to his

* In Christ I lived and died, and yet do live: | To earth my dust, to Christ the rest I give.
† The ancients esteemed it to be an honourable duty to praise the dead.
‡ The bulwark of truth.
§ The Light of the Church.
‖ The World's Oracle.

idle school-mates, when an account thereof was demanded from them. So studious was he, that next unto communion with his God, he delighted in communion with his book, and he studied nothing more than to be an exception unto that ancient and general complaint, *Quem mihi dabis, qui Diem æstimet?**

§ 3. Early ripe for it, he went into the university of Cambridge, where, being admitted into Immanuel-Colledge, and instructed successively by two very considerable *tutors*, his proficiency still bore proportion to his *means*, but out-went the proportion of his *years*. When his turn came to be a graduate, he seriously considered the *subscription* required of him: and upon invincible arguments, became so dissatisfied therewithal, that advising with Mr. Rogers, Dr. Preston, and other eminent persons, who, commending his conscientious consideration, counselled his remove, he went away under the persecuted character of a Colledge-Puritan. The same that occasioned his removal from the colledge, in a little time occasioned also his removal from the kingdom; for upon mature deliberation, after extraordinary addresses to Heaven for direction, he embarked himself, with several famous divines who came over in the year 1634, hoping that by going over the *water*, they should in this be like men going under the *earth*, lodged "where the wicked would cease from troubling and the weary be at rest."

§ 4. So much was *religion* the *first sought* of the *first come* into this country, that they solemnly offered up their praises unto Him that "inhabits the praises of Israel," before they had provided habitations wherein to offer those praises. A day of thanksgiving was now kept by the Christians of a new hive, here called Water-town, under a *tree;* on which thanksgiving Mr. Sherman preached his *first sermon*, as an assistant unto Mr. Philips: there being present many other divines, who wondred exceedingly to hear a subject so accurately and excellently handled by one that had never before performed any such public exercise.

§ 5. He continued not many weeks at Water-town, before he removed upon mature advice unto New-Haven; where he preached occasionally in most of the towns then belonging to that colony: but with such deserved acceptance, that Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone being in an assembly of ministers, that met after a sermon of our young Sherman, pleasantly said, "Brethren, we must look to our selves and our ministry; for this young divine will out-do us all."

Here, though he had an importunate invitation unto a settlement in Milford, yet he not only declined it out of an ingenuous *jealousy*, lest the worthy person who must have been his collegue should have thereby suffered some inconveniences, but also for a little while, upon *that*, and some other *such* accounts, he wholly suspended the exercise of his ministry. Hereupon the zealous affection of the people to him appeared in their

* Where shall he be found who rightly values a day?

chusing him a magistrate of the colony; in which capacity he served the publick with an exemplary discretion and fidelity, until a fresh opportunity for the exercise of his ministry, within two or three years, offered it self; and then all the importunity used by the governour and assistants, to fasten him among themselves, could not prevail with him to "look back from that plow."

Our land has enjoyed the influences of many accomplished men, who, from candidates of the *ministry*, have become our *magistrates;* but this excellent man is the only example among us who left a bench of our magistrates to become a painful servant of the Lord Jesus Christ in the work of the ministry. Nevertheless, he that beholds Joseph of Arimathæa, a counsellour of state, Ambrose, the consul of Millain, George, the Prince of Anhalt, Chrysostom, a noble Antiochean, John a Lasco, a noble Polonion, all becoming the *plain preachers* of the gospel, will not think that Mr. Sherman herein either suffered a *degradation,* or was without a pattern.

§ 6. Upon the death of Mr. Philips of Watertown, Mr. Sherman was addressed by the church there to succeed him; and he accepted the charge of that church, although at the same time one of the churches at Boston used their endeavours to become the owner of so well *talented* a person, and several churches in London also, by letters, much urged him to "come over and help them." And now, being in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, he was likewise chosen a fellow of Harvard Colledge there; in which place he continued unto his death, doing many good offices for that society. Nor was it only as a *fellow* of the colledge, that he was a blessing, but also as he was in some sort a *preacher* to it: for his lectures being held for the most part once a fortnight, in the vicinage, for more than thirty years together, many of the scholars attending thereon did justly acknowledge the durable and abundant advantage which they had from those lectures.

§ 7. His intellectual abilities, whether *natural* or *acquired,* were such as to render him a *first-rate* scholar; the skill of *tongues* and *arts*, beyond the *common rate*, adorned him. He was a great reader, and as Athanasius reports of his Antonius, Προσεῖχεν ἑῶ τῇ ἀναγνωσει, ὡς μηδεν τῶν γεγραμενων ἀπ ἀυτὄ πιπλειν χαμαι, πανἷα δε καἷεχειν, και λοιπον ἀυἷῶ ἦην γνωμην ἀυἷι βιβλιων γινεὄαι:— *He read with such intention, as to lose nothing, but keep every thing, of all that he read, and his mind became his library:* even such was the felicity of our Sherman; he read with an unusual *dispatch*, and whatever he *read* became his own. From such a strength of *invention* and *memory* it was, that albeit he was a curious preacher, nevertheless, he could preach without any preparatory notes of what he was to utter. He ordinarily wrote but about half a page in octavo of what he was to preach; and he would as ordinarily preach without writing of *one word* at all. And he made himself wonderfully acceptable and serviceable unto his friends, by the *homelistical*

accomplishments which were produced by his abilities in his conversation. For though he were not a man of much discourse, but ever thought ἐν πολυλογια ἐσῖι πολυμωρια:* and when some have told him, "that he had learned the art of silence," he hath, with a very becoming ingenuity, given them to understand that it was an art which it would hurt none of them to learn, yet his discourse had a rare conjunction of *profit* and *pleasure* in it.

He was *witty*, and yet *wise* and *grave*, carrying a majesty in his very countenance; and much visited for council, in weighty cases; and when he delivered his judgment in any matter, there was little or nothing to be spoken by others after him.

§ 8. It is a remark, which Melchior Adam has in the life of his excellent Pitiscus: *Illud mirandum, quod Homo* Theologus, *in* Mathematum *studiis, nullo nisi se Magistro, eo usque progressus est, ut Editis Scriptis, Disciplinæ illius Gloriam, magnis Matheseos Professoribus præripuerit:*† and it might be well applied unto our eminent Sherman, who, though he were a consummate divine, and a continual preacher, yet, making the mathematics his diversion, did attain unto such an incomparable skill therein, that he was undoubtedly one of the best mathematicians that ever lived in this hemisphere of the world, and it is great pity that the world should be deprived of the *astronomical calculations* which he has left in manuscript behind him. It seems that men of great parts may, as it is observed by that great instance thereof, Mr. Boyle, successively apply themselves to more than one study. Thus Copernicus the astronomer, eternized like the very stars by his new system of them, was a church-man; and his learned champion Lansbergius was a minister. Gassendus was a doctor of divinity; Clavius too was a doctor of divinity; nor will the names of those English doctors, Wallis, Wilkins, and Barrow, be forgotten so long as that *learning* which is to be called *real*, has any friends in the English nation: and Ricciolus himself, the compiler of that voluminous and judicious work the "*Almagestum Novum*," was a professor of Theology.

Into the number of these heroes is our Sherman to be admitted; who, if any one had enquired how he could find the leisure for his mathematical speculations? would have given the excuse of the famous Pitiscus for his answer: *Alii Schacchia Ludunt, et Talis; Ego Regula et Circino, si quando Ludere datur.*‡

And from the view of the effects which the mathematical contemplations of our Sherman produced in his temper, I cannot but utter the wish of the noble Tycho Brache upon that blessed Pitiscus, *Optarem plures ejusmodi Concionatores reperiri, qui Geometrica gnaviter callerent: forte plus esset in iis Circumspecti et solidi Judicii, Rixarum inanium et Logomachiarum*

* Much speaking must embrace much folly.

† It is surprising, that a theologian should, without the aid of an instructor, have made such progress in mathematical studies as by his published writings to have borne off the honours from distinguished professors in that department.

‡ Some play at chess and with dice: when I have an opportunity to play, my toys are the rule and compasses.

minus:* for among other things very valuable to *me*, in the temper of this great man, one was a certain *largeness of soul*, which particularly disposed him to embrace the *Congregational* way of church-government, without those *rigid* and *narrow* principles of uncharitable *separation*, wherewith some good men have been *leavened*.

§ 9. But as our mentioned Pitiscus, when his friends congratulated unto him the glory of his mathematical excellencies, with an humble and holy ingenuity replied, "Let us rejoice rather that our names be written in heaven!" thus our Sherman was more concerned for, and more employed in an acquaintance with the *heavenly seats* of the blessed, than with the motions of the *heavenly bodies*. He did not so much use a Jacob's *staff* in observations, as he was in supplications a true Jacob himself. He was a person of a most heavenly disposition and conversation; *heavenly* in his words, *heavenly* in his thoughts, *heavenly* in his designs and desires; few in the world had so much of *heaven* upon *earth*. He was a most practical commentary upon those words of the psalmist, "Mine eyes are ever towards the Lord:" and those of the apostle, "Keep yourselves in the love of God."

As the Scriptures are the *firmament* which God hath expanded over the spiritual world, so this good man usually spent an hour every morning in entertaining himself with the *lights* that are shining there. Besides this, with meditations on God, Christ, and heaven, he fell asleep at night; and with the like meditations he woke and rose in the morning; and prayer was therefore the first and last of his daily works. Yea, had any one cast a look upon him, not only abroad in company, but also in his closest retirement, they would have seen scarce a minute pass him, without a turn of his eye towards heaven, whereto his *heaven-touch'd heart* was carrying of him with its continual vergencies. And as the stars, they say, may be seen from the bottom of a well, when the day light in higher places hinders the sight thereof; so this worthy man, who saw more not only of the *stars in heaven* but also of the *heaven* beyond the *stars*, than most other men, was one who, in his humility, laid himself low, even to a fault; and he had buried himself in the obscurity of his recesses and retirements, if others that knew his worth had not sometimes fetched him forth to more publick action.

The name *Descentius*, which I found worn by an eminent person among the primitive Christians, I thought proper for this eminent person, when I have considered the condescension of his whole deportment. And, methought it was an instance of this condescension, that this great man would sometimes give the country an *almanack*, which yet he made an opportunity to do good, by adding at the end of the composures those *holy reflections*, which taught good men how to recover that *little*, but *spread-*

* I would that there were more controversialists of his school among our geometricians—adroit and graceful in their very earnestness: perhaps there would then be among them more circumspection and sound judgment, and fewer fruitless contentions and battles of words.

ing thing, the almanack, from that common abuse, of being an engine to convey only silly impertinencies, or sinful superstitions, into almost every cottage of the wilderness. One of those reflections I will recite, because it lively expressed the holy sence of death in which the author daily lived:

"Let me intreat one thing of thee, and I will adventure to promise thee a good year; the request is in it self reasonable, and may to thee be eternally profitable. It is only this: duly to prize and diligently to improve time, for obtaining the blessed end it was given for, and is yet graciously continued unto thee, by the eternal God. Of three hundred sixty-five days, allowed by the making up of this year, which shall be thy last, thou knowest not; but that any of them may be it, thou oughtest to know, and so consider, that thou mayest pass the time of thy sojourning here with fear."

§ 10. Behold him either in the *Lord's house*, or in *his own*, of *both* which a *well government* is joined in the demands of the apostle, and we may behold both of them after an exemplary manner ordered. In his ministry he was judicious, industrious, faithful; a most curious expositor of Scripture, and one that fed us with the *fattest marrow* of divinity. And there was one thing in his preaching, which procured it a singular admiration: this was a natural and not affected loftiness of stile; which with an easie fluency bespangled his discourses with such glittering figures of oratory, as caused his ablest hearers to call him a second Isaiah, the *honey-dropping* and *golden-mouthed* preacher. But among the successes of his conduct in his ministry, there was none more notable than the peace which, by God's blessing upon his wisdom and meekness more than any other things, was preserved in his populous town as long as he lived, notwithstanding many temptations unto differences among the good people there. From thence let us follow him to his family, and there we saw him with much discretion maintaining both fear and love in those that belonged unto him, and a zealous care to uphold religion among them. The duties of reading, praying, singing, and catechising, were constantly observed, and sermons repeated. And he was, above all, a great lover and strict keeper of the Christian Sabbath; in the very evening of which approaching, he would not allow any worldly matter to disturb or divert the exercises of piety "within his gates."

§ 11. He was twice married. By his first wife, the vertuous daughter of parents therein resembled by her, he had six children. But his next wife was a young gentlewoman whom he chose from under the guardianship and with the countenance of Edward Hopkins, Esq., the excellent governour of Connecticut. She was a person of good education and reputation, and honourably descended; being the daughter of a Puritan gentleman, whose name was Launce, and whose lands in Cornwal yielded him fourteen hundred pounds a year. He was a parliament-man, a man learned and pious, and a notable disputant; but once disputing against the English Episcopacy, (as not being ignorant of what is affirmed by Contzen the

Jesuite in his politicks, "That were all England brought once to approve of bishops, it were easie to reduce it unto the Church of Rome,") he was worsted by such a way of maintaining the argument, as was thought agreeable; that is, by a wound in the side from his furious antagonist; of which wound at last he died. The wife of that gentleman was daughter to the Lord Darcy, who was Earl of Rivers; a person of a Protestant and Puritan religion, though of a Popish family, and one that, after the murder of her former husband, Mr. Launce, had for her second husband the famous Mr. Sympson. But by the daughter of that Mr. Launce, who is yet living among us, Mr. Sherman had no less than *twenty* children added unto the number of *six*, which he had before.

I remember John Helwigius of late, besides what has been related formerly by other authors, brings undeniable attestations of a married couple, who in one wedlock were parents to *fifty-three* children, at thirty-five births brought into the world: somewhat short of that, but not short of wonder, is a late instance of one mother that has brought forth no less than *thirty-nine* children, the *thirty-fifth* of whom was lately discoursed by persons of honour and credit, from whom I had it. Although New-England has no instances of such a *Polytokie*, yet it has had instances of what has been remarkable: one woman has had not less than *twenty-two* children: whereof she buried fourteen sons and six daughters. Another woman has had no less than *twenty-three* children by one husband; whereof nineteen lived unto men's and women's estate. A third was mother to *seven-and-twenty* children: and she that was mother to Sir William Phips, the late governour of New-England, had no less than *twenty-five* children besides him; she had one-and-twenty sons and five daughters. Now, into the catalogue of such "fruitful vines by the sides of the house" is this gentlewoman, Mrs. Sherman, to be enumerated. Behold, thus was our Sherman, that eminent fearer of the Lord, blessed of him.

§ 12. He had the rare felicity to "grow like the lilly," as long as he lived; and enjoy a flourishing and perhaps increasing *liveliness* of his faculties, until he died. Such *keenness* of wit, such *soundness* of judgment, such *fulness* of matter, and such *vigour* of language, is rarely seen in old age, as was to be seen in him when he was old.

The last sermon which he ever preached was at Sudbury, from Eph. ii. 8, "By grace ye are saved:" wherein he so displayed the riches of the free grace expressed in our salvation, as to fill his hearers with admiration. Being thus at Sudbury, he was taken sick of an intermitting but malignant fever; which yet abated, that he found opportunity to return unto his own house at Water-Town. But his fever then renewing upon him, it prevailed so far that he soon expired his holy soul; which he did with expressions of abundant faith, joy, and resignation, on a Saturday evening, entring on his *eternal Sabbath*, August 8, 1685, aged seventy-two.

EPITAPHIUM.

For an epitaph upon this worthy man, I'll presume a little to alter the epitaph by Stenius, bestowed upon Pitiscus

Ut Pauli *Pietas, sic* Euclidea *Mathesis,*
Uno, Shermanni, *conditur in Tumulo.**

And annex that of Altenburg upon Cæsius.

Qui cursum Astrorum *vivens Indagine multâ*
Quæsivit, coràm nunc ea cerrit ovans.†

CHAPTER XXX.

EUSEBIUS: THE LIFE OF MR. THOMAS COBBET.

Et Eruditis Pietate, et Piis Eruditione antecellens, ità Laudes Secundas Doctrinæ ferens, ut Pietatis primas obtineret.‡——NAZIANZ. DE BASILIO.

§ 1. IN the old church of Israel we find a considerable sort and sett of men, that were called, "The scribes of the people:" whose office it was, not only to copy out the Bible, for such as desired a copy thereof, with such exactness that the mysteries occurring, even in the least vowels and accents of it, might not be lost, but also to be the more publick "preachers of the law," and common and constant pulpit-men; taking upon them to be the expounders, as well as the preservers of the Scripture. But one of the principal *scribes* enjoyed by the people of New-England was Mr. Thomas Cobbet, who wrote more books than the most of the divines, which did their parts to make a Kirjath-Sepher of this wilderness; in every one of which he approved himself one of the scribes mentioned by our Saviour, from his *rich treasure* bringing forth instructions, both out of the New Testament and out of the Old.

§ 2. Our Mr. Thomas Cobbet was born at Newbury, long enough before our New-England had a town of that name, or indeed had any such thing as a town at all; namely, in the year 1608. And although his parents, who afterwards came also to New-England, were so destitute of worldly *grandure* that he might say, as divers of the Jewish Rabbis tell us the words of Gideon may be read, "Behold, my father is poor," yet this their son was *greatness* enough to render one family memorable. Reader, we are to describe,

Ingenua de plebe Virum, sed Vita Fidesque
Inculpata fuit.§

* In Sherman's lowly tomb are lain | The heart of Paul, and Euclid's brain.

† He who, by mortal eyes, afar | Translated to their native skies,
Traced the bright course of every star, | Can read at will their mysteries.

‡ He excelled the learned in piety, the pious in learning—accepting the secondary honours of learning to obtain the first in piety.

§ Of humble parents, but in inward faith | And outward life most blameless.

And remember the words of Seneca,

*Ex casa etiam Virum magnum prodire posse.**

When Cicero was jeered for the mean signification of his name, he said, "However, he would not change it, but by his actions render the name of *Cicero* more illustrious than that of *Cato:*" and our Cobbet has done enough to make the name of Cobbet venerable in these American parts of the world, whether there were the actions of any ancestors or no to signalize it. A good education having prepared him for it, he became an Oxford scholar, and removing from Oxford in the time of a plague raging there, he did, with other young men, become a pupil to famous Dr. Twiss at Newbury. He was, after this, a preacher at a small place in Lincolnshire; from whence being driven by a storm of persecution upon the *reforming* and Puritan part of the nation, he came over unto New-England in the same vessel with Mr. Davenport; coming to New-England, his old friend, Mr. Whiting of Lyn, expressed his friendship with endeavours to obtain and to enjoy his assistance, as a collegue in the pastoral charge of the church there; where they continued, *Fratrum Dulce Par*,† until, upon the removal of Mr. Norton to Boston, and of Mr. Rogers to Heaven, he was translated unto the church of Ipswich; with which he continued in the faithful discharge of his ministry until his reception of the *crown of life*, at his *death*, about the beginning of the year 1686. Then 'twas that he was (to speak Jewishly) treasured up.

§ 3. The witty epigrammatist hath told us,

Qui dignos Ipsi Vita scripsere Libellos,
Illorum Vitam scribere non Opus est.‡

And we might therefore make the story of this worthy man's *life* to be but an account of the immortal books wherein he *lives* after he is *dead*. What Mr. Cobbet was, the reader may gather by reading a very savoury treatise of his upon the *fifth* commandment. But that he might serve *both tables* of the law, he was willing to write something upon the *first* commandment as well as the fifth; and this he did in a large, nervous, golden discourse *of prayer*. But that the *second* commandment, as well as the first, might not be unserved by him, there were divers *disciplinary tracts*, which he publickly offered unto the Church of God. He printed upon the duty of the civil magistrate, in the point of *Toleration;* a point then much debated, and not yet every where decided; whereto he annexed a vindication of the government of New-England from the aspersions of some who thought themselves persecuted under it.

He was likewise a learned and a lively defender of infant-baptism, and he gave the world an elaborate composure on that subject, on the occasion

* Within a hut a hero may be born.

† A charming pair of brothers.

‡ When men write *living books*, my friend and brother, | Their life is written, and they need no other.

whereof Mr. Cotton, in his incomparable preface to a book of Mr. Norton's, has these passages:

"COVETUS *cum persentisceret aliquot ex Ovibus Christi sibi commissis, Antipædobaptismi Laqueis atque Dumetis irretitas, Zelo Dei accensus* (*et Zelo quidem secundum Scientiam*) *imo, et Miserecordia etiam Christi Commotus, erga Errantes Oviculas; Libros quos potuit, ex Anabaptistarum penu, congessit; Rationum Momenta* (*Qualia fuerant*) *in Lance Sanctuarii trutinavit; Testimoniorum Plaustra, quæ ab aliis congesta fuerant, sedulo perquisivit; et pro eo, quo floret, Disputandi Acumine, Dijudicandi solertia, solida multa paucis Complectendi Dexteritate atque Indefesso Labore, nihil pœne Intentatum reliquit, quod vel ad Veritatem, in hac Causa Illustrandam, vel ad Errorum Nebulas Discutiendas, atque Dispellendas, conduceret.*"*

Reader, to receive so much commemoration from so reverend and renowned a pen, is to have one's life sufficiently written: it is needless for me to proceed any further in serving the memory of Mr. Cobbet.

§ 4. And yet there is one thing which my poor pen may not leave unmentioned. Of all the books written by Mr. Cobbet, none deserves more to be read by the world, or to live till the general burning of the world, than that *of prayer:* and indeed prayer, the subject so *experimentally*, and therefore *judiciously*, therefore *profitably*, therein handled, was not the least of those things for which Mr. Cobbet was remarkable. He was a very praying man, and his prayers were not more observable throughout New-England for the *argumentative*, the *importunate*, and, I had almost said, *filially familiar* strains of them, than for the wonderful *successes* that attended them. It was a *good* saying of the ancient, *Homine probo Orante nihil potentius;*† and it was a *great* saying of the reformer, *Est quædam Precum Omnipotentia*‡. Our Cobbet might certainly make a considerable figure in the catalogue of those eminent saints whose experiences have notably exemplified *the power of prayer* unto the world. That *golden chain*, one end whereof is tied unto the *tongue of man*, the other end unto the *ear of God* (which is as just, as old, a resembling of prayer) our Cobbet was always pulling at, and he often pulled unto such marvellous purpose, that the neighbours were almost ready to sing of him, as Claudian did upon the prosperous prayers of Theodosius—

O Nimium Dilecte Deo.§

* When COBBET saw that some of his flock, over whom Christ had made him shepherd, caught in the snares and brambles of Anti-pædobaptism, burning with zeal for God (a zeal, too, according to knowledge,) yea, and also with such compassion as Christ felt towards his wandering sheep, collected all the books he could of the Anabaptists—weighed their arguments (such as they were) in the scales of the sanctuary—laboriously groped through the waggon-loads of proof-texts, which they had got together from the writings of others—and, exercising that keenness in debate for which he is distinguished, his profound discrimination, his tact for condensing many weighty thoughts in few words, and unwearied perseverance, left nothing untried, which could conduce either to development of the truth concerning that important theme, or tend to dissipate the mists of error.

† Nothing exceeds in power a holy man at prayer.

‡ There is a kind of omnipotence in prayer.

§ O thou, too much beloved of God.

A son of this "man of prayer" was taken into captivity by the barbarous, treacherous Indian salvages, and a captivity from whence there could be little expectation of redemption: whereupon Mr. Cobbet called about thirty, as many as could suddenly convene, of the Christians in the neighbourhood unto his house; and there they together prayed for the young man's deliverance. The old man's heart was now *no more sad;* he believed that the God of heaven had accepted of their supplications, and because "he believed, therefore he spake" as much to those that were about him, who, when they heard him *speak*, did *believe* so too. Now, within a few days after this the prayers were all answered, in the return of the young man unto his father, with circumstances little short of miracle! But, indeed, the instances of surprising effects following upon the prayers of this gracious man were so many, that I must supersede all relation of them with only noting thus much, that it was generally supposed among the pious people in the land that the enemies of New-England owed the wondrous disasters and confusions that still followed them, as much to the prayers of this true Israelite, as to perhaps any one occasion. Mr. Knox's prayers were sometimes more feared "than an army of ten thousand men;" and Mr. Cobbet's prayers were esteemed of no little significancy to the welfare of the country, which is now therefore bereaved of its *chariots* and its *horsemen*. If New-England had its Noah, Daniel, and Job, to *pray* wonderfully for it, Cobbet was one of them!

EPITAPHIUM.

Sta viator; *Thesaurus hic Jacet,*
THOMAS COBBETUS;
cujus,
Nosti Preces Potentissimas, ac Mores Probatissimos,
Si es Nov-Anglus.
Mirare, *Si Pietatem Colas;*
Sequere, *Si Felicitatem Optes.**

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE LIFE OF MR. JOHN WARD.

§ 1. Some famous persons of old thought it a greater *glory* to have it enquired, "why such a one had not a statue erected for him?" than to have it enquired, "why he had?" Mr. Nathanael Ward, born at Haverhil, in Essex, about 1570, was bred a scholar, and was first intended and employed for the study of the law. But afterwards travelling with certain merchants into Prussia and Denmark, and having discourse with

* Stop, traveller! a treasure lies here, Thomas Cobbet: whose effectual prayers and most exemplary life thou, if thou art a New-Englander, must have known. Admire, if you revere piety: follow, if you long for happiness!

David Paræus, at Heidelberg, from whom he received much direction, at his return into England he became a minister of the gospel, and had a living at Stondon. In the year 1634 he was driven out of England for his non-conformity; and coming to New-England, he continued serving the church at Ipswich till the year 1645; when, returning back to England, he settled at Sherfield, near Brentwood; and there he ended his days, when he was about eighty-three years of age. He was the author of many composures full of wit and sense; among which, that entituled, "*The Simple Cobler*" (which demonstrated him to be a subtil statesman) was most considered. If it be enquired, "why this our St. Hilary hath among our Lives no statue erected for him?" let that enquiry go for part of one. And we will pay our debt unto his worthy son.

§ 2. Mr. John Ward was born, I think, at Haverhil, on November 5, 1606. His grandfather was that John Ward, the worthy minister of Haverhil, whom we find among "the worthies of England," and his father was the celebrated Nathanael Ward, whose wit made him known to more Englands than one. *Where* his education was, I have not been informed; the first notice of him that occurs to me being in the year 1639, when he came over into these parts of America; and settled there in the year 1641, in a town also called Haverhil. But *what* it was, every body that saw him, saw it in the *effects* of it, that it was learned, ingenuous, and religious. He was a person of a quick *apprehension*, a clear *understanding*, a strong *memory*, a facetious *conversation;* he was an exact *grammarian*, an expert *physician*, and, which was the top of all, a thorough *divine:* but, which rarely happens, these endowments of his *mind* were accompanied with a most healthy, hardy, and agile constitution of *body*, which enabled him to make nothing of walking on foot a journey as long as thirty miles together.

§ 3. Such was the blessing of God upon his religious education, that he was not only *restrained* from the vices of immorality in all his younger years, but also *inclined* unto all vertuous actions. Of young persons, he would himself give this advice: "Whatever you do, be sure to maintain shame in them; for if that be once gone, there is no hope that they'll ever come to good." Accordingly, our Ward was always *ashamed* of doing any ill thing. He was of a modest and bashful disposition, and very sparing of speaking, especially before strangers, or such as he thought his betters. He was wonderfully temperate, in meat, in drink, in sleep, and he always expressed—I had almost said *affected*—a peculiar sobriety of *apparel.* He was a son most exemplarily dutiful unto his parents; and having paid some considerable debts for his father, he would afterwards humbly observe and confess that God had abundantly recompenced this his dutifulness.

§ 4. Though he had great offers of rich matches in England, yet he chose to marry a meaner person, whom *exemplary piety* had recommended. He lived with her for more than forty years, in such an happy harmony,

that when she died, he professed that, in all this time, he never had received one displeasing *word* or *look* from her. Although she would so faithfully tell him of every thing that might seem amendable in him, that he would pleasantly compare her to an *accusing conscience*, yet she ever pleased him wonderfully: and she would often put him upon the duties of secret fasts, and when she met with any thing in reading that she counted singularly agreeable, she would still impart it unto him. For which causes, when he lost this his mate, he caused those words to be fairly written on his table-board:

*In Lugendo Compare, Vitæ Spatium Compleat Orbus.**

And there is this memorable passage to be added. While she was a maid, there was ensured unto her the revenue of a parsonage worth two hundred pounds per annum, in case that she married a minister. And all this had been given to our Ward, in case he had conformed unto the doubtful matters in the Church of England: but he left all the allurements and enjoyments of England, "chusing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God in a wilderness."

§ 5. Although he would say, "there is no place for fishing like the sea, and the more hearers a minister has, the more hope there is that some of them will be catched in the nets of the gospel;" nevertheless, through his humility and reservation, it came to pass that, as he chose to begin his ministry in Old England, at a very small place, thus, when he came to New-England, he chose to settle with a *new* plantation, where he could expect none but small circumstances all his days. He did not love to appear upon the publick stage himself, and there appeared few there whom he did not prefer above himself: but when he was there, every one might see how conscientiously he sought the *edification* of the souls of the plainest auditors, before the *ostentation* of his own abilities. And from the like self-diffidence it was, that he would never manage any ecclesiastical affairs in his church, without previous and prudent consultations with the best advisers that he knew: he would say, "he had rather always follow advice, though sometimes the advice might mislead him, than ever act without advice, though he might happen to do well by no advice but his own."

§ 6. This diligent servant of the Lord Jesus Christ continued under and against many temptations, watching over his flock at Haverhil, more than twice as long as Jacob continued with his uncle; yea, for as many years as there are Sabbaths in the year. On November 19, 1693, he preached an excellent sermon, entering the *eighty-eighth* year of his age; the only sermon that ever was, or perhaps ever will be preached in this country at such an age. He was then smitten with a paralytic indisposition upon the organs of his speech, which continuing about a month upon him, not

* In mourning my companion be spent life's remaining span.

without evident proofs of his understanding, and his heavenliness, continuing firm with him to the last; at last, on December 27, he went off, bringing up the rear of our first generation.

EPITAPHIUM.

*Bonorum Ultimus, at inter Bonos non Ultimus.**

MANTISSA.

The Church of God is wronged, in that the *life* of the great John Owen is not written. He was by his intention, so much a New-England man, that a New-English book affords no improper *station* for him. Let him that once would have chose to *die* among the worthies of New-England, be counted worthy to live among them. The most expressive memorials of his life, that we at Boston can yet procure, are inscribed on his grave at London. These must be then transcribed; behold, the language of his

EPITAPH.

JOHANNES OWEN, S. T. P.

Agro Oxoniensi, *Patre* Insigni *Theologo*,
Matre Pia *Matrona*, *Oriundus*:
Morum Elegantiâ, *et Lepore* Innocuo,
Omnibus quibuscum conversatus est, Gratissimus:
Donorum *pari* Gratiarumque *Eminentia*,
Iis potissimum in Pretio *habitus et* Deliciis,
Quibus, *sincera*, Curæ *erat*, Cordique *Religio*:
Literis *natus*, Literis *innutritus*, Totusque *Deditus*,
Donec Animata *plane evasit* Bibliotheca:
Authoribus Classicis, *quà* Græcis, *quà* Latinis,
Sub Edv. Silvestro, *Scholæ* Privatæ *Ozonii* Moderatore,
Operam navavit satis Felicem;
Feliciorem *adhuc Studiis* Philosophicis,
Magno *sub* Barlovio, *Coll. Reginsis id tempus* Socio;
(Ædis Christi *ibidem*, *temporis Decursu*, *Ipsemet* Decanus,
Et quinquennalis *Academiæ* Vice-Cancellarius:)
Theologiæ *demum longe* felicissimus *incubuit*; *Artibus*
Pedisequis, Duce *et* Auspice, *Sancto Christi Spiritu*;
(*Cujus* omnes, *in Partâ à Christo Redemptione*
Applicandâ, Partes *Theologorum* solus *Exposuit*.)
Triumque, *quæ* Doctæ *præsertim audiunt*,
(*Alias præter* Orientales) *Linguarum Peritus*;
Paginas Sacras Intus, *et in* Cute,
Spiritu, *et* Litera, *sibi habuit notissimas*;
In Magnis verò Nascentis *Ecclesiæ Luminibus Vertrotissimus*;
Primis longùm Degeneris *Restitutoribus neutiquam neglectis*;
Nec melioris *Notæ Scholasticis Contemptui habitis*;
Tam in Palæstrâ, *quàm* Pulpito, *Dominatus est*;
In Palæstrâ, Pontificios, Remonstrantes, Socinitas, Nostrosque
In Momentoso Justificationis *Apice* Novaturientes,
Scriptis Nervosissimis *Prostravit*, *Proculcavit*;
In Pulpito, *maximè Infirmi* Corporis,
Presentiâ *minimè Infirmâ*:
Gestu, Theatricâ *procul Gesticulatione*,
Ad Optimas Decori *Regulas Composito*:
Sermone, *à* Contemptibili *remotissimo*; Canoro,
Sed non Stridulo; *Suavi*, *sed prorsus* Virili;
Et Authoritatis *quiddam Sonante*:
Pari, *si non et Superiore*, Animi *Præsentiâ*;
Concionum, *quas*, *ad verbum*, totas *Chartis commisit*,
Ne verbum quidem vel carptim, *et stringente oculo*
Inter Prædicandum Lectitavit:
Sed omnia, Suo *primùm Impressa altiùs Pectori*,
Auditorum Animis, Cordibusque *potentiùs ingessit*;
Nec Orandi, *minùs*, *quàm* Perorandi, *Donis Instructus*;
Ministri verè Evangelici *Omnes complevit Numeros*:
Cultus et Regiminis Instituti (*unà cum Doctrinâ* Revelatâ)
Magnus Ipsemet Zelotes, *et* Assertor *strenuus*;
Amplissimæ denique, *cui Spiritus S. Eum præfecerat*,
Ecclesiæ
Prudentissimus *pariter ac* Vigilantissimus *Pastor*.
Cujus Prælustri *è Multis Unum sufficiat Epitaphio*:
Author Quadripartiti in Ep. ad Hebr. Commentarii.
Peracto in Terris *Cursu*, *et quod acceperat*, *Ministerio*,
Ad Christi in Cœli *Statum*, *quem*, *Sero Vitæ Vespere*,
Clariùs, *licet* eminùs, *Prospectum Graphicè linearat*,
Propiùs, Penitiùsque *contuendum Angelus Decessit*.

Mensis *Augusti* (*Non-Conformistis* id magis adhuc *Fatali*) Die XXIV.
Anno Sal. MDCLXXXIII. *Ætat.* LXVII.

* Last of the good, but among the good by no means the last.

Epitaphium istud ab Indigno *Symmista* Compositum
Uti *Latius*, quam ut infra *breves*
Tabulæ *Marmoreæ* Cancellos clauderetur;
Ità etiam *Angustius*, quàm ut *Justum*
Ars Admodum Reverendi adimpleret *Characterem*;
Nobiliorem, quam meruit, potitum est, *Sedem*,
A Fronte *Operis* Hujus Operosissimi
Chartacei Marmoreo Perennioris *Monumenti*.

[Translation of the foregoing Epitaph.]

JOHN OWEN, PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY—Born in Oxfordshire, (his father a distinguished minister and his mother a pious matron,) most agreeable to all with whom he was intimate on account of the elegance of his deportment and his innocent gaiety, and, inasmuch as he was equally gifted with talents and graces, regarded with equal esteem and delight by those who sincerely cared for and loved religion. Born, as it were, of letters, nourished by letters, and wholly devoted to them, he became almost literally a living library. He gave his attention successfully both to the Greek and Latin classic authors under Edward Sylvester, master of a private school at Oxford: and with still more success to philosophic studies under the great Barlowe, at that time a Fellow of the Royal College; becoming himself, in the progress of time, Dean of Christ's College, and for five years Vice Chancellor of the academy at the same place. Finally he devoted himself, with the greatest success of all, to Theology, with learning for his helper, and the Holy Spirit of Christ for his inspirer and guide: theology, *all* the points of which, in respect to the efficacy of the redemption secured by Christ, he alone of all theologians, made clear. He was proficient in the three languages commonly called the learned languages, in addition to the Oriental dialects. He understood the Sacred pages in their inner meaning—in spirit and in letter: was admirably versed in the writings of the great lights of the early church: had by no means neglected those who, though inferior to the ancient fathers, restored the primitive faith, nor did he despise the school-men of lesser note. In the field of controversy he was as superior as in the pulpit. In the former, he overwhelmed and trampled down with his nervous reasoning Romanizers, Dissenters, Socinians, and those of our time who invent new theories concerning the momentous and crowning doctrine of Justification. In the latter, though of exceedingly weak frame, yet of a presence by no means weak; with gestures far removed from theatrical gesticulation, and adjusted to the nicest rules of decorum; of speech by no means contemptible; a voice loud, but not shrill—sweet, but manly, and with a certain quality of authoritativeness: of a mental presence, at least equal, if not superior, to his bodily presence: he did not in preaching read word for word and with peering gaze the sermons which he committed to paper entire; but every thing which he uttered, having been first deeply impressed on his own heart, he imprinted the more powerfully on the minds and hearts of his hearers. Not less gifted in prayer than in oratory, he fulfilled all the functions of a true evangelical minister; being himself a great zealot and staunch partisan in the matters of an established worship and discipline, as well as of the doctrines in revelation. Finally, he was at the same time a most discreet and watchful pastor to the church over which the Holy Spirit had ordained him. For his noble epitaph let one of the many written for him suffice:

The Author of the "*Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in four parts*," having finished his earthly career and the ministry he had received, has departed in angelic guise to take a nearer and inward survey of Christ's heavenly kingdom, which, in the late evening of life, though it was still seen from far, he described with graphic truthfulness. He died on the 24th day of August (still a fatal month to the Non-conformists) in the year of Salvation, 1683, aged 67.

This epitaph, composed by its unworthy author—too extended to be enclosed within the small area of a marble tablet—too limited to embrace a complete catalogue of his virtues—has obtained a more honourable place than it deserved on the pages of this most elaborate work—a paper-memorial more enduring than a marble monument.

'Ονησιφορα Διηγηματα: *Sive* UTILES NARRATIONES.*

THE TRIUMPHS OF THE REFORMED RELIGION IN AMERICA:

OR,

THE LIFE OF THE RENOWNED JOHN ELIOT;

A PERSON JUSTLY FAMOUS IN THE CHURCH OF GOD; NOT ONLY AS AN EMINENT CHRISTIAN, AND AN EXCELLENT MINISTER AMONG THE ENGLISH; BUT ALSO AS A MEMORABLE EVANGELIST AMONG THE INDIANS OF NEW-ENGLAND. WITH SOME ACCOUNT CONCERNING THE LATE AND STRANGE SUCCESS OF THE GOSPEL IN THOSE PARTS OF THE WORLD, WHICH FOR MANY AGES HAVE LAIN BURIED IN PAGAN IGNORANCE.

ESSAYED BY COTTON MATHER.

'Ου γαρ 'ωην ὁσιον, λαμπροτατων ἐργων και ὀνησιφορων ὁογματων το κλεος παριδεῖν ὑπο της ληθης συλουμενον: i. e. *Existimavi, haud sine scelere fieri potuisse, ut factorum splendidissimorum, et utilium Narrationum gloria, Oblivioni traderetur.*†—THEODORIT.

"Blessed is that servant, whom his Lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing."

THE THIRD PART.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE PHILIP LORD WHARTON;

A NO LESS NOBLE THAN AGED PATRON OF LEARNING AND VERTUE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP: If it be considered that some *evangelical* and *apostolical* histories of the New Testament were, by the direction of the Holy Spirit himself, dedicated unto a person of quality, and that the noble person addressed with *one* such dedication, entertained it with resentments that encouraged his dear Lucilius to make a *second*, the world will be satisfied that I do a thing but reasonable and agreeable, when unto a narrative of many evangelical and apostolical affairs, I presume to prefix the name of one so excellent for love to God as your lordship is known to be; and one upon this account only an unmeet subject for the praises of the obscure pen which now writes that *Quis Vituperat?*‡ I do not, I dare not, so far intrude upon your honour, as to ask your patronage unto all the New-English principles and practices which are found in the character of our celebrated Eliot; for as the distance of a thousand leagues has made it impossible for me to attend the (*usual*) orders and manners of asking first your allowance for what I have openly entitled you unto, so the renowned Eliot is gone beyond any occasions for the greatest humane patronage.

But that which has procured unto your lordship the trouble of this dedication, is my desire to give you the picture of one aged saint, lately gone to that general assembly, which the eternal King of Heaven, by the advances of your own age in the way of righteousness, does quickly summon your self unto: the profound respect which our Eliot had for your honour, will doubtless be answered and requited with your own value for the memory of such a memorable Christian, minister, and evangelist; inasmuch as your affections, like his, take not their measures from these or those matters of doubtful disputation, but from such an universal piety, and charity, and holiness, as he was an instance of.

* Profitable Narratives.

† For I believed it an act of impiety, to see the renown of shining actions and useful sentiments stifled by oblivion.

‡ Challenge to reproach.

No man ever complained of it that, in the works of Chrysostom, we find seven orations not far asunder in commendation of Paul: nor is it any fault that I have now written one in commendation of a man whom a Pauline spirit had made illustrious. In describing him, I have made but little touches upon his parentage and family, because as the truly great Basil excuses his omission of those things, in his oration upon Gordius the Martyr, *Ecclesia hæc tanquam supervacua dimittit.** But I have related those things of him which cannot but create a good esteem for him in the breast of your lordship, who are a faithful and ancient witness against those distempers of the world, whereby (as the blessed Salvian lamented it) *Cogimur esse Viles, ut Nobiles habeamur:*† and raise the sweetness of your thoughts upon your approaches; which may our God make both slow and sure unto that state which cannot be moved. But if I may more ingenuously confess the whole ground and cause of this dedication, I must own, *'tis to pay a part of a debt:* a debt under which you have laid my country, when you did with your own honourable hand present unto his majesty the same account which I have here again published, "concerning the success of the gospel among the Indians in New-England."

My Lord: In one Eliot you see what a people it is that you have counted worthy of your notice, and what a people it is that with ardent prayers bespeak the mercies of Heaven for your noble family. Indeed, it is impossible that a country so full as New-England is of what is truly primitive, should not be exposed unto the bitterest enmity and calumny of those that will strive to entangle the church in a Sardian unreformedness, until our Lord Jesus do shortly "make them know, that he has loved" what they have hated, maligned, persecuted. But if the God of New-England have inclined any great personage to intercede, or interpose, for the prevention of the ruines which ill men have designed for such a country; or to procure for a people of an Eliot's complexion in religion the undisturbed enjoyment and exercise of that religion, it is a thing that calls for our most sensible acknowledgments.

It is an odd superstition which the Indians of this country have among them, that they count it (on the penalty of otherwise never prospering more) necessary for them never to pass by the *graves* of certain famous persons among them, without laying and leaving some token of regard thereupon. But we hope that all true Protestants will count it no more than what is equal and proper, that the land which has in it the grave of such a remarkable preacher to the Indians as our ELIOT, should be treated with such a LOVE as a Jerusalem uses to find from them that are to prosper.

Upon that score, then, let my lord accept a *present* from and for a remote corner in the New World, where God is praised on your behalf; a small present, made by the hand of a rude American, who has nothing to recommend him unto your lordship, except this, that he is the son of one whom you have admitted unto your favours; and that he is ambitious to wear the title of,

My Lord, your Lordship's most humble and most obedient servant,

COTTON MATHER.

* These things the Church overlooks as superfluities.

† We are compelled to condescend to *be* mean, in order to be *deemed* noble.

INTRODUCTION.

It was a very surprising as well as undoubted accident which happened within the memory of millions yet alive, when (as the learned Hornius has given us the relation) certain shepherds upon mount Nebo, following part of their straggling flock, at length came to a valley, the prodigious depths and rocks whereof rendred it almost inaccessible; in which there was a cave of inexpressible sweetness, and in that cave was a sepulchre that had very difficult characters upon it. The patriarchs of the Maronites thereabouts inhabiting procured some learned persons to take notice and make report of this curiosity, who found the inscription of the grave-stone to be, in the Hebrew language and letter, "Moses, the servant of the Lord."

The Jews, the Greeks, and the Roman Catholics thereabouts, were altogether by the ears for the possession of this rarity, but the Turks as quickly laid claim unto it, and strongly guarded it. Nevertheless, the Jesuites found a way by tricks and bribes to engage the Turkish guards into a conspiracy with them for the transporting of the inclosed and renowned ashes into Europe; but when they opened the grave, there was no *body*, nor so much as a *relick* there. While they were under the confusion of this disappointment, a Turkish general came upon them, and cut them all to pieces; therewithal taking a course never to have that place visited any more. But the scholars of the Orient presently made this a theme which they talked and wrote much upon: and WHETHER THIS WERE THE TRUE SEPULCHRE OF MOSES, was a question upon which many books were published.

The world would now count me very absurd if, after this, I should say that I had found the SEPULCHRE OF MOSES in America: but I have certainly here found Moses himself; we have had among us one appearing in the spirit of a Moses; and it is not the *grave*, but the *life* of such a Moses, that we value our selves upon being the owners of.

Having implored the assistance and acceptance of that God whose blessed word has told us, "The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance," I am attempting to write the life of a righteous person, concerning whom all things but the meanness of the writer invite the reader to expect nothing save what is truly *extraordinary*. It is the life of one who has better and greater things to be affirmed of him, than could ever be reported concerning any of those famous men which have been celebrated by the pens of a Plutarch, a Pliny a Laertius, an Eunapius, or in any Pagan histories. It is the life of one whose character might very agreeably be looked for among the collections of a Dorotheus, or the orations of a Nazianzen; or is worthy at least of nothing less than the exquisite stile of a Melchior Adam to eternize it.

If it be, as it is, a true assertion, "that the least exercise of true faith, or love, towards God, in Christ, is a more glorious thing than all the triumphs of a Cæsar," there must be something very considerable in the life of one who spent several scores of years in such exercises; and of one in the mention of whose atchievements we may also recount, that he fought the devil in (once) his American territories, till he had recovered no small party of his old subjects and vassals out of his cruel hands; it would be as *unreasonable* as *unprofitable* for posterity to bury the memory of such a person in the dust of that obscurity and oblivion which has covered the names of the heroes who died before the days of Agamemnon.

PRELIMINARY I.

THE BIRTH, AGE, AND FAMILY OF MR. ELIOT.

THE inspired Moses, relating the lives of those Ante-Diluvian Patriarchs in whom the Church of God and line of Christ was continued, through the first sixteen hundred years of time, recites little but their *birth*, and their *age*, and their *death*, and their *sons* and *daughters*. If those articles would satisfie the appetites and enquiries of such as come to read the life of our Eliot, we shall soon have dispatched the work now upon our hands.

The *age*, with the *death* of this worthy man, has been already terminated, in the ninetieth year of the present century, and the eighty-sixth year of his own pilgrimage. And for his *birth*, it was at a town in England, the name whereof I cannot presently recover; nor is it necessary for me to look back so far as the place of his nativity; any more than it is for me to recite the vertues of his parentage, of which he said, *Vix ea nostra voco;** though indeed the pious education which they gave him, caused him in his age to write these words: "I do see that it was a great favour of God unto me, to season my first times with the fear of God, the word, and prayer."

The Atlantick Ocean, like a river of Lethe, may easily cause us to forget many of the things that happened on the other side. Indeed, the *nativity* of such a man were an honour worthy the contention of as many places as laid their claims unto the famous Homer's: but whatever places may challenge a share in the reputation of having enjoyed the *first breath* of our Eliot, it is New-England that with most right can call him *her's;* his *best breath*, and afterwards his *last breath* was here; and here 'twas that God bestowed upon him sons and daughters.

He came to New-England in the month of November, A. D. 1631, among those blessed old planters which laid the foundations of a remarkable country, devoted unto the exercise of the Protestant religion, in its purest and highest reformation. He left behind him in England a vertuous young gentlewoman, whom he had pursued and purposed a marriage unto; and she coming hither the year following, that marriage was consummated in the month of October, A. D. 1632.

This *wife of his youth* lived with him until she became to him also the *staff of his age;* and she left him not until about three or four years before his own departure to those heavenly regions where they now together *see light*. She was a woman very eminent, both for *holiness* and *usefulness*, and she excelled most of the "daughters that have done vertuously." Her name was Anne, and gracious was her nature. God made her a rich blessing, not only to her *family*, but also to her *neighbourhood;* and when at last she died, I heard and saw her aged husband, who else very rarely wept, yet now with tears over the coffin, before the good people, a vast confluence of which were come to her funeral, say, "Here lies my dear, faithful, pious, prudent, prayerful wife; I shall go to her, and she not return to me." My reader will of his own accord excuse me from bestowing any further *epitaphs* upon that gracious woman.

By her did God give him six worthy children—children of a character which may for ever stop the mouths of those antichristian blasphemers, who have set a false brand of disaster and infamy on the offspring of a *married clergy*. His first-born was a daughter, born September 17, A. C. 1633. This gentlewoman is yet alive, and one well approved for her piety and gravity. His next was a son, born August 31, A. C. 1636. He bore his *father's name*, and had his *father's grace*. He was a person of notable accomplishments, and a lively, zealous, acute preacher, not only to the English at New-Cambridge, but also to the Indians thereabout. He grew so fast, that he was found ripe for Heaven many years ago; and upon his death-bed uttered such penetrating things as could proceed from none but one upon the borders and confines of eternal glory. It is pity that so many of them are forgotten; but one of them, I think, we have cause to remember: "Well," said he, "my dear friends, there is a dark day coming upon New-England: and in so dark a day, I pray, how will you provide for your own security! My counsel to you is, get an interest in the blessed Lord Jesus Christ; and that will carry you to the world's end." His third was also a son, born Decem-

* I can hardly call them mine.

ber 20, A. C. 1638; him he called Joseph. This person hath been a pastor to the church at Guilford. His fourth was a Samuel, born June 22, A. C. 1641, who died a most lovely young man, eminent for learning and goodness, a *fellow* of the colledge, and a *candidate* of the ministry. His fifth was an Aaron, born February 19, A. C. 1643, who, though he died very young, yet first manifested "many good things towards the Lord God of Israel." His last was a Benjamin, born January 29, A. C. 1646. Of all these three it may be said, as it was of Haran, "They died before their father;" but it may also be written over their graves, "All these died in faith." By the pious design of their father, they were all consecrated unto the service of God in the ministry of the gospel; but God saw meet rather to fetch them away, by a death which (therefore) I dare not call *præmature*, to glorify him in another and a better world. They all gave such demonstrations of their conversion to God, that the good old man would sometimes comfortably say, "I have had six children, and I bless God for his free grace, they are all either with Christ or in Christ; and my mind is now at rest concerning them." And when some asked him how he could bear the death of such excellent children, his humble reply thereto was this: "My desire was that they should have served God on earth; but if God will chuse to have them rather serve him in heaven, I have nothing to object against it, but his will be done!" His Benjamin was made the "son of his right-hand;" for the invitation of the good people at Roxbury placed him in the same pulpit with his father, where he was his assistant for many years; there they had *a proof of him*, "that as a son with his father, he served with him in the gospel." But his fate was like that which the great Gregory Nazianzen describes in his discourse upon the death of his honourable brother, his aged father being now alive and present: "My father having laid up in a better world a rich inheritance for his children, sent a son of his before to take possession of it."

PRELIMINARY II.

MR. ELIOT'S EARLY CONVERSION, SACRED EMPLOYMENT, AND JUST REMOVAL INTO AMERICA.

But all that I have hitherto said, is no more than an entrance into the history of our Eliot. Such an *Enoch* as he, must have something more than these things recorded of him; his "walk with God" must be more largely laid before the world, as a thing that would bespeak us all to be *followers* no less than we shall be *admirers* of it.

He had not passed many *turns* in the world, before he knew the meaning of a saving *turn* from the vanities of an unregenerate state unto God in Christ, by a true repentance; he had the singular happiness and privilege of an *early conversion* from the ways which *original sin* disposes all men unto. One of the principal instruments which the God of heaven used in tingeing and filling the mind of this *chosen vessel* with good principles, was that venerable Thomas Hooker, whose name in the churches of the Lord Jesus is "as an ointment poured forth;" even that *Hooker* who, having *angled* many scores of souls into the kingdom of heaven, at last laid his bones in our New-England; it was an acquaintance with *him* that contributed more than a little to the accomplishment of our *Elisha* for that work unto which the Most High designed him. His liberal *education* having now the addition of *religion* to direct it and improve it, it gave such a *biass* to his young soul as quickly discovered it self in very signal instances. His first appearance in the world, after his education in the university, was in the too *difficult* and *unthankful*, but very *necessary* employment of a *school-master*, which employment he discharged with a good fidelity. And as this *first essay* of his improvement was no more disgrace unto him than it was unto the famous Hieron, Whitaker, Vines, and others, that they *thus* began to be serviceable; so it rather prepared him for the further service which his mind was now set upon. He was of worthy Mr. Thomas Wilson's mind, that the calling of a *minister* was the only one wherein a man might be more serviceable to the church of God than in that of a *school-master;* and, with Melchior Adam, he reckoned the calling of a school-master, *Pulverulentam, ac Molestissimam quidem, sed Deo longe gratissimam Functionem.**

* A dusty and disagreeable vocation, but by far the most favoured of God.

Wherefore, having dedicated himself unto God betimes, he could not reconcile himself to any lesser way of serving his Creator and Redeemer, than the sacred *ministry* of the gospel; but, alas! where should he have opportunities for the exercising of it? The Laudian, Grotian, and Arminian faction in the Church of England, in the prosecution of their grand plot for the reducing of England unto a moderate sort of Popery, had pitched upon *this* as one of their methods for it: namely, to *creeple* as fast as they could all the learned, godly, painful ministers of the nation; and invent certain *Shibboleths* for the detecting and the destroying of such men as were cordial friends to the reformation. 'Twas now a time when there were every day multiplied and imposed those unwarrantable *ceremonies* in the worship of God by which the conscience of our considerate Eliot counted the second commandment notoriously violated; it was now also a time when some hundreds of those good people which had the nick-name of Puritans put upon them, transported themselves, with their whole families and interests, into the desarts of America, that they might here peaceably erect Congregational Churches, and therein attend and maintain all the pure institutions of the Lord Jesus Christ; having the encouragement of *royal charters*, that they should never have any interruption in the enjoyment of those "precious and pleasant things." Here was a prospect which quickly determined the devout soul of our young Eliot unto a remove into New-England, while it was yet a "land not sown;" he quickly listed himself among those valiant soldiers of the Lord Jesus Christ, who cheerfully encountred first the perils of the Atlantick Ocean, and then the fatigues of the New-English wilderness, that they might have an undisturbed communion with him in his appointments here. And thus did he betimes procure himself the consolation of having afterwards and for ever a room in that remembrance of God, "I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, and the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me into the wilderness."

On his first arrival to New-England, he soon joined himself unto the church at Boston; 'twas *church-work* that was his errand hither. Mr. Wilson, the pastor of that church, was gone back into England, that he might perfect the settlement of his affairs; and in his absence, young Mr. Eliot was he that supplied his place. Upon the return of Mr. Wilson, that church was intending to have made Mr. Eliot his collegue and their teacher; but it was diverted. Mr. Eliot had engaged unto a select number of his pious and Christian friends in England that, if they should come into these parts before he should be in the pastoral care of any other people, he would give himself to *them*, and be for *their* service. It happened that these friends transported themselves hither the year after him, and chose their habitation at the town which they called Roxbury. A church being now gathered at this place, he was in a little while *ordained* unto the teaching and ruling of that holy society. So, 'twas in the orb of that church that we had him as a *star fixed* for very near three-score years; it only remains that we now observe what was his *magnitude* all this while, and how he performed his *revolution*.

PART I.

OR, ELIOT AS A CHRISTIAN.

ARTICLE. I.—HIS EMINENT PIETY.

SUCH was the *piety* of our Eliot, that, like another Moses, he had upon his *face* a continual *shine*, arising from his uninterrupted communion with the Father of spirits. He was indeed a "man of prayer," and might say, after the psalmist, *I prayer*, as being in a manner made up of it. Could the walls of his old study speak, they would even ravish us with a relation of the many hundred and thousand fervent prayers which he there poured out before the Lord. He not only made it his daily practice to "enter into that closet, and shut his door, and pray to his Father in secret," but he would not rarely *set* apart whole *days* for prayer with fasting in

secret places before the God of heaven. Prayer solemnized with fasting was indeed so agreeable unto him, that I have sometimes thought he might justly inherit the name of *Johannes Jejunator*, or "John the Faster," which for the like reason was put upon one of the renowned ancients. Especially when there was any remarkable difficulty before him, he took this way to encounter and overcome it; being of Dr. Preston's mind, "That when we would have any great things to be accomplished, the best policy is to work by an engine which the world sees nothing of." He could say, as the pious Robertson did upon his death-bed, "I thank God I have loved fasting and prayer with all my heart!" If one would have known what that sacred thing, *the spirit of prayer*, intends, in him there might have been seen a most luculent and practical exposition of it. He kept his heart in a "frame for prayer," with a marvellous constancy; and was continually provoking all that were about him thereunto. When he heard any considerable news, his usual and speedy reflection thereupon would be, "Brethren, let us turn all this into prayer!" and he was perpetually jogging the "wheel of prayer," both more privately in the meetings, and more publickly in the churches of his neighbourhood. When he came to an house that he was intimately acquainted with, he would often say, "Come, let us not have a visit without a prayer; let us pray down the blessing of Heaven on your family before we go." Especially when he came into a society of ministers, before he had sat long with them, they would look to hear him urging, "Brethren, the Lord Jesus takes much notice of what is done and said among his ministers when they are together; come, let us pray before we part!" and hence also his whole *breath* seemed in a sort made up of *ejaculatory prayers*, many scores of which winged messengers he dispatched away to Heaven, upon pious errands every day. By *them* he bespoke blessings upon almost every person or affair that he was concerned with; and he carried every thing to God with some pertinent *hosannahs* or *hallelujahs* over it. He was a mighty and an happy man, that had his *quiver* full of these heavenly *arrows!* and when he was never so straitly besieged by humane occurrences, yet he fastned the wishes of his devout soul unto them, and very dexterously shot them up to Heaven over the head of all.

As he took thus delight in speaking to the Almighty God, no less did he in speaking of him; but in serious and savoury discourses, he still had his "tongue like the pen of a ready writer." The Jesuits once at Nola made a no less profane than severe order, "that no man should speak of God at all;" but this excellent person almost made it an order wherever he came, "to speak of nothing but God." He was indeed sufficiently pleasant and witty in company, and he was affable and facetious rather than morose in conversation; but he had a remarkable gravity mixed with it, and a singular skill of raising some *holy observation* out of whatever matter of discourse lay before him; nor would he ordinarily dismiss

any *theme* without some gracious, divine, pithy sentence thereupon. Doubtless, he imposed it as a *law* upon himself, that he would leave something of *God* and *Heaven*, and *religion*, with all that should come a near him; so that in all places his company was attended with majesty and reverence; and it was no sooner proper for him to speak, but, like Mary's opened box of ointment, he filled the whole room with the perfumes of the graces in his lips, and the Christian hearers tasted a greater sweetness in his *well-seasoned* speeches, than the illustrious Homer ascribed unto the orations of his Nestor,

Whose lip dropp'd language than sweet honey, sweeter abundance.

His conferences were like those which Tertullian affirms to have been common among the saints in his days, *Ut qui sciret dominum audire*,—"as knowing that the *ear of God* was open to them all;" and he managed his *rudder* so as to manifest that he was bound Heaven-ward in his whole communication. He had a particular art at *spiritualizing* of earthly objects, and raising of *high thoughts* from very *mean things*. As, once going with some feebleness and weariness up the hill on which his meeting-house now stands, he said unto the person that led him, "This is very like the way to heaven, 'tis up hill! the Lord by his grace fetch us up!" and instantly spying a bush near him, he as nimbly added, "and truly there are thorns and briars in the way too!" which instance I would not have singled out from the many thousands of his *occasional reflections*, but only that I might suggest unto the good people of Roxbury something for them to think upon when they are "going up to the house of the Lord." It is enough that, as the friend of the famous Ursin could profess that he never went unto him without coming away, *aut doctior*, *aut melior*—"either the wiser or the better from him"—so, it is an acknowledgment which more than one friend of our Eliot's has made concerning him, "I was never with him but I got or might have got some good from him."

And hearing *from* the great God was an exercise of like satisfaction unto the soul of this good man, with speaking either to him or of him. He was a mighty student of the sacred Bible; and it was unto him as his *necessary food*. He made the Bible his companion and his counsellor, and the holy lines of Scripture more enamoured him than the profane ones of Tully ever did the famous Italian cardinal. He would not upon easy terms have gone one day together without using a portion of the Bible as an antidote against the *infection of temptation*. And he would prescribe it unto others, with his *probatum est** upon it; as once particularly a pious woman, vexed with a wicked husband, complaining to him that *bad company* was all the day still infesting of her house, "and what should she do?" he advised her, "Take the Holy Bible into your hand, when the bad company comes, and you'll soon drive them out of the house;" the woman

* It has been tested.

made the experiment, and thereby cleared her house from the haunts that had molested it. By the like way it was that he cleared his *heart* of what he was loth to have nesting there. Moreover, if ever any man could, he might pretend unto that evidence of uprightness, "Lord, I have loved the habitation of thine house;" for he not only gave something more than his presence there twice on the Lord's days, and once a fortnight besides on the lectures in his own congregation, but he made his weekly visits unto the lectures in the neighbouring towns; how often was he seen at Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge, Dorchester, waiting upon the word of God, in recurring opportunities, and counting "a day in the courts of the Lord better than a thousand!" It is hardly conceivable how, in the midst of so many studies and labours as he was at home engaged in, he could possibly repair to so many lectures abroad; and herein he aimed, not only at his own edification, but at the *countenancing* and *encouraging* of the lectures which he went unto.

Thus he took heed *that* he might *hear*, and he took as much heed *how* he *heard;* he set himself as in the presence of the eternal God, as the great Constantine used of old in the assemblies where he came, and said, "I will hear what God the Lord will speak;" he expressed a diligent attention, by a watchful and wakeful posture, and by turning to the texts quoted by the preacher; he expressed a suitable *affection* by feeding on what was delivered, and accompanying it with hands and eyes devoutly elevated; and they whose good hap 'twas to go home with him, were sure of having another sermon by the way until their very "hearts burned in them." Lactantius truly said, *Non est vera Religio, quæ cum Templo relinquitur;** but our Eliot always carried much of *religion* with him from the house of God.

In a word, he was one who *lived in heaven* while he *was on earth;* and there is no more than pure justice in our endeavours that he should live on earth after he is in heaven. We cannot say that we ever saw him *walking* any whither but he was therein "walking with God;" wherever he *sat*, he had God by him, and it was in the everlasting arms of God that he *slept* at night. Methoughts he a little discovered his heavenly way of living, when walking one day in his garden, he plucked up a *weed* that he saw now and then growing there, at which a friend pleasantly said unto him, "Sir, you tell us we must be heavenly-minded;" but he immediately replied, "It is true; and this is no impediment unto that, for were I sure to go to heaven to-morrow, I would do what I do to-day." From such a frame of spirit it was that once in a visit, finding a merchant in his counting house, where he saw books of *business* only on his table, but all his books of *devotion* on the shelf, he gave this advice unto him: "Sir, here is earth on the table, and heaven on the shelf; pray don't sit so much at the table as altogether to forget the shelf; let not earth by any means thrust heaven out of your mind."

* That is not true religion, which we leave behind us in the sanctuary.

Indeed, I cannot give a fuller description of him, than what was in a paraphrase that I have heard himself to make upon that scripture, "Our conversation is in heaven." I writ from him as he uttered it:

"Behold," said he, "the ancient and excellent character of a true Christian; 'tis that which Peter calls 'holiness in all manner of conversation;' you shall not find a Christian out of the way of godly conversation. For, first, a *seventh part* of our time is all spent in heaven, when we are duly zealous for, and zealous on the Sabbath of God. Besides, God has written on the head of the Sabbath, REMEMBER, which looks both forwards and backwards, and thus a good part of the week will be spent in sabbatizing. Well, but for the rest of our time! Why, we shall have that spent in heaven, ere we have done. For, secondly, we have many days for both fasting and thanksgiving in our pilgrimage; and here are so many Sabbaths more. Moreover, thirdly, we have our lectures every week; and pious people won't miss them, if they can help it. Furthermore, fourthly, we have our private meetings, wherein we pray, and sing, and repeat sermons, and confer together about the things of God; and being now come thus far, we are in heaven almost every day. But a little farther, fifthly, we perform family-duties every day; we have our morning and evening sacrifices, wherein having read the Scriptures to our families, we call upon the name of God, and ever now and then carefully catechise those that are under our charge. Sixthly, we shall also have our daily devotions in our closets; wherein unto *supplication* before the Lord, we shall add some serious *meditation* upon his word: a David will be at this work no less than thrice a day. Seventhly, we have likewise many scores of *ejaculations* in a day; and these we have, like Nehemiah, in whatever place we come into. Eighthly we have our occasional *thoughts* and our occasional *talks* upon spiritual matters; and we have our occasional acts of *charity*, wherein we do like the inhabitants of heaven every day. Ninthly, in our callings, in our *civil* callings, we keep up heavenly frames; we buy and sell, and toil; yea, we eat and drink, with some eye both to the *command* and the *honour* of God in all. Behold, I have not now left an inch of time to be carnal; it is all engrossed for heaven. And yet, lest here should not be enough, lastly, we have our *spiritual warfare*. We are always encountring the enemies of our souls, which continually raises our hearts unto our Helper and Leader in the heavens. Let no man say, 'Tis impossible to live at this rate;' for we have known some *live* thus; and others that have written of such a life have but spun a web out of their own blessed experiences. New-England has example of this life: though, alas! 'tis to be lamented that the distractions of the world, in too many professors, do becloud the beauty of an heavenly conversation. In fine, our employment lies in heaven. In the morning, if we ask, 'Where am I to be to day?' our souls must answer, 'In heaven.' In the evening, if we ask, 'Where have I been to-day?' our souls may answer, 'In heaven.' If thou art a believer, thou art no stranger to heaven while thou livest; and when thou diest, heaven will be no strange place to thee; no, thou hast been there a thousand times before."

In this language have I heard him express himself; and he did what he said; he was a Boniface as well as a Benedict; and he was one of those

*Qui faciendo docent, quæ facienda docent.** m m

It might be said of him, as that writer characterises Origen, *Quemadmodum docuit, sic vixit, et quemadmodum vixit sic docuit.*†

ARTICLE II.—HIS PARTICULAR CARE AND ZEAL ABOUT THE LORD'S DAY.

THIS was the *piety*, this the *holiness* of our Eliot; but among the many instances in which his holiness was remarkable, I must not omit his exact "remembrance of the Sabbath day, to keep it holy."

* Who teach by *doing*, what we ought to *do*. † As he taught, he lived; and as he lived, he taught.

It has been truly and justly observed, that our whole religion fares according to our Sabbaths, that poor Sabbaths make poor Christians, and that a strictness in our Sabbaths inspires a vigour into all our other duties. Our Eliot knew this, and it was a most exemplary zeal that he acknowledged the Sabbath of our Lord Jesus Christ withal. Had he been asked, *Servasti Dominicum?** he could have made a right Christian primitive answer thereunto. The sun did not set, the evening before the Sabbath, till he had begun his *preparation* for it; and when the Lord's day came, you might have seen "John in the spirit" every week. *Every* day was a sort of *Sabbath* to him, but the Sabbath-day was a kind, a type, a taste of Heaven with him. He laboured that he might on this *high day* have no *words* or *thoughts* but such as were agreeable thereunto; he then allowed in himself no actions but those of a *raised soul.* One should hear nothing dropping from his lips on this day but the *milk* and *honey* of the country, in which there yet "remains a rest for the people of God;" and if he beheld in any person whatsoever, whether old or young, any *profanation* of this day, he would be sure to bestow lively rebukes upon it. And hence also unto the general engagements of a covenant with God, which it was his desire to bring the Indians into, he added a particular article, wherein they bind themselves, *mehquontamunat Sabbath, pahketeaunat tohsohke pomantamog;* i. e. "to remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy, as long as we live."

The mention of this gives me an opportunity, not only to *recommend* our departed Eliot, but also to *vindicate* another great man unto the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ. The reverend and renowned Owen, in his elaborate exercitations on the Lord's day, had let fall such a passage as this:

"I judge that the observation of the Lord's day is to be commensurate unto the use of our natural strength on any other day—from morning to night. The Lord's day is to be set apart unto the ends of an holy rest unto God, by every one according as his natural strength will enable him to employ himself in his lawful occasions any other day of the week."

This passage gave some scandal unto several very learned and pious men; among whom our Eliot was one; whereupon, with his usual zeal, gravity and sanctity, he wrote unto the doctor his opinion thereabout; who returned unto him an answer full of respect, some part whereof I shall here transcribe:

"As to what concerns the 'natural strength of man,' (saith he) either I was under some mistake in my *expression,* or you seem to be so, in your *apprehension.* I never thought, and I hope I have not said, (for I cannot find it,) that the continuance of the Sabbath is to be commensurate unto the natural strength of man, but only that it is an *allowable mean* of men's continuance in Sabbath duties; which I suppose you will not deny, lest you should cast the consciences of professors into inextricable difficulties.

"When first I engaged in that work, I intended not to have spoken one word about the *practical* observation of the day; but only to have endeavoured the revival of a truth, which at present is despised and contemned among us, and strenuously opposed by sundry divines of the United Provinces, who call the doctrine of the Sabbath, *Figmentum Anglicanum.*†

* Have you strictly observed the Lord's day?

† An Anglican notion.

Upon the desire of some learned men in these parts it was that I undertook the vindication of it. Having now discharged the debt, which in this matter I owed unto the *truth* and *church* of God, though not as I ought, yet with such composition as I hope through the interposition of our Lord Jesus Christ might find acceptance with God and his saints, I suppose I shall not again engage on that subject.

"I suppose there is scarce any one alive in the world who hath more *reproaches* cast upon him than I have; though hitherto God has been pleased in some measure to support my spirit under them. I still relieved myself by this, that my poor endeavours have found acceptance with the churches of Christ: but my holy, wise, and gracious Father sees it needful to try me in this matter also; and what I have received from you (which it may be contains not your sense alone) hath printed deeper, and left a greater impression upon my mind, than all the virulent revilings and false accusations I have met withal from my professed adversaries. I do acknowledge unto you that I have a dry and barren spirit, and I do heartily beg your prayers that the Holy One would, notwithstanding all my sinful provocations, water me from above; but that I should now be apprehended to have given a wound unto *holiness* in the churches, it is one of the saddest frowns in the cloudy brows of Divine Providence.

"The doctrine of the Sabbath I have asserted, though not as it should be done, yet as well as I could; the *observation* of it in holy duties unto the utmost of the strength for them which God shall be pleased to give us, I have pleaded for; the necessity also of a serious *preparation* for it in sundry previous duties, I have declared. But now to meet with severe expressions—it may be it is the will of God that vigour should hereby be given to my former discouragements, and that there is a call in it to surcease from these kinds of labours."

I have transcribed the more of this letter, because it not only discovers the concern which our Eliot had for the Sabbath of God, but also it may contribute unto the world's good reception and perusal of a "golden book" on that subject, written by one of the most eminent persons which the English nation has been adorned with.

ARTICLE III.—HIS EXEMPLARY MORTIFICATION.

THUS did Eliot endeavour to *live* unto God; but how much at the same time did he *die* unto all the world?

It were impossible to finish the lively picture of this pious and holy Eliot, without some touches upon that *mortification* which accompanied him all his days; for never did I see a person more mortified unto all the pleasures of this life, or more unwilling to *moult* the wings of an heaven-born soul in the dirty puddles of carnal and sensual delights. We are all of us compounded of those two things, *the man* and *the beast;* but so powerful was the *man* in this holy person, that it kept the *beast* ever tyed with a short tedder, and suppressed the irregular *calcitrations* of it. He became so nailed unto the Cross of the Lord Jesus Christ, that the grandeurs of this world were unto him just what they would be to a dying man; and he maintained an almost unparalleled indifferency toward all the pomps which mankind is too generally flattered and enchanted with.

The "lust of the flesh" he could not reconcile himself to the least pampering or indulging of: but he persecuted it with a continual *antipathy*, being upon higher principles than Tully was acquainted withal of his mind, *Non est dignus nomine hominis, qui unum diem totum velit esse in isto*

*genere voluptatis.** The sleep that he allowed himself, cheated him not of his morning hours; but he reckoned the *morning* no less a friend unto the *graces* than the *muses*. He would call upon students, "I pray look to it that you be morning birds." And for many more than a score of years before he died, he removed his lodging into his study, on purpose that, being there *alone*, he might enjoy his early mornings without giving the disturbance of the least noise to any of his friends, whose affections to him else might have been ready to have called "Master, spare thy self." The *meat* upon which he lived was a *cibus simplex*,—"an homely but an wholesome diet." Rich varieties, costly viands, and poinant sauces, came not upon his *own* table, and when he found them on other men's, he rarely tasted of them. One dish, and a plain one, was his dinner; and when invited unto a feast, I have seen him sit magnifying of God for the plenty which his people in this wilderness were within a few years arisen to; but not more than a bit or two of all the dainties taken into his mouth all the while. And for a supper, he had learned of his loved and blessed patron, old Mr. Cotton, either wholly to omit it, or to make a small *sup* or two the utmost of it. The *drink* which he still used was very small; he cared not for *wines* or *drams*, and I believe he never once in all his life knew what it was to feel so much as a noxious fume in his head from any of them; good, clear WATER was more *precious*, as well as more *usual* with him, than any of those liquors with which men do so frequently SPOIL their own *healths*, while perhaps they DRINK those of other men. When at a stranger's house in the summer time, he has been entertained with a glass, which they told him was of water and wine, he has with a complaisant gravity replyed unto this purpose: "Wine, 'tis a noble, generous liquor, and we should be humbly thankful for it; but, as I remember, water was made before it!" So abstemious was he; and he found that, *Carere suavitatibus istis*,† his abstinence had more *sweetness* in it, than any of the *sweets* which he abstained from; and so willing he was to have others partake with him in that sweetness, that when he has thought the countenance of a minister has looked as if he had made much of himself, he has gone to him with that speech, "Study mortification, brother, study mortification!" and he made all his addresses with a becoming majesty.

The "lust of the eye" was put out by him in such a manner, that it was in a manner all one with him to be *rich* or *poor*. It could not be said of him, "that he sought great things for himself;" but what estate he became owner of, was from the blessing of God upon the husbandry and industry of some in his family, rather than from any endeavours of his own. Once when there stood several kine of his own before his door, his wife, to try him, asked him, "Whose they were?" and she found that he knew nothing of them. He could not endure to plunge himself into secu-

* He is unworthy of the name of man, who would be willing to spend a whole day in that sort of pleasure.

† To abstain from these sweets.

lar designs and affairs, but accounted *Sacerdos in foro** as worthy of castigation as *Mercator in Templo*;† he thought that *minister* and *market-man* were not *unisons*, and that the earth was no place for Aaron's holy mitre to be laid upon. It was the usage of most parishes in the country to have an annual *rate* for the maintenance of the ministry, adjusted commonly by the select-men of the towns; which, though it raised not any exuberant salaries for the ministers, who also seldom received all that the people had contracted for, nevertheless in many places it prevented sore temptations from befalling those that were "labouring in the word and doctrine;" who must else often have experienced the truth of Luther's observation, *Duriter profecto et misere viverent Evangelii Ministri, si ex Libra populi contributione essent sustentandi.*‡ However, for *his part*, he propounded that what stipend he had, should be raised by *contribution;* and from the same temper it was, that a few years before his dissolution, being left without an assistant in his ministry, he pressed his congregation to furnish themselves with another pastor; and in his application to them, he told them, "'Tis possible you may think the burden of maintaining two ministers may be too heavy for you; but I deliver you from that fear; I do here give back my salary to the Lord Jesus Christ; and now, brethren, you may fix that upon any man that God shall make a pastor for you." But his church, with an handsome reply, assured him that they would count his very *presence* worth a salary, when he should be so superanuated as to do no further service for them.

And as for the "pride of life," the *life* of it was most exemplarily extinguished in him. The humility of his heart made him higher by the head than the rest of the people. His habit and spirit were both such as declared him to be among the lowly, whom God has most respect unto. His apparel was without any ornament, except that of humility, which the apostle elegantly compares to a knot of comely ribbons, in the text where he bids us to be cloathed with it; any other flanting ribbons on those that came in his way he would ingeniously animadvert upon; and seeing some scholars once he thought a little too gaudy in their cloaths, *Humiliamini, Juvenes, Humiliamini*,§ was his immediate compliment unto them. Had you seen him with his leathern girdle (for such an one he wore) about his loins, you would almost have thought what Herod feared, "That John Baptist was come to life again." In short, he was in all regards a Nazarite indeed; unless in this one, that *long hair* was always very loathsome to him; he was an acute *Ramist*, but yet he professed himself a lover of a *Trichotomy*. Doubtless, it may be lawful for us to accommodate the *length* of our hair unto the modest *customs* which vary in the Churches of God; and it may be lawful for them that have not enough of their own hair for their own health, to supply themselves according to the sober modes of

* A priest in politics.

† A money-changer in the temple.

‡ The ministers of the gospel would lead a hard, wretched life, if they depended for subsistence on the voluntary contributions of the people.

§ Humble yourselves, my young friends, humble yourselves.

the places they live; but the apostle tells us, "Nature teaches us that if a man have long hair, 'tis a shame to him;" where, by *nature*, can be meant no other than the *difference of sex*, as the word elsewhere is used.

Thus Mr. Eliot thought that for men to wear their hair with a luxurious, delicate, fæminine prolixity; or for them to preserve no plain distinction of their sex by the hair of their head and face; and much more for men thus to disfigure themselves with hair that is *none of their own;* and, most of all, for ministers of the gospel to ruffle it in excesses of this kind; may prove more than we are well aware displeasing to the Holy Spirit of God. The hair of them that professed religion, long before his death, grew too long for him to swallow; and he would express himself continually with a boiling zeal concerning it, until at last he gave over, with some regret complaining, "The lust is become insuperable!" I know not whether that horrible distemper prevailing in some European countries known by the name of *Plica Polonica,** wherein the hair of people matted into ugly and filthy forms, like snakes upon their heads, which whosoever cut off, presently fell blind or mad—I say, I know not whether this disease was more odious in it self than the sweeter, neater, but prolix locks of many people were to our Eliot. He was indeed one *priscis moribus*† as well as *antiqua fide;*‡ and he might be allowed somewhat even of *severity* in this matter on that account.

ARTICLE IV.—HIS EXQUISITE CHARITY.

He that will write of Eliot, must write of *charity*, or say nothing. His charity was a star of the first magnitude in the bright constellation of his vertues, and the rays of it were wonderfully various and extensive.

His liberality to pious uses, whether publick or private, went much beyond the proportions of his little estate in the world. Many hundreds of pounds did he freely bestow upon the poor; and he would, with a very forcible importunity, press his neighbours to join with him in such beneficences. It was a marvellous alacrity with which he imbraced all opportunities of relieving any that were miserable; and the good people of Roxbury doubtless cannot remember (but the righteous God will!) how often, and with what ardors, with what arguments, he became a beggar to them for collections in their assemblies, to support such needy objects as had fallen under his observation. The poor counted him their father, and repaired still unto him with a filial confidence in their necessities; and they were more than seven or eight, or indeed than so many *scores*, who received their *portions* of his bounty. Like that worthy and famous English general, he could not perswade himself "that he had any thing but what he gave away," but he drove a mighty trade at such exercises as he thought would furnish him with *bills of exchange*, which he hoped "after many days" to find the comfort of; and yet, after all, he would say, like

* The Polonian plait. † Of primitive manners. ‡ Ancient fidelity.

one of the most charitable souls that ever lived in the world, "that looking over his acounts, he could no where find the God of heaven charged a debtor there." He did not put off his charity to be put in his *last will*, as many who therein shew that their *charity* is *against their will;* but he was his own *administrator;* he made his own hands his executors, and his own eyes his overseers. It has been remarked, that liberal men are often *long-lived* men; so do they after many days find the *bread* with which they have been willing to keep other men alive. The great age of our Eliot was but agreeable to this remark; and when his age had unfitted him for almost all employments, and bereaved him of those gifts and parts which once he had been accomplished with, being asked, "how he did?" he would sometimes answer, "Alas, I have lost every thing; my understanding leaves me, my memory fails me, my utterance fails me; but, I thank God, my *charity* holds out still; I find that rather grows than fails!" And I make no question, that at his death, his happy soul was received and welcomed into the "everlasting habitations," by many scores got thither before him, of such as his charity had been liberal unto.

But besides these more *substantial expressions* of his charity, he made the odours of that grace yet more fragrant unto all that were about him, by that *pittifulness* and that *peaceableness* which rendered him yet further amiable. If any of his neighbourhood were in distress, he was like a "brother born for their adversity," he would visit them, and comfort them with a most fraternal sympathy; yea, 'tis not easy to recount how many whole days of prayer and fasting he has got his neighbours to keep with him, on the behalf of those whose calamities he found himself touched withal. It was an extreme satisfaction to him that his wife had attained unto a considerable skill in *physick* and *chyrurgery*, which enabled her to dispense many safe, good, and useful medicines unto the *poor* that had occasion for them; and some hundreds of sick and weak and maimed people owed praises to God for the benefit which therein they freely received of her. The good gentleman her husband would still be casting oyl into the flame of that charity, wherein she was of her own accord abundantly forward thus to be doing of good unto *all;* and he would urge her to be serviceable unto the worst enemies that he had in the world. Never had any man fewer enemies than he! but once having delivered something in his ministry which displeased one of his hearers, the man did passionately abuse him for it, and this both with speeches and with writings that reviled him. Yet it happening not long after that this man gave himself a very dangerous wound, Mr. Eliot immediately sends his wife to cure him; who did accordingly. When the man was well, he came to thank her: but she took no rewards; and this good man made him stay and eat with him, taking no notice of all the calumnies with which he had loaded him; but by this carriage he mollified and conquered the *stomach* of his reviler.

He was also a great enemy to all contention, and would ring aloud *courfeu bell* wherever he saw the *fires* of animosity. When he heard any ministers complain that such and such in their flocks were too difficult for them, the strain of his answer still was, "Brother, compass them!" and "brother, learn the meaning of those three little words, *bear*, *forbear*, *forgive*." Yea, his inclinations for *peace*, indeed, sometimes almost made him to sacrifice *right* it self. When there was laid before an assembly of ministers a bundle of papers, which contained certain matters of difference and contention between some people which our Eliot thought should rather unite, with an *amnesty* upon all their former quarrels, he (with some imitation of what Constantine did upon the like occasion) hastily threw the papers into the fire before them all, and, with a zeal for peace as hot as that fire, said immediately, "Brethren, wonder not at what I have done; I did it on my knees this morning before I came among you." Such an excess (if it were one) flowed from his charitable inclinations to be found among those peace-makers which, by following the example of that Man who is *our peace*, come to be called, "the children of God." Very worthily might he be called an *Irenæus*, as being all for peace; and the commendation which Epiphanius gives unto the ancient of that *name*, did belong unto our Eliot: he was "a most blessed and a most holy man." He disliked all sorts of *bravery:* but yet with an ingenious note upon the Greek word in Col. iii. 15, he propounded, "that peace might *brave it* among us." In short, wherever he came, it was like another old John, with solemn and earnest perswasives to love; and when he could say little else, he would give that charge, "My children, love one another!"

Finally, 'twas his charity which disposed him to continual *apprecations* for, and *benedictions* on those that he met withal; he had an heart full of good wishes, and a mouth full of kind blessings for them. And he often made his *expressions* very wittily agreeable to the circumstances which he saw the persons in. Sometimes when he came into a family, he would call for all the young people in it, that so he might very *distinctly* lay his holy hands upon every one of them, and bespeak the mercies of Heaven for them all.

ART. V.—SOME SPECIAL ATTAINMENTS, THAT WERE THE EFFECTS OF HIS PIETY AND CHARITY.

But what was the effect of this exemplary piety and charity in our Eliot? It will be no wonder to my reader, if I tell him that this good man "walked in the light of God's countenance all the day long." I believe he had a continual assurance of the divine love, marvellously sealing, strengthening, and refreshing of him, for many lustres of years before he died; and for this cause, the fear of death was extirpated out of his heavenly soul, more than out of most men alive. Had our blessed Jesus at any time sent his waggons to fetch this old Jacob away, he would have gone without the least reluctancies. Labouring once under a fever and

ague, a visitant asked him, "how he did?" and he replyed, "Very well, but anon I expect a paroxism." Said the visitant, "Sir, fear not;" but unto that he answered, "Fear! no, no; I been't afraid, I thank God, I been't afraid to die!" *Dying* would not have been any more to him, than *sleeping* to a weary man.

And another excellency which accompanied this courage and comfort in him was, a wonderful resignation to the will of God in all events. There were sore afflictions that sometimes befel him, especially when he followed some of his hopeful and worthy sons—two or three desirable preachers of the gospel—to their graves. But he sacrificed them, like another Abraham, with such a sacred indifferency, as made all the spectators to say, "this could not be done without the fear of God." Yea, he bore all his trials with an admirable patience, and seemed loth to have any *will* of his own, that should not be wholly melted and moulded into the will of his Heavenly Father. Once being in a boat at sea, a larger vessel unhappily over run and over set that little one, which had no small concerns (because Eliot's) in the bottom of it; he immediately sunk without any expectation of ever "going to heaven any other way;" and when he imagined that he had but one breath more to draw in the world, it was this, "the will of the Lord be done!" But it was "the will of the Lord" that he should survive the danger; for he was rescued by the help that was then at hand; and he that had long been like Moses in every thing else, was now "drawn out of the waters." Which gives me opportunity to mention one remarkable event that had some relation hereunto. This accident happened in the time of our Indian wars, when some furious English people that clamoured for the extirpation of the *praying Indians* which were in subjection unto us, as well as the *Pagan Indians* that were in hostility against us, vented a very wicked rage at our holy Eliot, because of his concernment for the Indians; and one profane monster hearing how narrowly Mr. Eliot escaped from drowning, 'tis said, he wished this man of God had then been drowned. But within a few days that woful man, by a strange disaster, was drowned in that very place where Mr. Eliot had received his deliverance.

There was indeed a certain *health of soul* which he arrived unto; and he kept in a blessed measure clear of those *distempers* which too often disorder the most of men. But the God of heaven favoured him with something that was yet more extraordinary! By getting and keeping near to God, and by dwelling under the shadow of the Almighty, he contracted a more *exquisite sense* of mind than what is usual among other professors of Christianity; he sometimes felt a *lively touch* of God upon his refined and exalted spirit, which were not in any paper of ours *lawful* or *easy* to be uttered; and he was admitted unto a singular *familiarity* with the "Holy One of Israel." Hence it was, that as bodies of a rare and fine constitution will *forebode* the changes of the weather, so the sublimed soul

of our Eliot often had strange *forebodings* of things that were to come. I have been astonished at some of his *predictions*, that were both of a more personal and of a more general application, and were followed with exact accomplishments. If he said of any affair, "I cannot bless it!" it was a worse omen to it than the most inauspicious presages in the world; but sometimes, after he had been with God in prayer about a thing, he was able successfully to foretel, "I have set a mark upon it; it will do well!" I shall never forget that when England and Holland were plunged into the unhappy war, which the more sensible Protestants every where had but sorrowful apprehensions of, our Eliot being (in the height and heat of the war) privately asked, "What news we might look for next?" answered, unto the surprize of the enquirer, "Our next news will be a peace between the two Protestant nations; God knows I pray for it every day; and I am verily perswaded we shall hear of it speedily!" And it came to pass accordingly.

It is to be confessed that the written word of God is to be regarded as the perfect and only rule of our lives; that in all articles of religion, if men "speak not according to this word, there is no light in them;" and that it is no warrantable or convenient thing for Christians ordinarily to look for such inspirations as directed the prophets that were the pen-men of the Scriptures. Nevertheless, there are some uncommon *instances* of communion and fruition which in our days the sovereign God here and there favours a good man withal; and they are very *heavenly* persons—persons well purified from the *fœculencies* of sensuality, and persons better purged from the leaven of envy and malice and intolerable pride, than usually those vain pretenders to revelations, the Quakers, are, that are made partakers of these divine dainties. Now, such an one was our Eliot; and for this, "worthy to be had in everlasting remembrance."

It would not be improper under this file to lodge the singular and surprising successes of his *prayers!* for they were such, that in our distresses we still repaired unto him, under that encouragement, "He is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live." I shall single out but one from the many that might be mentioned.

There was a godly gentleman of Charlestown, one Mr. Foster, who with his son was taken captive by Turkish enemies. Much prayer was employed, both privately and publickly, by the good people here, for the redemption of that gentleman; but we were at last informed that the bloody prince in whose dominions he was now a slave, was resolved that in his life time no prisoner should be released; and so the distressed friends of this prisoner now concluded "our hope is lost!" Well, upon this, Mr. Eliot, in some of his next prayers, before a very solemn congregation, very broadly begged, "Heavenly Father, work for the redemption of thy poor servant Foster; and if the prince which detains him will not, as they say, dismiss him as long as himself lives, Lord, we pray thee to

kill that cruel prince; kill him, and glorify thy self upon him!" And now, behold the answer: the poor captived gentleman quickly returns to us that had been mourning for him as a lost man, and brings us news that the prince which had hitherto held him, was come to an *untimely death*, by which means he was now set at liberty.

PART II.

OR, ELIOT AS A MINISTER.

ARTICLE. I.—HIS MINISTERIAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS.

THE Grace of God, which we have seen so illustriously endowing and adorning of our Eliot, as well qualified him for, as disposed him to the employment wherein he spent about *six decads* of his years; which was "the service of the Lord Jesus Christ in the ministry of the gospel." This was the work to which he applied himself; and he undertook it, I believe, with as *right thoughts* of it and as *good ends* in it as ever any man in our days was acted with. He looked upon the conduct of a church as a thing no less *dangerous* than *important*, and attended with so many difficulties, temptations, and humiliations, as that nothing but a call from the Son of God could have encouraged him unto the susception of it. He saw that *flesh* and *blood* would find it no very pleasant thing to be obliged unto the oversight of a number, that by a solemn covenant should be listed among the *voluntiers* of the Lord Jesus Christ; that it was no easy thing to feed the souls of such a people, and of the children and the neighbours, which were to be brought into the same sheepfold with them; to bear their manners with all patience, not being by any of their infirmities discouraged from teaching of them, and from watching and praying over them; to value them highly, as "the flock which God has purchased with his own blood," notwithstanding all their miscarriages; and in all to examine the rule of Scripture for the warrant of whatever *shall* be done; and to remember the day of judgment, wherein an account must be given of all that *has* been done; having in the mean time no expectation of the riches and grandeurs which accompany a *worldly* domination. It was herewithal his opinion, "that (as the great Owen expresses it) notwithstanding all the countenance that is given to any church by the publick magistracy, yet whilst we are in this world, those who will faithfully discharge their duty, as ministers of the gospel, shall have need to be prepared for sufferings;" and it was in a sense of these things that he gave himself up to the sacred ministry. A stranger to *regeneration* can be but poorly accomplished for such a ministry; very truly says the incomparable Alsted, *Impii quidam Homines egregie videntur callere* τα θεολογεμενα, *revera tamen illa Cognitio Rerum Theologicarum est* αθεολογος, *quia fieri non*

*potest ut Cognitio vere Theologica, habitet in Corde non Theologo.** And however God may prosper the sermons of such a man for the advantage of his church: however the building of the ark may be helped on by such carpenters as perish in the flood; and the Tyrians may do some *work* about the temple, who arrive to no *worship* in the inner-courts thereof; and, as Austin expressed it, a stone-cutter may convey water into a garden, without having himself any advantage of it; nevertheless, the unsanctified minister, how gifted, how able soever he may be, must have it still said unto him, "Thou lackest one thing!" And that *one thing* our Eliot had. But the one thing was not *all!* as, indeed, it would not have been enough. God furnished him with a good measure of *learning* too, which made him capable to "divide the word aright." He was a most acute grammarian; and understood very well the languages which God first wrote his Holy Bible in. He had a good insight into all the other *liberal arts*, and made little *systems* of them for the use of certain Indians, whose exacter education he was desirous of. But, above all, he had a most eminent skill in theology; and that which profane scoffers reproached, as the disgrace of the blessed Alting, (all of whose works always weigh down the purest *gold*,) was the honour of our Eliot, namely, to be *Scripturarius Theologus*,† or "one mighty in the Word;" which enables him to convince gainsayers, and on many occasions to show himself, "a workman that needed not be ashamed."

In short, he came in some degree, like another Bezaleel or Aholiah, unto the service of the tabernacle. And from one particularity in that part of his learning which lay in the affairs of the tabernacle, it was, that in a little book of his we have those lines which, for a certain cause, I now transcribe: "Oh that the Lord would put it (says he) into the heart of some of his religious and learned servants, to take such pains about the Hebrew language as to fit it for universal use! Considering that, above all languages spoken by the lip of man, it is most capable to be enlarged, and fitted to express all things and motions and notions, that our humane intellect is capable of in this mortal life—considering also that it is the invention of God himself—and what one is fitter to be the universal language, than that which it pleased our Lord Jesus to make use of, when he spake from heaven unto Paul!"

In fine, though we have had greater scholars than he, yet he hath often made me think of Mr. Samuel Ward's observation: "In observing, I have observed and found that divers great clerks have had but little fruit of their ministry, but hardly any truly zealous man of God (though of lesser gifts) but have had much comfort of their labours in their own and bordering parishes; being in this likened by Gregory to the iron on the smith's anvil, sparkling round about."

* Some irreligious men grow beautifully earnest about some matters of Theology, while in real truth their understanding of them is essentially untheological; because true theological understanding can only exist in a Christian heart.

† A Bible Theologian.

ARTICLE II.—HIS FAMILY-GOVERNMENT.

THE Apostle Paul, reciting and requiring qualifications of a gospel minister, gives order that he be "the husband of one wife, and one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity." It seems that a man's carriage in his own house is a *part*, or at least a *sign*, of his due deportment in the house of God: and then, I am sure, our Eliot's was very exemplary. That "one wife" which was given to him truly *from the Lord*, he loved, prized, cherished, with a kindness that notably represented the compassion which he (thereby) taught his church to expect from the Lord Jesus Christ; and after he had lived with her for more than half an hundred years, he followed her to the grave with *lamentations* beyond those which the Jews, from the figure of a letter in the text, affirm that Abraham deplored his aged Sarah with; her departure made a deeper impression upon him than what any common affliction could. His whole conversation with her had that *sweetness*, and that *gravity* and *modesty* beautifying it, that every one called them Zachary and Elizabeth. His family was a little Bethel for the worship of God constantly and exactly maintained in it; and unto the daily prayers of the family, his manner was to prefix the reading of the Scripture; which being done, it was also his manner to make his young people to chuse a certain passage in the chapter, and give him some observation of their own upon it. By this method he did mightily *sharpen* and *improve*, as well as *try* their understandings, and endeavour to make them "wise unto salvation." He was likewise very strict in the education of his children, and more careful to mend any *error* in their hearts and lives, than he could have been to cure a *blemish* in their bodies. No exorbitancies or extravagancies could find a room under his roof, nor was his house any other than a school of piety; one might have there seen a perpetual mixture of a Spartan and a Christian discipline. Whatever decay there might be upon family-religion among us, as for our Eliot, we "knew him, that he would command his children, and his household after him, that they should keep the way of the Lord."

ARTICLE III.—HIS WAY OF PREACHING.

SUCH was he in his *lesser family!* and in his *greater family*, he manifested still more of his regards to the rule of a gospel-ministry. To his congregation, he was a preacher that made it his care, to "give every one their meat in due season." It was *food* and not *froth*, which in his publick sermons he entertained the souls of his people with; he did not *starve* them with empty and windy speculations, or with such things as *Animum non dant, quia non habent;** much less did he *kill* them with such poyson as is too commonly exposed by the Arminian and Socinian doctors that have too often sat in Moses's chair. His way of preaching was very plain;

* Impart no life, because they have none.

so that the very *lambs* might wade into his discourses on those texts and themes wherein *elephants* might swim; and herewithal, it was very powerful; his delivery was always very graceful and grateful; but when he was to use reproofs and warnings against any sin, his voice would rise into a warmth which had in it very much of energy as well as decency; he would sound the trumpets of God against all vice, with a most penetrating liveliness, and make his pulpit another Mount Sinai for the flashes of lightning therein displayed against the breaches of the law given upon that burning mountain. And I observed that there was usually a special fervour in the rebukes which he bestowed upon *carnality*—a carnal frame and life in professors of religion; when he was to brand the earthly-mindedness of church-members, and the allowance and the indulgence which they often gave unto themselves in sensual delights, here he was a right Boanerges; he then spoke, as it was said one of the ancients did, *Quot verba tot Fulmina*—as many *thunderbolts* as *words*.

It was another property of his preaching, that there was evermore much of CHRIST in it; and with Paul he could say, "I determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ," having that blessed name in his discourses with a frequency like that with which Paul mentions it in his epistles. As it was noted of Dr. Bodly, that whatever subject he were upon, in the application still his use of it would be, "to drive men unto the Lord Jesus Christ:" in like manner, the Lord Jesus Christ was the loadstone which gave a touch to all the sermons of our Eliot; a glorious, precious, lovely Christ, was the point of heaven which they still verged unto. From this *inclination* it was, that although he printed several English books before he dyed, yet his heart seemed not so much in any of them, as in that serious and savoury book of his, entituled, "*The Harmony of the Gospels in the Holy History of Jesus Christ.*" From hence also it was that he would give that advice to young preachers, "Pray let there be much of Christ in your ministry;" and when he had heard a sermon which had any special relish of a blessed Jesus in it, he would say thereupon, "O blessed be God, that we have Christ so much and so well preached in poor New-England!"

Moreover, he liked no preaching but what had been *well studied* for; and he would very much commend a sermon which he could perceive had required some good *thinking* and *reading* in the author of it. I have been present when he has unto a preacher then just come home from the assembly with him thus expressed himself: "Brother, there was oyl required for the service of the sanctuary; but it must be beaten oyl. I praise God that I saw your oyl so well beaten to day; the Lord help us always by good study to beat our oyl, that there may be no knots in our sermons left undissolved, and that there may a clear light be thereby given in the house of God!" And yet he likewise looked for something in a sermon beside and beyond the meer study of man; he was for having the Spirit of God, breathing in it and with it; and he was for speaking *those* things,

from *those* impressions and with *those* affections, which might compel the hearer to say, "The spirit of God was here!" I have heard him complain, "It is a sad thing when a sermon shall have that one thing, *the Spirit of God*, wanting in it."

ARTICLE IV.—HIS CARES ABOUT THE CHILDREN OF HIS PEOPLE.

But he remembered that he had lambs in his flock, and like another David he could not endure to see the lion seize upon any of them. He always had a mighty concern upon his mind for little children; it was an affectionate stroke in one of the little papers which he published for them, "Sure Christ is not willing to lose his lambs;" and I have cause to remember with what an hearty, fervent, zealous application, he addressed himself, when in the name of the neighbour pastors and churches he gave me "the right hand of their fellowship" at my ordination, and said, "Brother, art thou a lover of the Lord Jesus Christ? Then, I pray, feed his lambs."

One thing whereof he was very desirous for poor children was the *covenanting* of them; he was very solicitous that the lambs might pass under the Lord's "tything rod," and be brought under the "bond of the covenant." He very openly and earnestly maintained the cause of infant-baptism, against a sort of persons risen since the reformation, (among which indeed there are many godly men that were dear to the soul of our Eliot,) who forget that in the gospel church state, as well as in the Jewish, "the promise is to believers and their children:" and are unwilling to reckon *children* among the *disciples* of Jesus Christ: or to grant that "of such is the kingdom of heaven:" or to know that the most undoubted records of antiquity affirm infant-baptism to have been an usage in all the primitive churches; that even before the early days of Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Basil, Athanasius, Epiphanius, in the Greek, and Ambrose, Jerom, Austin, in the Latin church—all of which give glorious testimonies for infant-baptism—even Cyprian, before these, assures us that in his days there was no doubt of it; and Origen before him could say, "'Twas from the apostles that the church took up the baptism of infants;" and Clemens Romanus before him could say, "That children should be recipients of the discipline of Christ;" besides what plain evidence we have in Irenæus and Justin Martyr; and that the very arguments with which some of the ancients did superstitiously advise the delay of baptism, do at the same time confess the *divine right* of infants in it. Our Eliot could by no means look upon the infants of godly men as *unholy* and *unbelievers*, and unfit subjects to have upon them a *mark* of dedication to the Lord.

Wherefore, when there was brought among us a book of pious Mr. Norcott's, whereby some became disposed to, or confirmed in a prejudice against Pædo baptism, it was not long before Mr. Eliot published a little answer thereunto; the first lines whereof presently discovered what a temper he wrote it with; says he, "The book speaks with the voice of a

lamb, and I think the author is a godly, though erring brother; but he acts the cause of a roaring lion, who by all crafty ways seeketh to devour the poor lambs of the flock of Christ." And so he goes on to plead the cause of them that "cannot speak for themselves." No man could entertain a person of a different perswasion from himself with more sweetness and kindness than he, when he saw *Aliquid Christi*,* or the fear of God prevailing in them; he could uphold a most intimate correspondence with such a man as Mr. Jessey, as long as he lived; and yet he knew how to be an hammer upon their unhappy errors.

But having once baptized the children of his neighbours, he did not, as too many ministers do, think that he had now done with them. No; another thing wherein he was very laborious for poor children was, the *catechising* of them; he kept up the great ordinance of catechising, both publickly and privately, and spent in it a world of time. About the end of the second century, before there had in the least begun to start up *new officers* in the church of God, we find there were persons called unto the office of publick teaching, who were not pastors, not rulers, not called unto the administration of other ordinances; those in the church of Alexandria were of a special remark and renown for their abilities this way; and their employment was to *explain* and *defend* the principles of the Christian religion unto all with whom they could be concerned. Here was the catechist, with reference unto whom the apostle says, "Let the catechised communicate unto him in all good things." Now, though some think a teacher, purely as such, hath no right unto further church administrations, any more than the Rabbis or doctors among the Jews had to "offer sacrifices in the temple;" yet he who is called to be a *teacher*, may at the same time also be called to be an *elder;* and being now a *teaching elder*, he becomes interested in the whole government of the church; he has the power of all sacred administrations. It is the latter and more compleat and perfect character, which the churches of New-England have still acknowledged in their teachers; and such a teaching elder did our Eliot remember himself to be. He thought himself under a particular obligation to be that officer which the apostle calls in 1 Cor. iv. 15, "An instructor of the young;" nor was he ashamed, any more than some of the worthiest men among the ancients were, to be called a catechist. He would observe upon Joh. xxi. 15, "That the care of the lambs, is one third part of the charge over the Church of God." It would be incredible if I should relate what pains he took to keep up the blessed *echo's* of truth between himself and the young people of his congregation; and what prudence he used in suiting of his catechisms to the age and strength of his little *catechumens*. But one thing I must observe, which is, that although there may be (as one has computed) no less than five hundred catechisms extant, yet Mr. Eliot gave himself the travail of adding to their number,

* Something Christ-like.

by composing of some further catechisms, which were more particularly designed as an antidote for his own people against the contagion of such *errors* as might threaten any peculiar danger to them. And the *effect* and *success* of this catechising, bore proportion to the indefatigable industry with which he prosecuted it; it is a *well principled people* that he has left behind him. As when certain Jesuits were sent among the Waldenses to corrupt their children, they returned with much disappointment and confusion, because the children of seven years old were well principled enough to encounter the most learned of them all; so, if any *seducers* were let loose to *wolve* it among the good people of Roxbury, I am confident they would find as little prey in that well-instructed place, as in any part of all the country; no civil penalties would signify so much to save any people from the snares of busy hereticks, as the unwearied catechising of one Eliot has done to preserve his people from the gangren of ill opinions.

There is a third instance of his regards to the welfare of the poor children under his charge: and that is, his perpetual resolution and activity to support a good *school* in the town that belonged unto him. A grammar-school he would always have upon the place, whatever it cost him; and he importuned all other places to have the like. I cannot forget the ardour with which I once heard him pray, in a synod of these churches which met at Boston to consider "how the miscarriages which were among us might be prevented;" I say, with what fervour he uttered an expression to this purpose: "Lord, for schools every where among us! That our schools may flourish! That every member of this assembly may go home, and procure a good school to be encouraged in the town where he lives! That before we die, we may be so happy as to see a good school encouraged in every plantation of the country." God so blessed his endeavours, that Roxbury could not live quietly without a *free school* in the town; and the issue of it has been one thing, which has made me almost put the title of *Schola Illustris* upon that little nursery; that is, that Roxbury has afforded more scholars—first for the colledge, and then for the publick—than any town of its bigness, or, if I mistake not, of twice its bigness in all New-England. From the spring of the school at Roxbury, there have run a large number of the "streams which have made glad this whole city of God." I perswade my self that the good people of Roxbury will for ever scorn to begrutch the *cost*, or to permit the *death* of a school which God has made such an honour to them; and this the rather, because their deceased Eliot has left them a fair part of his estate for the maintaining of the school in Roxbury; and I hope, or at least I wish, that the ministers of New-England may be as ungainsayably importunate with their people as Mr. Eliot was with his, for schools which may seasonably tinge the young souls of the rising generation. A want of education for them, is the blackest and saddest of all the bad *omens* that are upon us.

ARTICLE V.—HIS CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

It yet more endears unto us the memory of our Eliot that he was not only an evangelical minister, but also a true New-English one; he was a Protestant and a Puritan, and one very full of that spirit which actuated the first planters of this country in their *peaceable secession* from the unwarrantable things elsewhere imposed upon their consciences. The *judgment* and *practice* of one that readily underwent all the misery attending the infancy of this plantation, for the sake of a true church order, is a thing which we young people should count worthy to be enquired after; and since we saw him so well "behaving himself in the house of God," it cannot but be worth while to know what he thought about the frame, and form, and constitution of that blessed house.

He was a modest, humble, but very reasonable non-conformist unto the *ceremonies* which have been such unhappy apples of strife in the Church of England; otherwise the dismal thickets of America had never seen such a person in them.

It afflicted him to see these, and more such as these, things continued in the Church of England, by the artifice of certain persons who were loth to have the reformation carried on unto those further degrees which the most eminent of the *first reformers* had in their holy designs.

We see what *was not* his opinion! But let us hear what it was. It was his as well as his master, the great Ramus's principle, "that in the reformation of churches, to be now endeavoured, things ought to be reduced unto the order wherein we find them at their primitive, original, apostolical institution." And in pursuance of this principle, he justly espoused that way of church-government which we call the *congregational;* he was fully perswaded, that the church state which our Lord Jesus Christ hath instituted in the New-Testament, is, "In a congregation or society of professed believers, agreeing and assembling together among themselves, with officers of divine appointment for the celebration of evangelical ordinances, and their own mutual edification;" for he saw it must be a *cruel hardship* used upon the Scriptures, to make them so much as lisp the least intimation of any other church-state prescribed unto us; and he could assert, "That no approved writers, for the space of two hundred years after Christ, make any mention of any other organical, visible, professing church, but that only which is congregational." He looked upon the congregational way as a largess of divine bounty bestowed by the Lord Jesus Christ on his people, that followed him into this wilderness, with a peculiar zeal for communion with him in his pure worship here. He perceived in it a sweet sort of temperament, between *rigid* Presbyterianism and *levelling* Brownism; so that on the one side, the *liberties* of the people are not oppressed and overlaid; on the other side, the authority of the elders is not rendred insignificant, but a due balance is herein

kept upon them both, and hence he closed with *our* "platform of church-discipline," as being the nearest of what he had yet seen to the directions of Heaven.

He could not comprehend that this church-state can arise from any other *formal cause*, but the consent, concurrence, confederation of those concerned in it; he looked upon a relation unto a church, as not a *natural*, or a *violent*, but a *voluntary* thing, and so that it is to be entred no otherwise than by an holy covenant, or, as the Scripture speaks, by "giving our selves first unto the Lord, and then one unto another." He could not think that baptism alone was to be accounted the *cause*, but rather the *effect*, of church member-ship; inasmuch as, upon the dissolution of the church to which a man belongs, his *baptism* would not become a nullity: nor that meer *profession* would render men members of this or that church; for then it would be impossible to cut off a corrupt member from that body politic: nor that meer *cohabitation* would make church members; for then the vilest infidels would be actually incorporated with us. And a *covenant* was all that he now saw remaining in the inventory.

But for the *subjects* to be admitted by churches unto all the privileges of this fellowship with them, he thought they ought to be such as a *trying charity*, or a *charitable tryal*, should pronounce *regenerate*. He found the first churches of the gospel mentioned in the Scripture to be "churches of saints;" and that the apostles writing to them, still acknowledge them to be holy brethren, and such as were made "meet for to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light;" and that a main end of church-fellowship, is to represent unto the world the qualifications of those that shall "ascend into the hill of the Lord, and stand in his holy place for ever." He would therefore have *Bona Mens*, and *Purum pectus*, and *Vita Innocens*,* required, as Lactantius tells us they were in his days, of all communicants at the table of the Lord; and, with holy Chrysostom, he would sooner have given his *heart blood*, than the *cup of the Lord* unto such as had not the hopeful marks of our Lord's disciples on them. The churches of New-England still retain a custom which the great Justin Martyr, in the second century, assures us to have been in the primitive churches of his time; namely, "To examine those they receive, not only about their perswasion, but also whether they have attained unto a work of grace upon their souls." In the prosecution hereof, besides the enquiries of the elders into the *knowledge*, and *belief*, and *conversation* of them that offer themselves unto church-fellowship, it is expected, though I hope not with any severity of imposition, that in the addresses which they make to the churches, they give *written*, if not *oral* account, of what impressions the regenerating word of God has had upon their souls. This was a *custom* which this holy man had a marvellous esteem and value for; and I have taken from his mouth such as these expressions very publickly delivered thereabouts:

* A good mind, a pure heart, and a spotless life.

"It is matter," said he, "of great thankfulness, that we have Christ *confessed* in our churches, by such as we receive to full communion there. They open the works of Christ in their hearts, and the *relation* thereof is an eminent confession of our Lord; experienced saints can gather more than a little from it. It is indeed an ordinance of wonderful benefit; the Lord planted many vineyards in the first settlement of this country, and there were many noble vines in them; it was their heavenly-mindedness which disposed them to this exercise, and by the upholding of it the churches are still filled with noble vines; it mightily maintains purity of churches. It is the duty of every Christian, 'With the mouth confession is made unto salvation.' As among the Jews, usually most men did *once* in their life celebrate a jubilee, thus this confession of Christ is methinks a sort of jubilee; and every good man among us is at least once in his life called unto it. It is a thing that gives great glory to the Lord Jesus Christ; and younger converts are thereby exceedingly edifyed; and the souls of devout Christians are hereby very much ingratiated one unto onother. The devil knows what he does, when he thrusts so hard to get this custom out of our churches. For my part, I would say in this case, 'Get thee behind me, Satan; thou givest an horrible offence unto the Lord Jesus Christ.' Let us keep up this ordinance with all gentleness; and where we see the least spark of *grace* held forth, let us prize it more than all the *wit* in the world."

There were especially two things which he was loth to *see*, and yet feared he *saw*, falling in the churches of New-England. One was, a thorough establishment of ruling elders in our churches; which he thought sufficiently warranted by the apostles' mention of, "elders that rule well, who yet labour not in word and doctrine." He was very desirous to have prudent and gracious men set over our churches, for the assistance of their pastors in the church acts that concern the *admission* and *exclusion* of members, and the *inspection* of the conversation led by the communicant, and the *instruction* of their several families, and the *visitation* of the afflicted in their flock, over which they should preside. Such "helps in governments" had he himself been blessed withal; the last of which was the well-deserving Elder Bowles; and of him did this good man, in a speech to a synod of all the churches in this colony, take occasion to say, "There is my brother Bowles, the godly elder of our church at Roxbury, God helps him to do great things among us!" Had all our pastors been so well accommodated, it is possible there would be more encouragement given to such an office as that of ruling elders.

But the mention of a Synod brings to mind another thing, which he was concerned that we might never want; and that is, a frequent repetition of *needful synods* in our churches. For though he had a deep and a due care to preserve the "rights of particular churches," yet he thought all the churches of the Lord Jesus Christ by their *union* in what they *profess*, in what they *intend*, and in what they *enjoy*, so compacted into one *body mystical*, as that all the several particular churches every where should act with a regard unto the good of the whole, and unto the common *advice* and *council* of the neighbourhood; which cannot be done always by *letters missive* like those that passed between Corinth and Rome in the early days of Christianity; but it requires a convention of the churches in synods, by their delegates and messengers. He did not count

churches to be so *independent*, as that they can always discharge their whole duty, and yet not act in conjunction with neighbour churches; nor would he be of any church that will not acknowledge it self *accountable* to rightly composed synods, which may have occasion to enquire into the circumstances of it; he saw the main interest and business of churches might quickly come to be utterly lost, if synods were not called for the repairing of inconveniences, and he was much in contriving for the regular and repeated meeting of such assemblies.

He wished for *councils* to suppress all damnable heresies or pernicious opinions that might ever arise among us; for councils to extinguish all dangerous divisions and scandalous contentions which might ever begin to flame in our borders; for councils to rectify all male-administrations in the midst of us, or to recover any particular churches out of any disorders which they may be plunged into: for councils to enquire into the love, the peace, the holiness maintained by the several churches; in fine, for councils to send forth fit labourers into those parts of our Lord's harvest which are without the gospel of God. He beheld an apostolical precept and pattern for such councils; and when such councils convened in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, by the consent of several churches concerned in mutual communion, have declared, explained, recommended the mind of God from his word unto us, he reckoned a truth so delivered, challenged an observation from the particular churches with a very great authority.

He therefore printed a little book wearing this title: "*The Divine Management of Gospel Churches by the Ordinance of Councils, constituted in order according to the Scriptures, which may be a means of uniting those two holy and eminent parties, the* Prebyterians *and the* Congregational." It is a remarkable concession made by the incomparable Jurieu, who is not reckoned a Congregational man, in his "*Traite de L'Unite de L'Eglise,*" That the "apostolical churches lived not in any confederation for mutual dependence. The grand equipage of Metropolitans, of Primates, of Exarchs, of Patriarchs, was yet unknown; nor does it any more appear to us that the churches then had their provincial, national, and œcumenical synods; every church was its own mistress, and independent on any other." But, on the other side, our Eliot, who was no Presbyterian, conceived synods to be the institutions of our Lord Jesus Christ, the "apostolical churches themselves" acknowledging a stamp of "divine right" upon them.

Such as these were the sentiments of our Eliot; and his deserved reputation in the churches of New-England, is that which has caused me to foresee some advantage and benefit arising unto the concerns of the gospel, by so large a recitation as I have now made thereof.

The reader has now seen an able minister of the New-Testament.

* Treatise on the Unity of the Church.

PART III.

OR, ELIOT AS AN EVANGELIST.

THE titles of a *Christian* and of a *minister* have rendred our Eliot considerable; but there is one memorable title more, by which he has been signalized unto us. An honourable person did once in print put the name of an evangelist upon him; whereupon, in a letter of his to that person, afterwards printed, his expressions were, "There is a *redundancy* where you put the title of Evangelist upon me; I beseech you suppress all such things; let us do and speak and carry all things with humility; it is the Lord who hath done what is done; and it is most becoming the spirit of Jesus Christ to lift up him, and lay our selves low; I wish that word could be obliterated." My reader sees what a caution Mr. Eliot long since entred against our giving him the title of an evangelist; but his *death* has now made it safe, and his *life* had long made it just, for us to acknowledge him with such a title. I know not whither that of an evangelist, or one separated for the employment of preaching the gospel in such places whereunto churches have hitherto been gathered, be not an office that should be continued in our days; but this I know, that our Eliot very notably did the *service* and *business* of such an officer.

Cambden could not reach the height of his conceit who bore in his shield a salvage of America, with his hand pointing to the sun, and this motto: *Mihi Accessu, Tibi Recessu.** Reader, prepare to behold this *device* illustrated!

¶ The natives of the country now possessed by the New-Englanders had been forlorn and wretched heathen ever since their first herding here; and though we know not *when* or *how* those Indians first became inhabitants of this mighty continent, yet we may guess that probably the devil decoyed those miserable salvages hither, in hopes that the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or disturb his *absolute empire* over them. But our Eliot was in such ill terms with the devil, as to alarm him with sounding the silver trumpets of Heaven in his territories, and make some noble and zealous attempts towards ousting him of ancient possessions here. There were, I think, twenty several *nations* (if I may call them so) of Indians upon that spot of ground which fell under the influence of our Three United Colonies; and our Eliot was willing to rescue as many of them as he could from that old usurping *landlord* of America, who is, "by the wrath of God, the prince of this world."

I cannot find that any besides the Holy Spirit of God first moved him to the blessed work of evangelizing these perishing Indians; it was that Holy Spirit which laid before his mind the idea of that which was on the *seal* of the Massachuset colony: *a poor Indian having a label going from*

* As I approach, thou recedest.

his mouth, with a COME OVER AND HELP US. It was the spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, which enkindled in him a pitty for the dark souls of these natives, whom the "god of this world had blinded," through all the by-past ages. He was none of those that make "the salvation of the heathen" an article of their creed; but (setting aside the unrevealed and extraordinary steps which the "Holy One of Israel" may take out of his *usual* paths) he thought men to be lost if our gospel be hidden from them; and he was of the same opinion with one of the ancients, who said, "Some have endeavoured to prove Plato a Christian till they prove themselves little better than heathens." It is indeed a principle in the Turkish Alcoran, that "let a man's religion be what it will, he shall be saved, if he conscientiously live up to the rules of it:" but our Eliot was no Mahometan. He could most heartily subscribe to that passage in the articles of the Church of England, "They are to be held accursed who presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law and light of nature; for Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ whereby men must be saved." And it astonished him to see many dissembling subscribers of those articles, while they have grown up to such a *phrensy* as to deny peremptorily all church state, and all salvation to all that are not under Diocesan Bishops, yet at the same time to grant that the heathen might be saved without the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ.

But when this charitable pitty had once began to flame, there was a concurrence of many things to cast oyl into it. All the good men in the country were glad of his engagement in such an undertaking; the ministers especially encouraged him, and those in the neighbourhood kindly supplyed his place, and performed his work in part for him at Roxbury, while he was abroad labouring among them that were *without*. Hereunto he was further awakened by those expressions in the royal charter, in the assurance and protection whereof this wilderness was first peopled; namely, "To win and incite the natives of that country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith, in our royal intention, and the adventurer's free profession is the principal end of the plantation." And the remarkable zeal of the Romish missionaries, "compassing sea and land, that they might make proselytes," made his devout soul think of it with a further disdain, that we should come any whit behind in our care to evangelize the Indians whom we dwelt among. Lastly, when he had well begun this evangelical business, the good God, in an answer to his prayers, mercifully stirred up a liberal contribution among the godly people in England for the promoting of it; by means whereof a considerable *estate* and *income* was at length entrusted in the hands of an honourable corporation, by whom it is to this day very carefully employed in the Christian service which it was designed for. And then, in short, inasmuch as our Lord Jesus had bestowed on

us, our Eliot was gratefully and generously desirous to obtain for him "the heathen for an inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for a possession."

The exemplary charity of this excellent person in this important affair, will not be seen in its due lustres, unless we make some reflections upon several circumstances which he beheld these forlorn Indians in. Know, then, that these doleful creatures are the veriest *ruines of mankind* which are to be found any where upon the face of the earth. No such *estates* are to be expected among them, as have been the *baits* which the pretended converters in other countries have snapped at. One might see among them what an hard master the devil is to the most devoted of his vassals! These abject creatures live in a country full of mines; we have already made entrance upon our *iron;* and in the very surface of the ground among us, it is thought there lies *copper* enough to supply all this world; besides other mines hereafter to be exposed; but our shiftless Indians were never owners of so much as a knife till we come among them; their name for an English man was a *Knife-man;* stone was instead of metal for their tools; and for their coins, they have only little beads with holes in them to string them upon a bracelet, whereof some are white; and of these there go six for a penny; some are black or blue; and of these, go three for a penny: this wampam, as they call it, is made of the shell-fish which lies upon the sea-coast continually.

They live in a country where *we* now have all the conveniencies of human life: but as for *them*, their *housing* is nothing but a few mats tyed about poles fastened in the earth, where a good *fire* is their *bed-clothes* in the coldest seasons; their *clothing* is but skin of a beast, covering their hind-parts, their fore-parts having but a little apron, where nature calls for secrecy; their *diet* has not a greater dainty than their *Nokehick*—that is, a spoonful of their parched meal, with a spoonful of water, which will strengthen them to travel a day together; except we should mention the flesh of deers, bears, mose, rakoons, and the like, which they have when they can *catch* them; as also a little fish, which, if they would preserve, it was by drying, not by salting; for they had not a grain of salt in the world, I think, till we bestowed it on them. Their *physick* is, excepting a few odd specificks, which some of them encounter certain cases with, nothing hardly but an hot-house or a powaw; their *hot-house* is a little cave, about eight foot over, where, after they have terribly heated it, a crew of them go sit and sweat and smoke for an hour together, and then immediately run into some very cold adjacent brook, without the least mischief to them; it is this way they recover themselves from some diseases, particularly from the French; but in most of their dangerous distempers, it is a *powaw* that must be sent for; that is, a priest, who has more familiarity with Satan than his neighbours; this conjurer comes and roars, and howls, and uses magical ceremonies over the sick man, and will be well

paid for it when he has done; if this don't effect the cure, the "man's time is come, and there's an end."

They live in a country full of the best ship-timber under heaven: but never saw a ship till some came from Europe hither; and then they were scared out of their wits to see the *monster* come sailing in, and spitting fire with a mighty noise out of her floating side; they cross the water in canoes, made sometimes of trees, which they burn and hew, till they have hollowed them; and sometimes of barks, which they stitch into a light sort of a vessel, to be easily carried over land; if they overset, it is but a little paddling like a dog, and they are soon where they were.

Their way of living is infinitely barbarous: the men are most abominably slothful; making their poor squaws, or wives, to plant and dress, and barn and beat their corn, and build their wigwams for them: which perhaps may be the reason of their extraordinary ease in childbirth. In the mean time, their chief employment, when they'll *condescend* unto any, is that of *hunting;* wherein they'll go out some scores, if not hundreds of them in a company, driving all before them.

They continue in a place till they have burnt up all the wood thereabouts, and then they pluck up stakes; to follow the *wood*, which they cannot fetch home unto themselves; hence when they enquire about the English, "Why come they hither?" they have themselves very learnedly determined the case, "'Twas because we wanted firing." No *arts* are understood among them, except just so far as to maintain their brutish conversation, which is little more than is to be found among the very bevers upon our streams.

Their division of time is by *sleeps*, and *moons*, and *winters;* and, by lodging abroad, they have somewhat observed the motions of the *stars;* among which it has been surprising unto me to find that they have always called "Charles's Wain" by the name of *Paukunnawaw*, or *the Bear*, which is the name whereby Europeans also have distinguished it. Moreover, they have little, if any, traditions among them worthy of our notice; and reading and writing is altogether unknown to them, though there is a rock or two in the country that has unaccountable characters engraved upon it. All the religion they have amounts unto thus much: they believe that there are many gods, who made and own the several nations of the world; of which a certain *great God* in the south-west regions of heaven bears the greatest figure. They believe that every remarkable creature has a peculiar god within it or about it: there is with them a *Sun God*, a *Moon God*, and the like; and they cannot conceive but that the fire must be a kind of a god, inasmuch as a *spark* of it will soon produce very strange effects. They believe that when any good or ill happens to them, there is the favour or the anger of a god expressed in it; and hence, as in a time of calamity, they keep a *dance*, or a day of extravagant ridiculous devotions to their god; so in a time of prosperity they

likewise have a *feast*, wherein they also make presents one unto another. Finally; they believe that their chief god (*Kautantowit*) made a man and a woman of a *stone;* which, upon dislike, he broke to pieces, and made another man and woman of a *tree*, which were the fountains of mankind; and that we all have in us immortal *souls*, which, if we were godly, shall go to a splendid entertainment with Kautantowit, but otherwise must wander about in restless horror for ever. But if you say to them any thing of a *resurrection*, they will reply upon you, "I shall never believe it!" And when they have any weighty undertaking before them, it is an usual thing for them to have their assemblies, wherein, after the usage of some diabolical rites, a devil appears unto them, to inform them and advise them about their circumstances; and sometimes there are odd events of their making these applications to the devil. For instance, it is particularly affirmed that the Indians, in their wars with us, finding a sore inconvenience by our dogs, which would make a sad yelling if in the night they scented the approaches of them, they sacrificed a dog to the devil; after which no English dog would bark at an Indian for divers months ensuing. This was the miserable people which our Eliot propounded unto himself to teach and save! And he had a double work incumbent on him; he was to make men of them, ere he could hope to see them saints; they must be *civilized* ere they could be *Christianized;* he could not, as Gregory once of our nation, see any thing *angelical* to bespeak his labours for their eternal welfare: all among them was *diabolical.* To think on raising a number of these hedious creatures unto the elevations of our holy religion, must argue more than common or little sentiments in the undertaker; but the faith of an Eliot could encounter it!

I confess that was one—I cannot call it so much *guess* as wish—wherein he was willing a little to indulge himself; and that was, "that our *Indians* are the posterity of the dispersed and rejected *Israelites*, concerning whom our God has promised, that they shall yet be saved by the deliverer coming to turn away ungodliness from them." He saw the Indians using many *parables* in their discourses; much given to anointing of their *heads;* much delighted in *dancing*, especially after victories; computing their times by *nights* and *months;* giving *dowries* for wives, and causing their women to "dwell by themselves," at certain seasons, for secret causes; and accustoming themselves to grievous *mournings* and *yellings* for the dead; all which were usual things among the Israelites. They have, too, a great unkindness for our *swine;* but I suppose that is because our hogs devour the clams which are a dainty with them. He also saw some learned men looking for the lost Israelites among the Indians in America, and counting that they had *thorow-good* reasons for doing so. And a few small *arguments*, or indeed but *conjectures*, meeting with a favourable disposition in the hearer, will carry some conviction with them; especially if a report of a *Menasseh ben Israel* be to back them.

He saw likewise the *judgments* threatened unto the Israelites of old, strangely fulfilled upon our Indians; particularly that "Ye shall eat the flesh of your sons," which is done with exquisite cruelties upon the prisoners that they take from one another in their battles. Moreover, it is a prophesy in Deuteronomy xxviii. 68, "The Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships, by the way whereof I spake unto thee, thou shalt see it no more again; and there shall ye be sold unto your enemies, and no man shall buy you." This did our Eliot imagine accomplished, when the captives taken by us in our late wars upon them, were sent to be sold in the coasts lying not very remote from Egypt on the Mediterranean sea, and scarce any chapmen would offer to take them off. Being upon such as these accounts not unwilling, if it were possible, to have the Indians found Israelites, they were, you may be sure, not a whit the less "beloved for their (supposed) father's sake;" and the fatigues of his travails went on the more *cheerfully*, or at least the more *hopefully*, because of such possibilities.

The first step which he judged necessary now to be taken by him, was to learn the Indian language; for he saw them so stupid and senseless, that they would never do so much as enquire after the religion of the strangers now come into their country, much less would they so far imitate us as to leave off their beastly way of living, that they might be partakers of any spiritual advantage by us: unless we could first address them in a language of their own. Behold, new difficulties to be surmounted by our indefatigable Eliot! He hires a native to teach him this exotick language, and, with a laborious care and skill, reduces it into a grammar, which afterwards he published. There is a letter or two of our alphabet, which the Indians never had in theirs; though there were enough of the *dog* in their *temper*, there can scarce be found an *R* in their language, (any more than in the language of the Chinese or of the Greenlanders,) save that the Indians to the northward, who have a peculiar dialect, pronounce an *R* where an *N* is pronounced by our Indians; but if their alphabet be short, I am sure the words composed of it are long enough to tire the patience of any scholar in the world; they are *Sesquipedalia Verba*,* of which their *linguo* is composed; one would think they had been growing ever since Babel unto the dimensions to which they are now extended. For instance, if my reader will count how many letters there are in this one word, *Nummatchekodtantamoooganunnonash*, when he has done, for his reward, I'll tell him it signifies no more in English than *our lusts;* and if I were to translate, *our loves*, it must be nothing shorter than *Noowomantammooonkanunonnash*. Or, to give my reader a longer word than either of these, *Kummogkodonattoottummooetiteaonganunnonash* is in English *our question:* but I pray, sir, count the letters! Nor do we find in all this language the least affinity to, or derivation from any European speech that we are acquainted with. I know not what

* Interminable words.

thoughts it will produce in my reader, when I inform him that once, finding that the *Dæmons* in a possessed young woman understood the Latin, and Greek, and Hebrew languages, my curiosity led me to make trial of this Indian language, and the Dæmons did seem as if they did not understand it. This tedious language our Eliot (the anagram of whose name was TOILE) quickly became a master of; he employed a pregnant and witty Indian, who also spoke English well, for his assistance in it; and compiling some discourses by his help, he would single out a word, a noun, a verb, and pursue it through all its variations: having finished his grammar, at the close he writes, "Prayers and pains through faith in Christ Jesus will do any thing!" and being by his *prayers* and *pains* thus furnished, he set himself in the year 1646 to preach the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ among these desolate outcasts.

¶ It remains that I lay before the world the remarkable conduct and success of this famous man, in his great affair; and I shall endeavour to do it by Englishing and rēprinting a letter, sent a while since by my father unto his learned and renowned correspondent, the venerable Dr. Leusden at Utrecht: which letter has already been published, if I mistake not, in four or five divers languages. I find it particularly published by the most excellent Jurieu, at the end of a pastoral letter; and this reflection then worthily made upon it: *Cette Lettre doit opportorune tres grande consolation, a toutes les bonnes ames, qui sont alterees de justice, et qui sont enflammees du zele de la gloire de Dieu.** I therefore perswade my self that the rēpublication of it will not be ungrateful unto many *good souls* in our nation, who have a due *thirst* and *zeal* for such things as are mentioned in it; and when that is done, I shall presume to make some *annotations* for the illustration of sundry memorable things therein pointed at.

A LETTER

CONCERNING THE SUCCESS OF THE GOSPEL AMONGST THE INDIANS IN NEW-ENGLAND.

WRITTEN BY MR. INCREASE MATHER,

Minister of the Word of God at Boston, and Rector of the Colledge at Cambridge in New-England, to Dr. John Leusden, Hebrew Professor in the University of Utrecht.

TRANSLATED OUT OF LATIN INTO ENGLISH.

WORTHY AND MUCH HONOURED SIR: Your letters were very grateful to me, (1) by which I understand that you and others in your famous University of Utrecht desire to be informed

(1). *The success of the gospel in the East-Indies.*—After the writing of this letter, there came one to my hands from the famous Dr. Leusden, together with a new and fair edition of his Hebrew Psalter, dedicated unto the name of my absent parent. He therein informs me, that our example had awakened the Dutch to make some noble attempts for the furtherance of the gospel in the East-Indies; besides what memorable things were done by the excellent Robert Junius, in Formosa, fifty years ago.

He also informs me, that in and near the island of Ceylon, the Dutch pastors have baptized about three hundred thousand of the Eastern Indians; for although the ministers are utterly ignorant of

* That letter ought to minister great consolation to all those holy souls, which are stayed on justice, and burn with zeal for the glory of God.

concerning the converted Indians in America: take therefore a true account of them in a few words.

It is above forty years since that truly godly man Mr. John Eliot, pastor of the church at Rocksborough, (about a mile from Boston in New-England,) being warmed with a holy zeal of converting the Americans, set himself to learn the Indian tongue, that he might more easily and successfully (2) open to them the mysteries of the gospel, upon account of which

their language, yet there are school-masters who teach them the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Creed*, the *Ten Commandments*, a *Morning Prayer*, an *Evening Prayer*, a *Blessing* before *meat*, and *another* after; and the minister in his visits being assured by the master, who of them has learned all of them *seven* things, he thereupon counts they have such a *perfect number* of attainments that he presently baptizes them.

The pious reader will doubtless, bless God for this; but he will easily see that one of our converted Indians has cost more pains than *many* of those; more *thorough work* has been made with them.

(2). *Mr. Eliot's way of Opening the Mysteries of the Gospel to our Indians.*—It was in the year 1646 that Mr. Eliot, accompanied by three more, gave a visit unto an assembly of Indians, of whom he desired a meeting at such a time and place, that he might lay before them the things of their eternal peace. After a serious prayer, he gave them a sermon which continued about a quarter above an hour, and contained the principal articles of the Christian religion, applying all to the condition of the Indians present. Having done, he asked of them, whether *they understood?* and with a general reply they answered, *they understood all.* He then began what was his usual method afterwards in treating with them; that is, he caused them to propound such *questions* as they pleased unto himself; and he gave wise and good *answers* to them all. Their questions would often, though not always, refer to what he had newly preached; and he this way not only made a proof of their profiting by his ministry, but also gave an edge to what he delivered unto them. Some of their questions would be a little *philosophical*, and required a good measure of learning in the minister concerned with them; but for this our Eliot wanted not. He would also put proper questions unto them, and at one of his first exercises with them, he made the young ones capable of regarding those three questions:

Q. 1. Who made you and all the world?

Q. 2. Who do you look should save you from sin and hell?

Q. 3. How many commandments has the Lord given you to keep?

It was his wisdom that he began with them upon such principles as they themselves had already some notions of; such as that of an heaven for good, and hell for bad people when they died. It broke his gracious heart within him to see what floods of tears fell from the eyes of several among those degenerate salvages at the first addresses which he made unto them; yea, from the very worst of them all. He was very inquisitive to learn who were the Powawes—that is, the *sorcerers* and *seducers* that maintained the worship of the devil in any of their societies; and having in one of his first journeys to them found out one of those wretches, he made the Indian come unto him, and said, "Whether do you suppose *God* or *Chepian* (*i. e.* the devil) to be the author of all good?" The conjurer answered, "God." Upon this he added, with a stern countenance, "Why do you pray to *Chepian* then?" And the poor man was not able to stand or speak before him; but at last made promises of reformation.

The text which he first preached upon, was that in Ezek. xxxvii. 9, 10, "That by prophesying to the wind, the wind came, and the dry bones lived:" And it was an observation made by one who then justly confessed there was *not much weight* in it, that the word which the Indians use for *wind* is *wauban*, and an Indian of that name was one of the first that here zealously promoted the conversion of his neighbours. But having thus entred upon the *teaching* of these poor creatures, it is incredible how much time, toil, and hardship, he underwent in the prosecution of this undertaking; how many weary days and nights rolled over him; how many tiresome journeys he endured; and how many terrible dangers he had experience of. If you briefly would know *what* he felt, and *what* carried him through all, take it in his own words in a letter to the Honourable Mr. Winslow. Says he, "I have not been dry, night nor day, from the third day of the week unto the sixth, but so travelled, and at night pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so con-

he has been (and not undeservedly) called, "the Apostle of the American Indians." This reverend person, not without very great labour, translated the whole Bible into the Indian tongue; ([3]) he translated also several English treatises of practical divinity and catechisms into their language. Above twenty six years ago he gathered a church of converted Indians in a town called Natick;([4]) these Indians confessed their sins with tears, and professed

tinue. But God steps in and helps. I have considered the word of God in 2 Tim. ii. 3: 'Endure hardship as a good soldier of Christ.'"

([3]). *His translating the Bible, and other books of piety, into the Indian tongue.*—One of his remarkable cares for these illiterate Indians was to bring them into the use of *schools* and *books*. He quickly procured the benefit of schools for them; wherein they profited so much, that not only very many of them quickly came to read and write but also several arrived unto a liberal education in our colledge, and one or two of them took their degree with the rest of our graduates. And for *books*, it was his chief desire that the Sacred Scriptures might not in an *unknown tongue* be locked or hidden from them; very hateful and hellish did the *policy* of Popery appear to him on this account: our Eliot was very unlike to that Franciscan who, writing into Europe, gloried much how many thousands of Indians he had converted; but added, "that he desired his friends would send him the book called the Bible; for he had heard of there being such a book in Europe, which might be of some use to him." No: our Eliot found he could not live without a Bible himself; he would have parted with all his estate, sooner than have lost a leaf of it; and he knew it would be of more than *some use* unto the Indians too; he therefore with a vast labour translated the Holy Bible into the Indian language. Behold, ye Americans, the greatest honour that ever you were partakers of! This Bible was printed here at our Cambridge; and it is the only Bible that ever was printed in all America, from the very foundation of the world. The whole translation he writ with but *one pen;* which pen, had it not been lost, would have certainly deserved a richer case than was bestowed upon that pen with which Holland writ his translation of Plutarch. The Bible being justly made the leader of all the rest, a little Indian *library* quickly followed: for besides primers, and grammars, and some other such composures, we quickly had "*The Practice of Piety*" in the Indian tongues, and the Reverend Richard Baxter's "*Call to the Unconverted.*" He also translated some of Mr. Shepard's composures; and such catechisms likewise as there was occasion for. It cannot but be hoped that some *fish* were to be made *alive*, since the "waters of the sanctuary" thus came unto them.

([4]). *His gathering of a Church at Natick.*—The Indians that had felt the impressions of his ministry, were quickly distinguished by the name of "praying Indians;" and these praying Indians as quickly were for a more decent and English-way of living, and they desired a more fixed *cohabitation.* At several places did they now combine and settle; but the place of greatest name among their towns, is that of Natick.

Here it was that, in the year 1651, those that had heretofore lived like the *wild beasts* in the wilderness, now compacted themselves into a town; and they first applied themselves to the forming of their *civil government.* Our General Court, notwithstanding their exact study to keep these Indians very sensible of their being subject unto the English empire, yet had allowed them their smaller courts, wherein they might govern their own smaller cases and concerns, after their own particular modes, and might have their town-orders, if I may call them so, peculiar to themselves. With respect hereunto Mr. Eliot, on a solemn fast, made a publick vow, "that seeing these Indians were not prepossessed with any forms of government, he would instruct them into such a form as we had written in the word of God, that so they might be a people in all things ruled by the Lord." Accordingly, he expounded unto them the eighteenth chapter of Exodus; and then they chose rulers of *hundreds*, of *fifties*, of *tens:* and therewithal entred into this covenant:

"We are the sons of Adam; we and our forefathers have a long time been lost in our sins; but now the mercy of the Lord beginneth to find us out again; therefore the grace of Christ helping us, we do give our selves and our children unto God, to be his people. He shall rule us in all our affairs; the Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Law-giver, the Lord is our King; He will save us; and the wisdom which God has taught us in his book shall guide us. Oh, Jehovah! teach us wisdom; send thy Spirit into our hearts; take us to be thy people, and let us take thee to be our God."

Such an opinion about the perfection of the Scripture had he, that he thus expressed himself upon this occasion: "God will bring nations into distress and perplexity, that so they may be forced unto

their faith in Christ, and afterwards they and their children were baptized, and they were solemnly joined together in a church-covenant; the said Mr. Eliot was the first that administred the Lord's Supper to them. The pastor of that church now is an Indian: his name is Daniel. Besides this church at Natick, among our inhabitants in the Massachusets Colony there are four Indian assemblies, (5) where the name of the true God and Jesus Christ is

the Scriptures; all governments will be shaken, that men may be forced at length to pitch upon that firm foundation, *the Word of God*."

The little towns of these Indians being pitched upon this foundation, they utterly abandoned that *poligamy* which had heretofore been common among them; they made severe laws against *fornication, drunkenness*, and *Sabbath-breaking*, and other immoralities; and they next began to *lament* after the establishment of a *church-order* among them, and after the several ordinances and privileges of a *church-communion*. The churches of New-England have usually been very strict in their admissions to church-fellowship, and required very signal demonstrations of a *repenting* and a *believing* soul, before they thought men fit subjects to be entrusted with "the rights of the kingdom of Heaven." But they seemed rather to augment than abate their usual *strictness* when the examination of the Indians was to be performed. A day was therefore set apart, which they called, *Natootomahteakesuk*, or a "day for asking questions," when the ministers of the adjacent churches, assisted with all the best interpreters that could be had, publickly examined a good number of these Indians about their attainments, both in *knowledge* and in *vertue*. And notwithstanding the great satisfaction then received, our churches being willing to proceed surely, and therefore slowly, in raising them up to a church-state, which might be comprehended in our consociations, the Indians were afterwards called in considerable assemblies convened for that purpose, to make open *confessions* of their faith in God and Christ, and of the efficacy which his word had upon them for their conversion to him; which confessions being taken in writing from their mouths by able interpreters were scanned by the people of God, and found much acceptance with them.

I need pass no further censure upon them than what is given by my grandfather, the well-known Richard Mather, in an epistle of his published on this occasion. Says he: "There is so much of God's work among them, as that I cannot but count it a great evil—yea, a great injury to God and his goodness, for any to make light of it. To see and hear Indians opening their mouths, and lifting up their hands and eyes in prayer to the living God, calling on him by his name Jehovah, in the mediation of Jesus Christ, and this for a good while together; to see and hear them exhorting one another from the word of God; to see and hear them confessing the name of Christ Jesus, and their own sinfulness; sure this is more than usual! And though they spoke in a language of which many of us understood but little, yet we that were present that day, we saw and heard them perform the duties mentioned with such grave and sober countenances, with such comely reverence in their gesture, and their whole carriage, and with such plenty of tears trickling down the cheeks of some of them, as did argue to us that they spake with the holy fear of God, and it much affected our hearts."

At length was a church-state settled among them: they entred, as our churches do, into an holy covenant, wherein they "gave themselves, first unto the Lord, and then unto one another," to attend the rules, and helps, and expect the blessing of the everlasting gospel; and Mr. Eliot, having a mission from the church of Roxbury unto the work of the Lord Christ among the Indians, conceived himself sufficiently authorized unto the performing of all church-work about them; grounding it on Acts xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4; and he accordingly administred, first the baptism, and then the Supper of the Lord unto them.

(5). *The Hindrances and Obstructions that the devil gave unto him.*—We find four assemblies of "praying Indians," besides that of Natick, in our neighbourhood. But why no more? Truly, not because our Eliot was wanting in his *offers* and *labours* for there good; but because many of the obdurate infidels would not receive the gospel of salvation. In one of his letters, I find him giving this *ill-report*, with such a *good reason* for it: "Lyn-Indians are all naught, save one, who sometimes comes to hear the word; and the reason why they are bad, is principally because their sachim is naught, and careth not to pray unto God." Indeed, the sachims, or princes, of the Indians generally did all they could that their subjects might not entertain the gospel; the *devils* having the sachims on their side, thereby kept their possession of the people too. Their pauwaws or clergymen did much to maintain the interest of the devils in this wilderness; those "children of the devil

solemnly called upon; these assemblies have some American preachers. Mr. Eliot formerly used to preach to them once every fortnight, but now he is weakned with labours and old

and enemies of all righteousness," did not "cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord," but their sachims or magistrates did more towards it; for they would presently raise a storm of *persecution* upon any of their vassals that should pray unto the eternal God.

The ground of this conduct in them was an odd fear that religion would abridge them of the *tyranny* which they had been used unto; they always, like the devil, held their people in a most absolute servitude, and ruled by no *law* but their will, which left the poor slaves nothing that they could call their own. They now suspected that religion would put a bridle upon such usurpations, and oblige them to a more equal and humane way of government; they therefore, some of them, had the impudence to address the English, that no motions about the Christian religion might ever be made unto them; and Mr. Eliot sometimes in the wilderness, without the company or assistance of any other English-man, has been treated in a very threatening and barbarous manner by some of these tyrants; but God inspired him with so much resolution as to tell them, "I am about the work of the great God, and my God is with me; so that I fear neither you, nor all the sachims in the country; I'll go on, and do you touch me, if you dare!" Upon which the stoutest of them have shrunk and fell before him. And one of them he at length conquered by preaching unto him a sermon upon the *temptations* of our Lord; particularly the temptation fetched from the *kingdoms* and *glories* of the world.

The little kingdom and glories of the great men among the Indians, was a powerful obstacle to the success of Mr. Eliot's ministry; and it is observable that several of those nations which thus refused the gospel, quickly afterwards were so *devil-driven* as to begin an unjust and bloody war upon the English, which issued in their speedy and utter extirpation from the face of God's earth. It was particularly remarked in Philip, the ring-leader of the most calamitous war that ever they made upon us; our Eliot made a tender of the everlasting salvation to that king; but the monster entertained it with contempt and anger, and, after the Indian mode of joining *signs* with *words*, he took a *button* upon the *coat* of the reverend man, adding, "That he cared for his gospel, just as much as he cared for that button." The world has heard what a terrible ruine soon came upon that monarch and upon all his people. It was not long before the hand which now writes, upon a certain occasion, took off the jaw from the exposed *skull* of that blasphemous leviathan; and the renowned Samuel Lee hath since been a pastor to an English congregation, sounding and showing the praises of Heaven upon that very spot of ground where Philip and his Indians were lately worshipping of the devil.

Sometimes the more immediate hand of God, by cutting off the principal opposers of the gospel among the Indians, made way for Mr. Eliot's ministry. As I remember, he relates that an association of profane Indians near our Weymouth set themselves to deter and seduce the neighbour Indians from the "right ways of the Lord." But God quickly sent the small-pox among them, which like a great plague soon swept them away, and thereby engaged the rest unto himself. I need only to add, that one attempt made by the devil to prejudice the Pagans against the gospel, had something in it extraordinary. While Mr. Eliot was preaching of Christ unto the other Indians, a *Dæmon* appeared unto a prince of the Eastern-Indians, in a shape that had some resemblance of Mr. Eliot or of an English minister, pretending to be "the English-man's God." The spectre commanded him, "to forbear the drinking of rum," and "to observe the Sabbath day," and "to deal justly with his neighbours," all which things had been inculcated in Mr. Eliot's ministry; promising therewithal unto him, that if he did so, at his death his soul should *ascend* unto an happy place; otherwise, *descend* unto miseries; but the apparition all the while never said one word about Christ, which was the main subject of Mr. Eliot's ministry. The sachim received such an impression from the apparition, that he *dealt justly* with all men, except in the bloody tragedies and cruelties he afterwards committed on the English in our wars; he kept the Sabbath-day like a *fast*, frequently attending in our congregations; he would not meddle with any *rum*, though usually his country-men had rather die than undergo such a piece of self-denial; that liquor has meerly *enchanted* them. At last, and not long since, this *Dæmon* appeared again unto this Pagan, requiring him to kill himself, and assuring him that he should revive in a day or two, never to die any more. He thereupon divers times attempted it, but his friends very carefully prevented it. However, at length he found a *fair* opportunity for this *foul* business, and hanged himself; you may be

age, being in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and preacheth not to the Indians oftener than once in two months.

There is another church, consisting only of converted Indians, about fifty miles from hence, in an Indian town called Mashippaug: the first pastor of that church was an *English* man, who, being skilful in the *American* language, preached the gospel to them in their own tongue. This English pastor is dead, and instead of him, that church has an Indian-preacher.(6)

There are, besides that, five assemblies of Indians professing the name of Christ, not far

sure, without the expected *resurrection*. But it is easy to see what a stumbling block was here laid before the miserable Indians.

(6). *The Indian Churches at Mashippaug, and elsewhere.*—The same spirit which acted Mr. Eliot, quickly inspired others elewhere to prosecute the work of rescuing the poor Indians out of their worse than Egyptian-darkness, in which *evil angels* had been so long preying upon them. One of these was the godly and gracious Richard Bourn, who soon saw a great effect of his holy labours. In the year 1666 Mr. Eliot, accompanied by the honourable governour and several magistrates and ministers of Plymouth Colony, procured a vast assembly at Mashippaug; and there a good number of Indians made confessions touching the *knowledge* and *belief* and *regeneration* of their souls, with such understanding and affection as was extreamly grateful to the pious auditory. Yet such was the strictness of the good people in this affair, that before they would countenance the advancement of these Indians unto church-fellowship, they ordered their confessions to be written, and sent unto all the churches in the colony, for their approbation; but so approved they were, that afterwards the messengers of all the churches giving their *presence* and *consent*, they became a church, and chose Mr. Bourn to be their pastor; who was then by Mr. Eliot and Mr. Cotton ordained unto that office over them. From hence Mr. Eliot and Mr. Cotton went over to an island called Martha's Vineyard, where God had so succeeded the honest labours of some, and particularly of the Mayhew's, as that a church was gathered.

This church, after fasting and prayer, chose one Hiacooms to be their pastor; John Tockinosh, an able and a discreet Christian, to be their teacher; Joshua Mummeecheegs and John Nanaso to be ruling elders; and these were then ordained by Mr. Eliot and Mr. Cotton thereunto. Distance of habitation caused this one church by mutual agreement afterwards to become *two;* the pastor and one ruling elder taking one part, and the teacher and one ruling elder, another; and at Nantucket, another adjacent island, was another church of Indians quickly gathered, who chose an Indian, John Gibs, to be their minister. These churches are so exact in their admission, and so solemn in their discipline, and so serious in their communion, that some of the Christian English in the neighbourhood, which would have been loth to have mixed with them in a *civil* relation, yet have gladly done it in a *sacred* one.

It is needless for me to repeat what my father has written about the other Indian congregations; only there having been made mention of one Hiacooms, I am willing to annex a passage or two concerning that memorable Indian. That Indian was a very great instrument of bringing his Pagan and wretched neighbours to a saving acquaintance with our Lord Jesus Christ; and God gave him the honour, not only of so doing much for some, but also of *suffering* much from others of those unhappy salvages. Once particularly, this Hiacooms received a cruel blow from an Indian prince, which, if some English had not been there, might have killed him, for his praying unto God. And afterwards he gave this account of his trial in it: said he, "I have two hands; I had one hand for injuries, and the other for God; while I did receive wrong with the one, the other laid the greater hold on God."

Moreover the powawes did use to hector and abuse the praying Indians at such a rate, as terrifyed others from joining with them; but once, when those *witches* were bragging that they could kill all the praying Indians, if they would, Hiacooms replyed, "Let all the powawes in the island come together; I'll venture my self in the midst of them; let them use all their witchcrafts; with the help of God, I'll tread upon them all." By this courage, he silenced the powawes: but at the same time also he heartned the people at such a rate as was truly wonderful; nor could any of them ever harm this eminent confessor afterward; nor indeed any proselyte which had been by his means brought home to God; yea, it was observed, after this, that they rather *killed* than *cured* all such of the heathen as would yet make use of their *enchantments* for help against their sicknesses.

distant from Mashippaug, which have Indian preachers: (7) John Cotton, pastor of the church at Plymouth, (son of my venerable father-in-law John Cotton, formerly the famous teacher of the church at Boston,) who made very great progress in learning the Indian tongue, and is very skilful in it; he preaches in their own language to the last five mentioned congregations every week. Moreover of the inhabitants of Saconet in Plymouth Colony, there

(7). *Of Mr. Eliot's Fellow-labourers in the Indian Work.*—So little was the soul of our Eliot infected with any envy, as that he longed for nothing more than fellow-labourers, that might move and shine in the same orb with himself; he made his cries both to God and man for more *labourers* to be *thrust forth* into the Indian harvest; and indeed it was an harvest of so few secular advantages and encouragements, that it must be nothing less than a divine *thrust*, which could make any to *labour* in it. He saw the answer of his prayers, in the generous and vigorous attempts made by several other most worthy preachers of the gospel, to *gospelize* our perishing Indians. At the writing of my father's letter, there were four; but the number of them increases apace among us. At Martha's Vineyard, the old Mr. Mayhew, and several of his sons or grandsons, have done very worthily for the souls of the Indians; there were, fifteen years ago, by computation, about fifteen hundred seals of their ministry upon that one island. In Connecticut, the holy and acute Mr. Fitch has made noble essays towards the conversion of the Indians; but, I think, the prince he has to deal withal, being an obstinate infidel, gives unhappy remora's to the successes of his ministry. And godly Mr. Pierson has in that colony deserved well, if I mistake not, upon the same account. In Massachusets we see at this day the pious Mr. Daniel Gookin, the gracious Mr. Peter Thacher, the well accomplished and industrious Mr. Grindal Rawson, all of them hard at work to turn these poor creatures "from darkness unto light, and from Satan unto God." In Plymouth we have the most active Mr. Samuel Treat laying out himself to save this generation; and there is one Mr. Tupper, who uses his laudable endeavours for the instruction of them.

'Tis my relation to him that causes me to defer unto the last place the mention of Mr. John Cotton, who hath addressed the Indians in their own language with some dexterity. He hired an Indian, after the rate of twelve-pence per day for *fifty* days, to teach him the Indian tongue; but his knavish tutor having received his whole pay too soon, ran away before *twenty* days were out; however, in this time he had profited so far, that he could quickly preach unto the natives.

Having told my reader that the second edition of the Indian Bible was wholly of his correction and amendment—because it is not proper for me to say much of him—I shall only add this remarkable story: An English minister, accompanied by the governour and major-general, and sundry persons of quality belonging to Plymouth, made a journey to a nation of Indians in the neighbourhood, with a free *offer* of the "words whereby they might be saved." The prince took time to consider of it, and according to the true English of *taking time* in such cases, at length he told them, "He did not accept the tender which they made him." They then took their leaves of him, not without first giving him this plain and short admonition: "If God have any mercy for your miserable people, he will quickly find a way to take you out of the way." It was presently after this that this prince, going forth to a battel against another nation of Indians, was killed in the fight; and the young prince being in his *minority*, the government fell into the hands of *protectors*, which favoured the interest of the gospel. The English being advised of it, speedily and prosperously renewed the tidings of an eternal Saviour to the salvages, who have ever since attended upon the gospel: and the young sachim, after he came to age, expressed his approbation of the Christian religion; especially when a while since he lay dying of a tedious distemper, and would keep reading of Mr. Baxter's "*Call to the Unconverted*," with floods of tears in his eyes, while he had any strength to do it.

Such as these are the persons whom our Eliot left engaged in the Indian-work when he departed from his *employment* unto his *recompence*. And these gentlemen are so indefatigable in their labours among the Indians, as that the most equal judges must acknowledge them worthy of much greater salaries than they are generously contented with. But one may see then who inspired that clamorous (though contemptible) persecutor of this country, who very zealously addressed the A. B. of Canterbury, that these ministers might be deprived of their little *stipends*, and that the said stipends might go to maintain that worship among us, which the plantation was erected on purpose for the peaceable avoiding of.

is a great congregation of those who for distinction sake are called "praying Indians," because they pray to God in Christ.

Not far from a promontory called Cape Cod, there are six assemblies of heathens who are to be reckoned as catechumens, amongst whom there are six Indian preachers: Samuel Treat, pastor of a church at Eastham, preacheth to those congregations in their own language. There are likewise amongst the islanders of Nantucket a church, with a pastor who was lately a heathen, and several meetings of catechumens, who are instructed by the converted Indians. There is also another island, about seven leagues long, (called Martha's Vineyard,) where are two American churches planted, which are more famous than the rest, over one of which there presides an ancient Indian as pastor, called Hiacooms: John Hiacooms, son of the Indian pastor, also preacheth the gospel to his countrymen. In another church in that place, John Tockinosh, a converted Indian, teaches. In these churches ruling elders of the Indians are joined to the pastors: the pastors were chosen by the people, and when they had fasted and prayed, Mr. Eliot and Mr. Cotton laid their hands on them, so that they were solemnly ordained. All the congregations (8) of the converted Indians (both the catechu-

(8). *The Sacred and Solemn Exercises performed in the Indian Congregations.*—My father's account of the exercises performed in the Indian congregations, will tell us what a blessed fruit our Eliot saw of his *labours*, before he went unto those *rewards* which God had reserved in the heavens for him. Some of the Indians quickly built for themselves good and large meeting-houses after the English mode, in which also, after the English mode, they attended the "things of the kingdom of Heaven." And some of the English were helpful to them upon this account; among whom I ought particularly to mention that learned, pious and charitable gentleman, the worshipful Samuel Sewal, Esq., who, at his own charge, built a meeting-house for one of the Indian congregations, and gave those Indians cause to pray for him under that character, "he loveth our nation, for he hath built us a synagogue."

It only remains that I give a touch or two upon the worship which is attended in the synagogues of the Indians. And first, the very name of "praying Indians" will assure us that *prayer* is one of their devotions; be sure, they could not be our Eliot's disciples if it were not so. But how do they pray? We are told, it is "without a form, because from the heart;" which is, as I remember, Tertullian's expression concerning the prayers in the assemblies of the primitive Christians; namely, *sine monitore quia de pectore.** It is evident that the primitive Christians had no stated *liturgies* among them; that no *forms of prayers* were in their time imposed upon the ministers of the gospel; that even about the platform of prayer given us by our Lord, it was the opinion of Austin himself, notwithstanding the advances made in his age towards what we count *superstitious*, that "our Lord therein taught, not what words we should use in prayer, but what things we should pray for." And whatever scoffs the profanity of our days has abused that *phrase* and *thing* withal, Gregory Nazianzen in his days counted it the honour of his father's publick prayers, "that he had them from, and made them by the Holy Spirit." Our Indians accordingly find that, if they study the *words* of God, and their own *sins* and *wants*, they shall soon come to that attainment, "behold, they pray!" They can pray with much pertinence and enlargement; and would much wonder at it, if they should hear of an English clergy that should "read their prayers out of a book," when they should "pour out their souls" before the God of Heaven.

Their *preaching* has much of Eliot, and therefore you may be sure much of *Scripture*, but perhaps more of the *Christian* than of the *scholar* in it. I know not how to describe it better than by reciting the heads of a sermon, uttered by an Indian on a *day of humiliation* kept by them, at a time when great rains had given much damage to their fruits and fields. It was on this wise:

"A little I shall say, according to that little I know. Genesis, viii. 20, 21: 'And Noah built an altar unto Jehovah; and he took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt-offerings on the altar. And the Lord smelled a sweet savour, and the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground.'—

"In that Noah sacrificed, he showed himself *thankful;* In that Noah worshipped he showed himself *godly*. In that he offered clean beasts, he showed that God is an *holy* God. And all that come to God, must be *pure* and *clean*. Know that we must, by repentance, purge our selves; which is the work we are to do this day.

* Without a formula, because from the heart.

mens and those in church order) every Lord's day meet together; the pastor or preacher always begins with prayer, and *without a form, because from the heart;* when the ruler of the assembly has ended prayer, the whole congregation of Indians praise God with singing; some of them are excellent singers: after the psalm, he that preaches reads a place of Scripture, (one or more verses as he will,) and expounds it, gathers doctrines from it, proves them by scriptures and reasons, and infers uses from them after the manner of the English, of whom they have been taught; then another prayer to God in the name of Christ concludes the whole service. Thus do they meet together twice every Lord's day. They observe no *holy-days* but the Lord's day, except upon some extraordinary occasion; and then they solemnly set apart whole days, either giving thanks or fasting and praying with great fervour of mind.

Before the English came into these coasts these barbarous nations were altogether ignorant of the true God; hence it is that in their prayers and sermons they use English words and terms; he that calls upon the most holy name of God, says, Jehovah, or God, or Lord, and also they have learned and borrowed many other theological phrases from us.

In short, "There are six churches of baptized Indians in New-England, and eighteen assemblies of catechumens, professing the name of Christ: of the Indians there are four-and-twenty who are preachers of the word of God, and besides these there are four Eng-

"Noah sacrificed and so worshipped. This was the manner of old time. But what *sacrifices* have we now to offer? I shall answer by that in Psal. iv. 5: 'Offer to God the sacrifice of righteousness, and put your trust in the Lord.' These are the true spiritual sacrifices which God requireth at our hands, 'the sacrifices of righteousness;' that is, we must look to our hearts and ways that they be righteous, and then we shall be acceptable to God when we worship him. But if we be unrighteous, unholy, ungodly, we shall not be accepted: our sacrifices will be stark naught. Again, we are 'to put our trust in the Lord.' Who else is there for us to trust in? We must believe in the word of God; if we doubt of God, or doubt of his word, our sacrifices are little worth: but if we *trust* stedfastly in God, our sacrifices will be good.

"Once more, what *sacrifices* must we offer? My answer is, we must offer such as Abraham offered. And what a sacrifice was that? We are told in Gen. xxii. 12, 'Now I know that thou fearest me, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thy only son from me.' It seems he had but one dearly beloved son, and he offered that son to God; and so God said, 'I know thou fearest me!' Behold, a sacrifice in deed and in truth! such an one must we offer. Only, God requires not us to sacrifice our *sons*, but our *sins*—our dearest *sins*. God calls us this day to part with all our sins, though never so beloved; and we must not withhold any of them from him. If we will not part with *all*, the sacrifice is not right. Let us part with such sins as we *love best*, and it will be a good sacrifice!

"God smelt a sweet savour in Noah's sacrifice; and so will God receive our sacrifices, when we worship him aright. But how did God manifest his acceptance of Noah's offering? It was by promising to *drown* the world no more, but give us *fruitful seasons*. God has chastised us of late, as if he would utterly *drown* us; and he has drowned and spoiled and ruined a great deal of our hay, and threatens to kill our cattel. It is for this that we *fast* and *pray* this day Let us then offer a clean and pure sacrifice, as Noah did; so God will smell a savour of rest, and he will withhold the *rain*, and bless us with such *fruitful seasons* as we are desiring of him."

Thus preached an Indian called Nishokon, above thirty years ago; and since that, I suppose, they have grown a little further into the New-English way of preaching: you may have in their sermons, a *Kakkootomwehteaonk*, that is, a *doctrine; Nahtootomwehteaonk*, or *question;* a *Sampooaonk*, or an *answer; Witcheayeuonk*, or a *reason;* with an *Ouwoteank*, or an *use* for the close of all.

As for *holy-days*, you may take it for granted our Eliot would not perswade his Indians to any *stated* one. Even the *Christian festival* itself, he knew to be a stranger unto the apostolical time; that the exquisite Voshus himself acknowledges it was not celebrated in the first or second century; and that there is a truth in the words of the great Cheminitius, *Anniversarium Diem Natalis Christi, celebratum fuisse, apud vetustissimos nunquam legitur.** He knew that if the "day of our Lord's nativity" were to be observed, it should not be in *December;* that many churches for divers ages kept it not in December, but in January; that Chrysostom himself, about four hundred years after our Saviour, excuses the novelty of the December season for it, and confesses it had not been kept above ten years at Constantinople: no, that it should rather be in *September*, in which month the Jews kept the feast that was a *type* of our Lord's Incarnation; and Solomon also brought the *ark* into the temple; for our Lord was *thirty years* old when he entred upon his public minis-

* It nowhere appears among the earliest writers, that the birth-day of our Lord was celebrated.

lish ministers, who preach the gospel in the Indian tongue." (9) I am now my self weary with writing, and I fear lest, if I should add more, I should also be tedious to you; yet one

try; and he continued in it "three years and an half." Now, his death was in March, and it is easy then to calculate when his birth ought to be. He knew that indeed God had *hid* this day as he did the body of Moses, to prevent *idolatry;* but that antichrist had *chose* this day, to accommodate the Pagans in their licentious and their debauched *Saturnalia;* and that a Tertullian would not stick to say, "Shall we *Christians*, who have nothing to do with the festivals of the Jews, which were once of divine institution, embrace the Saturnalia of the heathens? How do the Gentiles shame us, who are more true to their religion than we are to ours? None of them will observe the Lord's day, for fear lest they should be *Christians;* and shall not we then, by observing their festivals, fear lest we be made *Ethnicks!*" In fine, it was his opinion that for us to have stated holy-days which are not appointed by the Lord Jesus Christ, is a deep reflection upon the wisdom of that glorious Lord; and he brought up his Indians in the principles which the old Waldenses had about such unwarrantable holy-days.

Nevertheless, he taught them to set apart their days for both *fasting* and *prayer*, and for *feasting* and *prayer*, when there should be *extraordinary occasions* for them; and they perform the duties of these days with a very laborious piety. One party of the Indians long since, of their own accord, kept a day of supplication together, wherein one of them discoursed upon Psal. lxvi. 7: "He rules by his power for ever, his eyes behold the nations, let not the rebellious exalt themselves." And when one asked them afterwards what was the reason of their keeping of such a day, they replied, "It was to obtain five mercies of God:"

"First, that God would slay the rebellion of their hearts. Next, that they might love God and one another. Thirdly, that they might withstand the temptations of wicked men, so that they might not be drawn back from God. Fourthly, that they might be obedient unto the councils and commands of their rulers. Fifthly, that they might have their sins done away by the redemption of Jesus Christ; and lastly, that they might walk in the good ways of the Lord."

I must here embrace my opportunity to tell the world, that our cautious Eliot was far from the opinion of those who have thought it not only warrantable, but also commendable, to *adopt* some heathenish usages into the worship of God, for the more easy and speedy gaining of the heathen to that worship. The policy of treating the Pagan rites as the Jews were wont to do captives before they married them, to shave their *hair* and pare their *nails*, our Eliot counted as *ridiculous* as *pernicious*. He knew that the idolatries and abominations of Popery were founded in this way of *proselyting* the barbarous nations, which made their descent upon the Roman empire; and he looked upon the like methods which the Protestants have used, that they might ingratiate themselves with the Papists, and that our separation from them should become the less *dangerous* and *sensible*, to be the most *sensible* and *dangerous* wound of the reformation. Wherefore, as no less a man than Dr. Henry Moor says about our compliances with the Papists, which are a sort of Pagans, "Their conversion and salvation being not to be compassed by needless symbolizing with them in any thing, I conceive our best policy is studiously to imitate them in nothing; but, for all indifferent things, to think rather the worse of them for their using of them, as no person of honour would willingly go in the known garb of infamous persons. Whatsoever we court them in, they do but turn it to our scorn and contempt, and are the more hardened in their own wickedness." To act upon this principle, is the design and glory of New-England! And our Eliot was of this perswasion, when he brought his Indians to a *pure, plain Scripture worship*. He would not gratify them with a Samaritan sort of blended, mixed worship; and he imagined, as well he might, that the Apostle Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians had enough in it for ever to deter us all from such unchristian and unhappy *temporizing*.

(9). *A Comparison between what the New-Englanders have done for the Conversion of the Indians, and what has been done elsewhere by the Roman Catholicks.*—It is to be confessed, that the Roman Catholicks have a clergy so very numerous, and so little encumbred, and are masters of such prodigious ecclesiastical revenues, as renders it very easy for them to exceed the Protestants in their endeavours to Christianize the Pagan salvages. Nor would I *reproach*, but rather *applaud* their *industry* in this matter, wishing that we were all touched with an *emulation* of it. Nevertheless, while I commend their industry, they do by their clamours against the reformed churches

thing I must add, which I had almost forgot, that there are many of the Indians' children who have learned by heart the catechism, either of that famous divine William Perkins, or

upon this account oblige me to tax divers very scandalous things in the *missions* which they make *pro propaganda fide** throughout the world; and therewithal to compare what has been done by that little handful of reformed churches in this country, which has in divers regards outdone the furthest efforts of Popery.

The *attainments* which with God's help we have carried up our Indians unto, are the chief honour and glory of our labours with them. The reader will smile, perhaps, when I tell him that, by an odd accident, there are lately fallen into my hands the manuscripts of a Jesuite, whom the French employed as a missionary among the western Indians; in which papers there are both a *catechism*, containing the principles which those heathens are to be instructed in; and *cases of conscience*, referring to their conversations. The catechism, which is in the Iroquoise language, (a language remarkable for this, that there is not so much as one *labial* in it,) with a translation annexed, has one chapter about *heaven* and another about *hell*, wherein are such *thick-skulled* passages as these:

Q. How is the soyl made in heaven?
A. 'Tis a very *fair soyl*, they want neither for *meats* nor *cloaths*; 'tis but *wishing*, and we have them.
Q. Are they employed in heaven?
A. No, they do nothing; the fields yield corn, beans, pumpkins, and the like, without any tillage.
Q. What sort of trees are there?
A. Always green, full, and flourishing.
Q. Have they in heaven the same sun, the same wind, the same thunder that we have here?
A. No, the *sun* ever shines; it is always fair weather.
Q. But how their fruits?
A. In this one quality they exceed ours: that they are *never wasted;* you have no sooner plucked one, but you see another presently hanging in its room.

And after this rate goes on the catechism concerning *heaven*. Concerning *hell*, it thus discourses:

Q. What sort of a soyl is that of hell?
A. A very wretched soyl; 'tis a *fiery pit*, in the center of the earth.
Q. Have they any light in hell? [ing but the devils.
A. No. 'Tis always dark; there is always *smoke* there; their eyes are always in pain with it; they can see noth-
Q. What shaped things are the devils?
A. Very ill-shaped things; they go about with *vizards* on, and they terrify men.
Q. What do they eat in hell?
A. They are always *hungry*, but the damned feed on hot *ashes* and serpents there.
Q. What water have they to drink?
A. Horrid water; nothing but *melted lead.*
Q. Don't they die in hell?
A. No: yet they eat one another every day; but anon, God restores and renews the man that was eaten, as a cropt plant in a little time repullulates.

It seems they have not thought this divinity too *gross* for the barbarians. But I shall make no reflections on it; only add one or two cases of conscience, from their directory.

It is one of their weighty cases, "Whether a Christian be bound to pay his whore her hire or no?" To this Father Brutas answers, "Though he be bound in justice to do it, yet inasmuch as the barbarians [and you must suppose their *whores* to be such] use to keep no faith in such matters, the Christians may chuse whether they will keep any too." But Father Pierron, with a most profound learning, answers, "He is not bound unto it at all; inasmuch as no man thinks himself bound to pay a witch that has enchanted him; and this business is pretty much a kin to that."—Another of their difficult cases is, "Whether an Indian stealing an hatchet from a Dutch-man be bound to make restitution? And it is very conscientiously determined, that if the Dutch-man be one that has used any trade with other Indians, the thief is not bound unto any restitution; for it is certain he gains more by such a trade than the value of many hatchets in a year."

I will tire my reader with no more of this wretched stuff. But let him understand that the proselyted Indians of New-England have been instructed at a more noble rate; we have helped them to the "sincere milk of the word;" we have given them the *whole Bible* in their own language: we have laid before them such a *creed* as the primitive believers had, with such explications as we embark our own souls upon the assurance of. And God has blessed our education of these poor

* For propagating the faith.

that put forth by the assembly of divines at Westminster, and in their own mother tongue can answer to all the questions in it.

creatures in such a measure, that they can pray and preach to better edification (give me leave to say it) than multitudes of the Romish-clergymen. We could have baptised many troops of Indians, if we would have used no other measures with them, than the Roman Catholicks did upon theirs at Maryland, where they baptised a great crew of Indians, in some *new shirts*, bestowed upon them to encourage them thereunto; but the Indians, in a week or two, not knowing how to wash their shirts when they were grown foul, came and made a motion that the Roman Catholicks would give *more shirts* to them, or else they would renounce their baptism. No, it is a *thorough-paced Christianity*, without which we have not imagined our Indians Christianized.

Nor have we been acted with a Roman Catholick *avarice*, and *falsity*, and *cruelty* in prosecuting of our conversions; it is the spiirit of an ELIOT, that has all along directed us. It is a specimen of the Popish avarice that their missionaries are very rarely employed but where *bever* and *silver* and vast *riches* are to be thereby gained; their ministry is but a sort of engine to enrich Europeans with the treasures of the Indies; thus one escaped from captivity among the Spaniards told me, that the Spanish friars had carried their gospel into the spacious country of California, but finding the Indians there to be extremely *poor*, they quickly gave over the work, because forsooth "such a poor nation was not worth converting." Whereas the New-Englanders could expect nothing from their Indians. We are to feed them and cloath them, rather than receive any thing from them, when we bring them home to God. Again, the Popish *falsity* disposes them to so much *legerdemain* in their applications, as is very disagreeable to the spirit and progress of the gospel. My worthy friend, Mynheer Dellius, who has been sedulous and successful in his ministry among the Maquas, assures me that a *French* predicator, having been attempting to bring over those Indians unto the interest (not of our Saviour so much as) of Canada, at last, for a cure of their infidelity, told them he would give them a sign of God's displeasure at them for it: *the sun should such a day be put out*. This terrified them at a sad rate, and with great admiration and expectation they told the *Dutch* of what was to come to pass; the Dutch replied, "This was no more than every child among them could foretel; they all knew there would then be an eclipse of the sun; but (said they) speak to Monsieur, that he would get the sun extinguished a day before, or a day after, what he spoke of, and if he can do that, believe him." When the Indians thus understood what a trick the *French*-man would have put upon them, they became irreconcilcably prejudiced against all his offers; nor have the French been since able to gain much upon that considerable people. The New-Englanders have used no such *stratagems* and *knaveries;* it is the pure *light of truth*, which is all that has been used for the affecting of the rude people whom it was easy to have *cheated* into our profession. Much less have we used that Popish *cruelty* which the natives of America have by some other people been treated with. Even a bishop of their own hath published very tragical histories of the Spanish cruelties upon the Indians of this western world. Such were those cruelties, that the Indians at length declared, "they had rather go to hell with their ancestors, than to the same heaven which the Spaniards pretended unto." It is indeed impossible to reckon up the various and exquisite barbarities with which these execrable Spaniards murdered in less than fifty years no less than fifty millions of the Indians; it seems this was their way of bringing them into the *sheepfold* of our merciful Jesus! But, on the other side, the good people of New-England have carried it with so much tenderness towards the tawny creatures among whom we live, that they would not own so much as one foot of land in the country, without a fair *purchase* and *consent* from the natives that laid claim unto it; albeit, we had a royal charter from the King of Great-Britain to protect us in our settlement upon this continent.

I suppose it was in revenge upon us for this *conscientiousness*, that the late oppressors of New-England acknowledged no man to have any title at all unto one foot of land in all our colony. But we did and we do think, notwithstanding the banters of those tories, that the Indians had not by their Paganism so forfeited all right unto any of their possessions, that the first pretended Christians that could, might *violently* and yet *honestly* seize upon them. Instead of this, the people of New-England, knowing that some of the English were sufficiently covetous and encroaching, and that the Indians in streights are easily prevailed upon to sell their lands, made a law, "That none should purchase, or so much as receive any land of the Indians, without the allowance of the court."

But I must end. I salute the famous professors in your university, to whom I desire you to communicate this letter, as written to them also.

Yea, and some lands which were peculiarly convenient for the Indians, our people, who were more careful of them than they were of themselves, made a law, "that they should never be bought out of their hands." I suppose after this it would surprise mankind, if they should hear such wonderful creatures as our late secretary Randolph affirming, "This barbarous people were never civilly treated by the late government, who made it their business to encroach upon their lands, and by degrees to drive them out of all." But how many other laws we made in favour of the Indians, it is not easy to reckon up.

It was one of our laws, "That for the further encouragement of the hopeful work among them, for the civilizing and Christianizing of them, any Indian that should be brought unto civility, and come to live orderly in any English plantation, should have such allotments among the English, as the English had themselves. And that if a competent number of them should so come on to civility as to be capable of a township, the General Court should grant them lands for a plantation as they do unto the English," although we had already bought up their claims unto our lands. We likewise had our laws, "That if any of our cattle did any damage to their corn, we should make them ample satisfaction; and that we should give them all manner of assistance in fencing of their fields." And because the Indians are excessively given unto the vice of *drunkenness*, which was a vice unknown to them until the English brought strong drink in their way, we have had a severe law against all selling or giving any intoxicating liquors to them. It were well if this law were more severely executed.

By this time I hope I have stopped the calumnious exclamations of the Roman Catholicks against the churches of the reformation, for neglecting to evangelize the natives of the Indies. But let me take this occasion to address the Christian Indians of my own country, into some of whose hands, it is likely, this little book may come:

¶ "Behold, ye Indians, what love, what care, what cost, has been used by the English here, for the salvation of your precious and immortal souls. It is not because we have expected any temporal advantage from you that we have been thus concerned for your good; no, it is God that has caused us to desire his glory in your salvation; and our hearts have bled with pity over you, when we have seen how horribly the devil *oppressed* you in this, and *destroyed* you in another world. It is much that has been done for you; we have put you into a way to be happy both on earth while you live, and in heaven when you die. What can you think will become of you, if you slight all these glorious offers! Methinks you should say to your selves, *Vttoh weh kittinne peh quoh humunan mishanantamog ne mohsag wadchanittuonk!* You all believe that your teacher Eliot was a *good* and a *brave* man, and you would count it your blessedness to be for ever with him. Nevertheless, I am to tell you, that if you do'nt become real, and thorough, and holy Christians, you shall never have a comfortable sight of him any more. You know how he has *fed* you, and *cloathed* you, as well as *taught* you; you know how his bowels yearned over you, even as though you had been his children, when he saw any afflictions come upon you? but if he find you among the wicked, in the day of judgment, which he so often warned you of, he will then be a dreadful witness against you, and when the Lord Jesus passes that sentence on you, 'Depart ye cursed into everlasting fire, with the devil and his angels,' even your own Eliot will then say *amen* unto it all. Now, to deal plainly with you, there are two *vices* which many of you are too prone unto, and which are utterly inconsistent with a *true Christianity*. One of those vices, is that of *idleness*. If you had a disposition to follow an honest calling, what should hinder you from growing as considerable in your estates as many of your English neighbours? whereas, you are now poor, mean, ragged, starved, contemptible and miserable; and instead of being able, as your English neighbours do, to support the ordinances of God, you are beholden to them, not only for maintaining of those blessed ordinances among you, but for many other kindnesses. And have you indeed forgot the *commandment* of God, which has been so often laid before you, 'Six days shalt thou labour?' For shame, apply your selves to such *labour* as may bring you into more handsome circumstances. But the other of these vices is that of *drunkenness*. There are godly English neighbours, of whom you should learn to *pray;* but there are some of you that learn to *drink*, of other profane, debauched English neighbours. Poor creatures, it is by this iniquity that Satan

Farewel, worthy sir; the Lord preserve your health for the benefit of your country, his church, and of learning. Yours ever, INCREASE MATHER.

Boston in New-England, July 12, 1687.

still keeps possession of many souls among you, as much as if you were still in all your woful heathenism; and how often have you been told, 'Drunkards shall not inherit the kingdom of God?' I beseech you to be sensible of the mischiefs to which this thing exposes you, and never dream of escaping the 'vengeance of eternal fire,' if you indulge your selves in this accursed thing.

"I have done, when I have wished that the gospel of the Lord Jesus may always 'run and be glorified among you!'"

THE CONCLUSION; OR, ELIOT EXPIRING.

By this time, I have doubtless made my reader loth to have me tell what now remains of this little history; doubtless they are wishing that this John might have "tarried unto the second coming of our Lord." But, alas! all-devouring death at last snatched him from us, and slighted all those lamentations of ours, "My father, my father, the chariots of Israel, and the horsemen thereof!"

When he was become a sort of Miles Emeritus, and began to draw near his *end,* he grew still more heavenly, more savoury, more divine, and scented more of the spicy country at which he was ready to put ashore. As the historian observes of Tiberius, that when his *life* and *strength* were going from him, his *vice* yet remained with him; on the contrary, the *grace* of this excellent man rather increased than abated, when every thing else was dying with him. It is too usual with old men, that when they are past *work*, they are least sensible of their inabilities and incapacities, and can scarce endure to see another succeeding them in any part of their office. But our Eliot was of a temper quite contrary thereunto; for finding, many months before his expiration, that he had not strength enough to edify his congregation with publick prayers and sermons, he importuned his people with some impatience to call another minister; professing himself unable to die with comfort until he could see a good successor ordained, settled, fixed among them. For this cause he also cried mightily unto the Lord Jesus Christ, our ascended Lord, that he would give such a *gift* unto Roxbury, and he sometimes called his whole town together to join with him in a *fast* for such a blessing. As the return of their supplications, our Lord quickly bestowed upon them a person young in years, but old in discretion, gravity and experience; and one whom the church of Roxbury hopes to find "a pastor after God's own heart."

It was Mr. Nehemiah Walter, who being by the unanimous vote and choice of the church there become the pastor of Roxbury, immediately found the venerable Eliot embracing and cherishing of him with the tender affections of a father. The good old man, like old Aaron, as it were,

disrobed himself with an unspeakable satisfaction when he beheld his garments put upon a son so dear unto him. After this, he for a year or two before his translation could scarce be perswaded unto any *publick service*, but humbly pleaded, what none but he would ever have said, "It would be a wrong to the souls of the people, for him to do any thing among them, when they were supplied so much to their advantage otherwise." If I mistake not, the last that ever he preached was on a publick *fast*, when he fed his people with a very distinct and useful exposition upon the eighty-third psalm; and he concluded with an apology, begging his hearers to pardon the *poorness*, and *meanness*, and *brokenness*, (as he called it) of his meditations; but, added he, "My dear brother here will by'nd by mend all."

But although he thus dismissed himself, as one so near to the age of ninety might well have done, from his publick labours, yet he would not give over his endeavours, in a more private sphere, to "do good unto all." He had always been an enemy to idleness; any one that should look into the little diary that he kept in his Almanacks, would see that there was with him, "no day without a line;" and he was troubled particularly when he saw how much *time* was devoured by that slavery to tobacco, which too many debase themselves unto; and now he grew old, he was desirous that his *works* should hold pace with his *life;* the less *time* he saw *left*, the less was he willing to have *lost*. He imagined that he could now do nothing to any purpose in any service for God; and sometimes he would say, with an air peculiar to himself, "I wonder for what the Lord Jesus Christ lets me live; he knows that now I can do nothing for him!" And yet he could not forbear essaying to *do something* for his Lord; he conceived that though the English could not be benefited by any gifts which he now fancied himself to have only the ruins of, yet who can tell but the *negroes* might! He had long lamented it, with a bleeding and a burning passion, that the English used their *negroes* but as their *horses* or their *oxen*, and that so little care was taken about their immortal souls; he looked upon it as a prodigy that any wearing the *name* of *Christians*, should so much have the *heart* of *devils* in them, as to prevent and hinder the instruction of the poor blackamores, and confine the souls of their miserable slaves to a destroying ignorance, meerly for fear of thereby losing the benefit of their vassalage; but now he made a motion to the English within two or three miles of him, that at such a time and place they would send their negroes once a week unto him: for he would then catechise them, and enlighten them, to the utmost of his power in the things of their everlasting peace. However, he did not live to make much progress in this undertaking.

At length, when he was able to do *little* without doors, he tryed then to do something within; and one thing was this: A young boy in the neighbourhood had in his infancy fallen into a fire, so as to burn himself into

a perfect blindness; but this boy being now grown to some bigness, the good old man took him home to his house, with some intentions to make a scholar of him. He first informed him of and from the Scripture, in which the boy so profited, that in a little time he could even repeat many whole chapters verbatim, and if any other in reading missed a word, he would mind them of it; yea, and an ordinary piece of Latin was become easy to the lad; but having his own eyes closed by death, he could no longer help the poor child against the want of his.

Thus, as the aged Polycarp could say, "These eighty-six years have I served my Lord Jesus Christ; and he has been such a good master to me all this while, that I will not now forsake him." Such a Polycarp was our Eliot; he had been so many years engaged in the sweet service of the Lord Jesus Christ, that he could not now give it over: it was his ambition and his privilege "to bring forth fruit in old age;" and what veneration the church of Smyrna paid unto that angel of theirs, we were upon the like accounts willing to give unto this "man of God."

While he was thus making his retreat out of this evil world, his discourses from time to time ran upon "the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ;" it was the theme which he still had recourse unto, and we were sure to have something of this, whatever other subject he were upon. On this he talked, on this he prayed, for this he longed, and especially when any bad news arrived, his usual reflection thereupon would be, "Behold some of the clouds in which we must look for the coming of the Son of man." At last his Lord, for whom he had been long wishing —"Lord, come! I have been a great while ready for thy coming"—at last, I say, his Lord came and fetched him away into the "joy of his Lord."

He fell into some languishments attended with a fever, which in a few days brought him into the *pangs* (may I say? or *joys*) of death; and while he lay in these, Mr. Walter coming to him, he said unto him, "Brother, thou art welcome to my very soul. Pray retire to thy study for me, and give me leave to be gone;" meaning that he should not, by petitions to Heaven for his life, detain him here. It was in these languishments that, speaking about the work of the gospel among the Indians, he did after this heavenly manner express himself: "There is a cloud, (said he) a dark cloud upon the work of the gospel among the poor Indians. The Lord revive and prosper that work, and grant it may live when I am dead. It is a work which I have been doing much and long about.—But what was the word I spoke last? I recall that word, *my doings!* Alas, they have been poor and small, and lean doing, and I'll be the man that shall throw the first stone at them all."

It has been observed that they who have spoke many considerable things in their *lives*, usually speak few at their *deaths*. But it was otherwise with our Eliot, who, after much speech of and for God in his lifetime, uttered some things little short of *oracles* on his death-bed, which 'tis

a thousand pities they were not more exactly regarded and recorded. Those authors that have taken the pains to collect *Apophthegmata Morientum*,* have not therein been unserviceable to the living; but the Apophthegms of a dying Eliot must have had in them a *grace* and a *strain* truly extraordinary; and indeed the *vulgar error* of the signal sweetness in the song of a *dying swan*, was a very truth in our expiring Eliot; his last breath smelt strong of heaven, and was articled into none but very gracious notes; one of the last whereof was, "Welcome joy!" and at last it went away, calling upon the standers by to "Pray, pray, pray!" which was the thing in which so vast a portion of it had been before employed.

This was the peace in the end of this "perfect and upright man;" thus was there another *star* fetched away to be placed among the rest that the third heaven is now enriched with. He had once, I think, a pleasant fear that the old saints of his acquaintance, especially those two dearest neighbours of his, Cotton of Boston, and Mather of Dorchester, which were got safe to heaven before him, would suspect him to be gone the wrong way, because he staid so long behind them. But they are now together with a blessed Jesus, "beholding of his glory," and celebrating the high praises of him that has "called them into his marvellous light." Whether heaven was any more heaven to him, because of his finding there so many saints with whom he once had his desirable intimacies—yea, and so many saints which had been the seals of his own ministry in this lower world—I cannot say; but it would be heaven enough unto him to go unto that Jesus whom he had loved, preached, served, and in whom he had been long assured there does all fulness dwell. In that heaven I now leave him; not without Grynæus' pathetical exclamations, [*O beatum illum diem!*] "Blessed will be the day, O blessed the day of our arrival to the glorious assembly of spirits, which this great saint is now rejoicing with!"

Bereaved New-England, where are thy tears at this ill-boding funeral? We had a tradition among us, "That the country could never perish as long as Eliot was alive." But into whose hands must this Hippo fall, now the Austin of it is taken away? Our Elisha is gone, and now who must "next year invade the land?" The Jews have a saying, *Quando Luminaria patiuntur Eclipsin, malum signum est mundo*;† but I am sure it is a dismal *eclipse* that has now befallen our New-England world. I confess many of the ancients fell into the vanity of esteeming the reliques of the *dead saints* to be the *towers* and *ramparts* of the places that enjoyed them; and the *dead bodies* of two apostles in the city made the poet cry out,

A Facie Hostili duo propugnacula præsunt.‡

If the dust of dead saints could give us any protection, we are not without it; here is a spot of American soyl that will afford a rich crop

* Apophthegms of the dying. † When the great luminaries undergo an eclipse, it is a bad sign for mankind.
‡ Two bulwarks guard us from the approaching foe.

of it at the "resurrection of the just." Poor New-England has been as Glastenbury of old was called, "a burying place of saints." But we cannot see a more terrible prognostick than tombs filling apace with such bones as those of the renowned Eliot's; the whole building of this country trembles at the fall of such a pillar.

For many months before he dyed, he would often chearfully tell us, "That he was shortly going to heaven, and that he would carry a deal of good news thither with him; he said, he would carry tidings to the old founders of New-England, which were now in glory, that church-work was yet carried on among us; that the number of our churches was continually encreasing; and that the churches were still kept as big as they were, by the daily additions of those that shall be saved." But the going of such as *he* from us, will apace diminish the occasions of such happy tidings.

What shall we now say? Our Eliot himself used most affectionately to bewail the death of all useful men; yet if one brought him the notice of such a thing with any despondencies, or said, "O, sir, such an one is dead, what shall we do?" he would answer, "Well, but God lives, Christ lives, the old Saviour of New-England yet lives, and he will reign till all his enemies are made his footstool." This, and only this, consideration have we to relieve us; and let it be accompanied with our addresses to the "God of the spirits of all flesh," that there may be Timothies raised up in the room of our departed Pauls; and that when our Moses's are gone, the spirit which was in those brave men may be put upon the surviving "elders of our Israel."

The last thing that ever our Eliot put off was, "the care of all the churches," which with a most apostolical and evangelical temper he was continually solicitous about. When the churches of New-England were under a very uncomfortable prospect, by the advantage which men that sought the ruine of those golden and holy and reformed societies had obtained against them, God put it into the heart of one well known in these churches to take a voyage into England, that he might by his mediations at Whitehall divert the storms that were impending over us. It is not easy to express what affection our aged Eliot prosecuted this undertaking with; and what thanksgiving he rendered unto God for any hopeful successes of it. But because one of the last times, and, for ought I know, the last of his ever setting pen to paper in the world, was upon this occasion; I shall transcribe a short letter, which was *written* by the shaking hand that had heretofore by *writing* deserved so well from the Church of God, but was now taking its leave of writing for ever. It was written to the person that was engaging for us, and thus it ran:

"Reverend and Beloved Mr. Increase Mather: I cannot write. Read Neh. ii. 10: When Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobijah the servant, the Ammonite, heard of it; it grieved them exceedingly, that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children of Israel."

"Let thy blessed soul feed full and fat upon this and other scriptures. All other things I leave to other men; and rest,

"Your loving Brother, "JOHN ELIOT."

These two or three lines manifest the "care of the churches" which breathed in this great old man, as long as he had a breath to draw in the world. And since he has left few like him for a comprehensive and universal regard unto the prosperity of all the flocks in this wilderness, we have little now to comfort us in the loss of one so like a patriarch among us, but only this, that our poor churches, it may be hoped, have still some interest in the cares of our Lord Jesus Christ, "Who walks in the midst of the golden candlesticks." Lord! *make* our churches and *keep* them yet golden candlesticks! Amen.

BUT I have not obtained the *end* of this *history*, nor may I let this *history* come to an *end*, until I do with some importunity bespeak the endeavours of good men every where to labour in that harvest which the blessed Eliot justly counted worthy of his utmost pains and cares. It was the confession of Themistocles, that the victory of Miltiades would not let him sleep in quietness; may those of our Eliot raise a like emulation in those that have now seen the life of this evangelical *hero!* One Robert Baily (a true son of Epiphanius) many years ago published a book, wherein several *gross lies*, by which the name of that John Cotton, who was known to be one of the holiest men then alive, was most injuriously made odious unto the churches abroad, were accompanied with some reflections upon poor New-England, whereof this was one: "The way of their churches hath most exceedingly hindred the conversion of the poor pagans: of all that ever crossed the American seas, they are noted as most neglectful of the work of conversion." We have now seen those aspersions and calumnies abundantly wiped away. But let that which has been the *vindication* of New-England, be also the *emulation* of the world; let not poor little New-England be the only Protestant country that shall do any notable thing for "the propagation of the faith," unto those "dark corners of the earth which are full of cruel habitations." But the *addresses* of so mean a person as my self are like to prevail but little abroad with men of learning and figure in the world. However, I shall presume to utter my *wishes* in the sight of my readers; and it is possible that the great God, who "despises not the prayer of the poor," may, by the influences of his Holy Spirit upon the hearts of some whose eyes are upon these lines, give a blessed answer thereunto.

Wherefore, may the people of New-England, who have seen so sensible a difference between the estates of those that sell *drink* and of those that preach *truth* unto the miserable salvages among them, as that even *this* alone might inspire them, yet from a nobler consideration than that of their own *outward prosperity* thereby advanced, be encouraged still to pros-

ecute, first the *civilizing*, and then the *Christianizing* of the barbarians in their neighbourhood; and may the New-Englanders be so far *politick*, as well as *religious*, as particularly to make a *mission* of the gospel unto the mighty nations of the Western Indians, whom the French have been of late so studiously, but so unsuccessfully tampering with; lest those horrid pagans, who lately (as it is credibly affirmed) had such a measure of *devilism* and *insolence* in them, as to shoot a volley of great and small *shot* against the heavens, in revenge upon "the man in the heavens," as they called our Lord, whom they counted the author of the heavy calamities which newly have distressed them; be found spared by our long-suffering Lord, [who *then* indeed presently tore the ground asunder, with immediate and horrible thunders from heaven round about them, but killed them not!] for a scourge to us, that have not used our advantages to make a vertuous people of them. If a King of the West Saxons long since ascribed all the disasters on any of their affairs to negligencies in this point, methinks the New-Englanders may not count it unreasonable in this way to seek their own prosperity. Shall we do what we can that our Lord Jesus Christ may bestow upon America (which may more justly be called *Columba**) that salutation, "O my dove!"

May the several plantations, that live upon the labours of their negroes, no more be guilty of such a prodigious wickedness as to deride, neglect, and oppose all due means of bringing their poor negroes unto our Lord; but may the *masters* (of whom God will one day require the souls of the *slaves* committed unto them) see to it that, like Abraham, they have "catechised servants;" and not imagine that the Almighty God made so many thousands of reasonable creatures for nothing, but only to serve the lusts of Epicures, or the gains of Mammonists; lest the God of heaven, out of meer *pity*, if not *justice*, unto those unhappy blacks, he provoked unto a vengeance which may not without horrour be thought upon. Lord, when shall we see Ethiopians read thy Scriptures with understanding!

May the English nation do what may be done, that the Welch may not be destroyed for the lack of knowledge, lest our indisposition to do for their souls bring upon us all those judgments of Heaven which Gildas their country-man once told them that they suffered for their disregards unto ours; and may the nefandous massacres of the English by the Irish awaken the English to consider whether they have done enough to reclaim the Irish from the Popish bigotries and abominations with which they have been intoxicated!

May the several factories and companies whose concerns lie in Asia, Africa, or America, be perswaded, as Jacob once, and before him his grandfather Abraham was, that they always owe unto God certain *proportions* of their possessions, by the honest *payments* of which little *quit-rents*, they would certainly secure and enlarge their enjoyment of the principal;

* A dove.

but that they are under a very particular obligation to communicate of our *spiritual things* unto those heathens by whose *carnal things* they are enriched; and may they therefore make it their study to employ some able and pious ministers, for the instruction of those *infidels* with whom they have to deal, and honourably support such ministers in that employment!

May the poor Greeks, Armenians, Muscovites, and others, in the eastern countries, wearing the name of Christians, that have little *preaching* and no *printing*, and few Bibles or good books, now at last be furnished with Bibles, orthodox catechisms, and practical treatises by the charity of England; and may our presses provide good store of good books for them, in their own tongues, to be scattered among them. Who knows what convulsions might be hastened upon the whole Mahometan world by such an extensive charity!

May sufficient numbers of great, wise, rich, learned, and godly men in the three kingdoms, procure well-composed *societies*, by whose united counsels, the noble design of evangelizing the world may be more effectually carried on: and if some generous persons will of their own accord combine for such consultations, who can tell but, like some other celebrated societies heretofore formed from such small beginnings, they may soon have that countenance of authority which may produce very glorious effects, and give opportunity to gather vast *contributions* from all well-disposed people, to assist and advance this progress of Christianity. God forbid that Popery should expend upon *cheating*, more than ten times what we do upon *saving* the immortal souls of men!

Lastly, may many worthy men, who find their circumstances will allow of it, get the *language* of some nations that are not yet brought home to God; and wait upon the divine providence for God's leading them to and owning them in their apostolical undertakings. When they remember what Ruffinus relates concerning the conversion of the Iberians, and what Socrates, with other authors, relates concerning the conversion wrought by occasion of Frumentius and Ædesius, in the Inner India, all as it were by *accident*, surely it will make them try what may be done by *design* for such things now in our day! Thus, let them see whether while we at home, in the midst of wearisome temptations, are angling with *rods*, which now and then catch one soul for our Lord, they shall not be fishing with *nets*, which will bring in many thousands of those, concerning whom with unspeakable joy in the day of the Lord they may say, "Behold, I and the children which God has given me!" Let them see whether, supposing they should prosper no farther than to "preach the gospel of the kingdom in all the world for a witness unto all nations," yet the *end* which is then *to come*, will not bring to them the more happy lot wherein they shall stand that are found so doing.

Let no man be discouraged by the *difficulties* which the devil will be ready to clog such attempts against his kingdom with; for I will take

leave so to translate the words of the wise man, Prov. xxvii. 4: "What is able to stand before zeal?" I am well satisfyed that if men had the wisdom "to discern the signs of the times," they would be all hands at work to spread the name of our Jesus into all the corners of the earth. "Grant it, O my God; and Lord Jesus, come quickly!"

A COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE VERY REVEREND MR. RICHARD BAXTER,

TO MR. INCREASE MATHER, THEN IN LONDON.

WRITTEN UPON THE SIGHT OF MR. ELIOT'S LIFE IN A FORMER EDITION.

DEAR BROTHER: I *thought* I had been near dying at twelve o'clock in bed; but your book revived me: I lay reading it until between one and two. I knew much of Mr. Eliot's opinions, by many letters which I had from him. There was no man on earth whom I honoured above him. It is his *evangelical work* that is the *apostolical succession* that I plead for. I am now dying, I hope, as he did. It pleased me to read from him my case, ["my understanding faileth, my memory faileth, my tongue faileth, (and my hand and pen fail) but my charity faileth not."] That word much comforted me. I am as zealous a lover of the New-England churches as any man, according to Mr. Noyes', Mr. Norton's, Mr. Mitchel's, and the Synod's model.

"I loved your *father*, upon the letters I received from him. I love *you* better for your learning, labours, and peaceable moderation I love *your son* better than either of you, for the excellent temper that appeareth in his writings. O that godliness and wisdom thus *increase* in all families! He hath honoured himself half as much as Mr. Eliot: I say, but *half as much;* for *deeds* excel *words*. God preserve you and New-England! Pray for

"Your fainting, languishing Friend, RI. BAXTER."

August 3, 1691.

REMAINS;

OR,

SHORTER ACCOUNTS OF SUNDRY DIVINES,

USEFUL IN THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND.

GATHERED BY COTTON MATHER.

THE FOURTH PART.

WHERETO IS MORE LARGELY ADDED,

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF THE REV. MR. JOHN BAILY.

INTRODUCTION.

READER: Peruse, I pray, and ponder these words of the incomparable Turretine:

Singularem Dei Gratiam, non possumus, quin Æternis Laudibus, Celebremus, quod Novissimis hisce sæculis, restitutâ Evangelii Luce, tot tantosque Viros, Doctrinâ et Insigni Pietate Præditos, ad Opus Reformationis *Inchoandum et Promovendum Vocaverit; qui uberrimâ Rerum Sacrarum Scientiâ imbuti, et Heroico Spiritu donati, tanquam* [אנשי מופה] Viri Prodigi, *Tubæ Evangelicæ Sonitu, et Veritatis Divinæ Fulgore, Tenebras Erroris Crassissimas felicisssime fugarunt,* Antichristi Regnum *Concusserunt, et Ecclesiam a Multis sæculis misere Captivam, et Tyrannidis Jugo plusquam ferreo tantum non oppressam, è Babylone Mysticâ gloriose Evocarunt.**

Thou art prepared then to proceed in what remains of our History.

Reader, thou knowest the way for a man to become wise, was thus declared by an oracle, *Si concolor fieret Mortuis.*†

And thou wilt not forget that lesson sometimes given—Since we have *lived* here, and since we are to *die* and yet *live* after *death*, and *others* will succeed us when we are *dead*, we are greatly concerned to send *before us* a very *good treasure*, to carry *with us* a very *good conscience*, and to leave *behind us* a very *good example*."

Behold some of them who did so!

It hath been remarked that when Sarah called her husband *Lord*, her speech was all an heap of sinful infidelity; there was but one good *word* in it: yet the spirit of God, long after *takes notice* of that word. And why should not *we* then *take notice* of many a *good work*, occurring in the *lives* of those, concerning whom yet we do not pretend or suppose that they lived altogether free from infirmities?—their *infirmities* were but *humanities*.

* We cannnot but render tributes of everlasting praises to the special grace of God, in that he has in these last times restored the lights of the gospel, and raised up so many great men, gifted with learning and exalted piety, to commence and carry forward the work of Reformation: men possessed of the richest fund of sacred science, and endued with a heroic spirit—prodigies, as it were, of human greatness—who by sounding the gospel trumpet, and lighting up flashes of divine truth, have successfully dispersed the thickest clouds of error, shaken the kingdom of Anti-Christ, and gloriously led forth the Church, held for many centuries in wretched captivity, and barely saved from being utterly crushed by a more than iron yoke of tyranny, from the mystic Babylon.

† To become of one complexion with the dead.

CHAPTER I.

REMAINS OF THE FIRST CLASSIS.

THE surviving friends of the *rest*, mentioned in the "first catalogue of confessors," by whom the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ was brought into this wilderness, having supplied me with so few and small informations concerning them, that I am of the opinion, *Præstat nulla quam Pauca dicere.**

Let all their vertues then be *galaxied* into this one indistinct lustre, they were faithful servants of Christ, and *sufferers* for their being so.

Nor is it unlikely that there might be some among those good men who yet might be in so little extraordinary, that there might be the same account given of them that there was of a certain Bishop of Rome, in the second century, *Nihil præclari de Gubernatione et factis ejus commemorari potest;*† and although we New-Englanders do dwell in so cold and so clear an air, that more of the *smaller stars* may be seen by our *considerers* than in many other places—yea, and not only the *Nebulosa*‡ of Cancer it self, but even the lesser stars which compose that cloud, are considered among us—nevertheless, for us to attempt the writing of their *lives*, would carry too much *fondness* in it: nor do we forget, that *Suum est cuique ordi in vulgus.*§

Moreover, there were divers of these worthy men, who, by removing back to England upon the "turn of the times," have almost released us from such a *large account* of them, as otherwise might have been expected from us; and yet some *good account* of not a few among them is to be reported. I remember Dr. Patin, in his travels, tells us that in a certain Musæum at Vienna, he saw a *cherry-stone*, on which were engraved above an hundred *portraitures*, with *different ornaments* of the *head* upon them. I must now endeavour a tenth part of an hundred portraitures, with different ornaments of the *mind* upon each of them; nevertheless, I am to take up almost as little room as a cherry-stone for them all. Particularly—

Mr. RICHARD BLINMAN.—After a faithful discharge of his ministry at Glocester and at New-London, he returned into England; and living to a good old age, he who wherever he came did set himself to *do good*, concluded his life at the city of Bristol, where one of the last things he did was to defend in print the cause of infant-baptism.

Mr. SAMUEL EATON.—He was the son of Mr. Richard Eaton, the vicar of Great Burdworth in Cheshire, and the brother of Mr. Theophilus Eaton, the renowned Governour of New-Haven. His education was at the University of Oxford; and because it will doubtless recommend him to find

* Nothing remarkable can be related of his administration or life.

† Nothing worthy of renown can be mentioned concerning his government or conduct.

‡ Cloud.

§ Every rank has its rabble.

such a pen as that which wrote the *Athenæ Oxonienses** thus characterising of him, reader, thou shalt have the very words of that writer concerning him:

"After he had left the university, he entred into the sacred function, took orders according to the Church of England, and was beneficed in his country: but having been puritanically educated, he did dissent in some particulars thereof. Whereupon, finding his place too warm for him, he revolted, and went into New-England, and preached among the brethren there."

But let us have no more of this Wood! Mr. Eaton was a very holy man, and a person of great learning and judgment, and a most incomparable preacher. But upon his dissent from Mr. Davenport, about the narrow terms and forms of *civil* government by Mr. Davenport then forced upon that infant-colony, his brother advised him to a removal: and calling at Boston by the way, when he was on his removal, the church there were so highly affected with his labours, thus occasionally enjoyed among them, that they would fain have engaged him unto a settlement in that place. But the Lord Jesus Christ had more service for him in *Old*-England than he could have done in *New;* and therefore arriving in England, he became the pastor of a church at Duckenfield, in the parish of Stockfort in Cheshire, and afterwards at Stockport; and a person of eminent note and use, not only in that, but also in the neighbour-county.

After the restoration of K. Charles II., he underwent first *silencing*, and then much other *suffering* from the *persecution* which yet calls for a national repentance. He was the author of many books, and especially some in defence of the Christian faith, about the *God-head of Christ* against the Socinian blasphemies: and his help was joined unto Mr. Timothy Tailor's, in writing some treatises entituled, "*The Congregational Way Justified.*" By these he out-lives his death, which fell out at Denton, in the parish of Manchester in Lancashire, (where, says our friend Rabshakeh Wood, "he had sheltered himself among the brethren after his ejection,") on the ninth day of January, 1664, and he was buried in the chapel there.

Mr. William Hook.—This learned, holy, and humble man, was born about 1600, and was for some time a collegue with Mr. Davenport in the pastoral charge of the church at our New-Haven; on the day of his ordination whereto, he humbly chose for his text those words in Judg. vii. 10: "Go thou, with Pharaoh thy servant;" and as humbly raised his doctrine, "That in great services, a little help is better than none," which he gave, as the reason of his own being joined with so considerable a Gideon as Mr. Davenport. After this, returning into England, he was for some while minister at Axmouth in Devonshire, and then master of the Savoy on the Strand, near London, and so chaplain to the greatest man then in the nation. He was the author of divers composures that saw the light: whereof perhaps one of the most memorable is that about "*The Priveleges*

* The Athens of Oxford.

of the Saints on Earth above those in Heaven." But there was one of his composures which did more nearly concern himself than perhaps his persecutors did imagine, and that was about "*The Slaughter of the Witnesses:*" for he bore a part in that *slaughter*, when his testimony to the *kingly office* of the Lord Jesus Christ, in his church, procured him the condition of a silenced non-conformist, from May 24, 1662, to March 21, 1677, when he died in or near London, and went from the privileges of labours among the saints on earth, to those of rewards among the saints in heaven. He lies buried in the *sleeping-place* on the north side of the New Artillery Garden.

Mr. Robert Peck.—This light having been by the persecuting prelates "put under a bushel," was, by the good providence of Heaven, fetched away unto New-England, about the year 1638, where the good people of our Hingham did "rejoice in the light for a season." But within two or three years, the invitation of his friends at Hingham in England perswaded him to a return unto them; where being, though a great person for *stature*, yet a greater for *spirit*, he was greatly serviceable for the good of the church.

Mr. Hugh Peters.—A brief narrative of his life, both before and after his abode, for about seven years, in the charge of the church at Salem, the reader may find at the conclusion of his advice to his daughter, published under the title of, "*A Dying Father's last Legacy to an only Child:*" and, indeed, I heartily recommend it unto his reading. The narrative of his death has also been long since published unto the world: and it reports those to have been amongst his last words: "Oh! this is a *good day!* He is come that I have long looked for, and I shall be with him in glory!"

Mr. Thomas Peters.—He came over unto New-England, in the time of the civil war; and, staying but about three years, he returned into England. A worthy man, and a writer of certain pieces which will, I suppose, preserve his memory among those that are strangers, as I am, thereunto.

Mr. —— Saxton.—He was a Yorkshire man; a studious and a learned person, a great Hebrician. The unsettled condition of the colony, and some unhappy contention in the plantation where he lived, put him upon removing from Scituate, first unto Boston, and so unto England, in his reduced age. I find in honest Mr. Ryther's devout book, entituled, "*A Plat for Mariners,*" this passage related concerning him: "An old Puritan minister, [Mr. Saxton, of Leeds, in Yorkshire,] in a storm, coming from New-England, when they were all expecting the vessel to sink, he said, 'Oh, who is now for heaven! who is bound for heaven!'"

I *say* nothing, because I *know* nothing of Mr. BRECY; but this, he also returned into England. But the less of him, the more might be written of Mr. GILES FIRMIN, who visited New-England in his younger years, but afterwards became, in England, an eminent preacher of the gospel, and a *writer*, as well as a *preacher* of it. Among the rest of his books, that golden one, which is entituled, "*The Real Christian*," does really prove the title to be his own character; and the rest, as well as that, prove him to be an able scholar, as well as a real Christian. I suppose him to be yet living in a fruitful old age, at Ridgewel in Essex: but such demonstrations he hath still given of his affections to New-England, on all occasions, that he might have justly resented it, as an injury, if he had been wholly omitted in the catalogue of them that have deserved well of that country.

Besides these persons, there are some others, of whom a larger account might be endeavoured.

Three shall be *all* that we will offer.

CHAPTER II.

THE LIFE OF MR. THOMAS ALLEN.

IT was a computation made in that year when our colony was just forty years old, and our land had "seen rest forty years," that of ministers which had then come from England unto us, chiefly in the ten first years, there were ninety-four: of which number, thirty-one were then alive; thirty-six had retired unto heaven; twenty-seven had returned back to Europe.

Of those *first comers*, who again left the country, soon after their first coming, one was that worthy man Mr. Thomas Allen, who, after he had for some time approved himself a pious and painful minister of the gospel in our Charlestown, saw cause to return back into England; where he lived unto a good old age, in the city of Norwich.

The name of Allen being but our pronunciation of the Saxon word *Alwine*, which is as much as to say *beloved of all*, expressed the fate of this our Allen among the generality of the well-disposed. And being a man greatly beloved, he applied himself to enquire much into the *times*, wherein his predecessor Daniel was an hard student, when the angel came to call him *so*.

Though he staid not very long in this country, yet this country lays claim especially to two of his composures, which have been serviceable unto the world. The former of these was printed here; namely, "*An invitation unto Thirty Sinners to come unto their Saviour;*" prefaced and assisted into the light by our worthy Higginson. But the latter was printed

beyond the sea; and entituled, "*A Chain of Scripture Chronology:*" wherein the author was disposed, like the illustrious Bucholtzer, who, being weary of controversy, betook himself to chronology, saying, *Malle se Computare quam Disputare.** This is a most learned and useful piece; and all my further account of the author shall be in the words of the famous Greenhill, in his epistle before it. Says he,

"This work having had its conception in a remote quarter of the world, it was latent in his closet the greatest part of seven years; as Joash sometimes was kept secret in a chamber of the temple, before he was brought to public view by the means of Jehojadah, that good old high priest: and it had still been *suppressed* had not the author been *pressed*, and charged with hiding of a *talent* in a napkin, by such another as Jehojadah was, [Mr. John Cotton,] whose soul is now amongst the saints in heaven, resting from its manifold labours, and whose name both is, and ever will be precious in all the gates of the daughters of Sion, through all ages. When Moses, Daniel, and John were in suffering conditions, they had much light from God, and gave forth much truth concerning the church and the times: and many of our reverend, learned, and godly brethren, being through the iniquity of the times driven into America, by looking up unto God, and by searching of the Scriptures, received and found much light concerning the church and the times; and have made us, and ages to come, beholden to them, by communicating the same; amongst whom *now* is this learned and judicious author."

From the epitaph of Helvicus, the great chronologist, we will presume to borrow a *tetrastick* for this great student in chronology:

EPITAPHIUM.

Angelicos inter cœtus, Animasque Beatas;
Spiritus ALLENI *Gaudia Mille Capit:*
Ad Litui Sonitum dum Corpus et Ossa resurgant,
Totus ut ALLENUS *Vivificatus ovet.*†

CHAPTER III.

THE LIFE OF MR. JOHN KNOWLES.

OUR blessed Saviour has denounced that righteous and fearful curse upon those who despise the offers of his glorious gospel, "Whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah, in the day of judgment, than for that city." And the excellent Knowles was an eminent person among those "embassadors of Heaven," in the quarrel of whose entertainment the King of Heaven wonderfully accomplished that prediction. If New-England hath been in some respects Immanuel's land, it is well; but this I am sure of, Imman-

* He preferred computation to disputation.

† Amid angelic choirs, and realms of day,
Our ALLEN's *soul* drinks draughts of blessedness:
When the last trumpet wakes his slumbering clay,
His *body*, glorified, shall share the bliss.

uel College contributed more than a little to make it so, a fellow whereof once was our Mr. John Knowles.

He was among the first comers into New-England, joined as a colleague with Mr. Philips at Watertown. But as he began, so he ended his pious days in England; between which there occurred one very remarkable providence, now to be related.

In the year 1641 one Mr. Bennet, a gentleman from Virginia, arrived at Boston, with letters from well-disposed people there unto the ministers of New-England, bewailing their sad condition for the want of the glorious gospel, and entreating that they might hence be supplied with ministers of that gospel. These letters were openly read at Boston upon a lecture-day; whereupon the ministers agreed upon setting apart a day for fasting and prayer, to implore the direction of God about this business; and then the churches of Watertown, Braintree, and Rowley, having each of them two ministers apiece, Mr. Philips of Watertown, Mr. Thompson of Braintree and Mr. Miller of Rowley, were pitched upon for the intended service; whereof the General Court so approved, that it was ordered the governour should recommend these persons by his letters to the governour and council at Virginia.

Mr. Philips being indisposed for the voyage, Mr. Knowles went in his room; and Mr. Miller's bodily weaknesses caused him also to decline the voyage. But the two churches of Watertown and Braintree, though they loved their ministers very well, yet cheerfully dismissed them unto this great concern; accounting it their honour that they had such desireable persons, by whom they might make a mission of the gospel unto a "people that sat in the region and shadow of death."

On October 7, 1642, they began their voyage: at Rhode-Island, they lay long wind-bound; and they met with so many other difficulties, that they made it eleven weeks of dangerous passage before they arrived at Virginia: nevertheless, they had this advantage in the way, that they took in a third minister for their assistance; namely, Mr. James, then at New-Haven.

Though their hazardous retardations in their voyage made them sometimes to suspect whether they had a clear call of God unto their undertaking, yet the success of their ministry, when they came to Virginia, did sufficiently extinguish that suspicion. They had little *encouragement* from the *rulers* of the place, but they had a kind *entertainment* with the *people;* and in the several parts of the country where they were bestowed, there were many persons by their ministry brought home to God.

But as Austin told mankind, "the devil was never turned Christian yet:" the powers of darkness could not count it for their interest that the light of the gospel, powerfully preached, should reach those "dark places of the earth." The rulers of that province did not allow of their publick preaching: but instead thereof, an order was made, "That such as would not conform to the ceremonies of the Church of England, should by such

a day depart the country." By which order, these holy, faithful, painful ministers, were driven away from the Virginia coast: but when they returned, as they *left* behind them not a few *seals* of their ministry, so they *brought* with them some who afterwards proved blessings to New-England.

Well, before the day fixed for the departure of these ministers came, the Indians far and near having entred into a conspiracy to cut off the English in those territories, executed it in an horrible massacre, whereby at least three hundred poor English Virginians were at once barbarously butchered, which massacre was also accompanied with a grievous mortality, that caused many sober persons to remove out of that colony, and others to acknowledge the justice of God upon them, for the *ill-treats* which had been given to the ministers of his gospel, and the gospel brought by those ministers.

After this did Mr. Knowles remove back to England, where he was a preacher at the Cathedral, in the city of Bristol, and lived in great credit and service for divers years.

But when the act of *uniformity* made such a slaughter of non-conformists, Mr. Knowles was one of the ministers which were silenced by that act. And after that *civil death*, he lived in London a collegue to the famous Mr. Kentish, and a blessing to the Church of God.

Exercising his ministry in the city of London, he underwent many grievous persecutions, and received as many glorious deliverances.—But when some of his friends discouraged him, with fears of his being thrown into prison, if he did not affect more of privacy, he replied, "In truth, I had rather be in a gaol, where I might have a number of souls, to whom I might preach the truths of my blessed Master, than live idle in my own house, without any such opportunities."

He lived unto a very great age, and staid longer out of heaven than the most of them that live in heaven upon earth. But in his great age he continued still to do great good; wherein his labours were so fervent and eager, that he would sometimes *preach* till he *fell down;* and yet have a *youthful readiness* in the *matter* and *spirit* of his preaching. His last *falling down* was a *flying up;* and an *escape* to that land where "the weary are at rest."

EPITAPHIUM.

Vis Scire, Quis Sim? Nomen est KNOLESIUS: *Dixi Satis!**——

* Do you wish to know who I am? My name is KNOWLES—I have told you enough!

CHAPTER IV.

ELISHA'S BONES. THE LIFE OF MR. HENRY WHITFIELD.

*Cupiditatem Imitandi fecit; Spem abstulit.**

THERE has been a trite proverb, which I wish indeed were so threadbare as to be never used more,

Angelicus Juvenis, senibus Satanizat in Annis,†

which, though it were pity it should ever speak English, has been Englished—"A young saint, an old devil." I remember Erasmus believes the devil himself was the author of that proverb. This I am sure, the proverb was none of Solomon's, who says, "Train up a child in the way that he should go, and when he is old, he will not leave it." Indeed, a *young sinner* may make an *old devil;* a young *hypocrite*, a young *dissembler*, pretending to *saintship*, may do so; but a *young saint* will certainly make an *old angel.*

And so did our blessed Whitfield. He was a gentleman of *good* extraction by his *birth;* but of a better by his *new-birth:* nor did his new-birth come very long after his birth. He did betimes begin his journey heavenwards; but he did not soon tire in that journey; nor did the "serpent by the way," the "adder in the path," prevail to make him come *short home* at last.

His father being an eminent lawyer, designed this his youngest son to be a lawyer also, and therefore afforded him a liberal education, first at the university, and then at the Inns of Court. But the gracious and early operations of the Holy Spirit on his heart, inclined him rather to be a preacher of the gospel, and in his inclinations he was encouraged by such eminent ministers as Dr. Stanton, Mr. Byfield, and others.

He was very pious in his childhood, and, because *pious*, therefore *prayerful;* yea, so addicted unto prayer, that in the very school itself, he would be sometimes praying, when the scholars about him imagined by his postures that he had only been intent upon his book.

As he grew up, he grew exceedingly in his acquaintance with God, with Christ, and with the exceeding riches of *grace* displayed in the new *covenant.* And he gained such a grounded assurance of his own saving interest in that covenant, that he had not for forty years together fallen into any miscarriage, which made any considerable breach upon that assurance.

Okely in Surrey was the place where the providence of the Lord Jesus

† He stimulated men to desire, but forbade them to hope, to imitate his virtues.
‡ In youth an angel: in old age a fiend.

Christ now stationed him; where his labours were blessed unto the good of many, not only in his own town, but in all the circumjacent country, from whence on holy-days the people would flock to hear him. At length, observing that he did more good by preaching sometimes *abroad*, than by preaching always *at home*, and enjoying then a church-living of the first magnitude, besides a fair estate of his own, he procured and maintained another godly minister at Okely; and by means thereof, he had the liberty to preach in many places, which were destitute of ministers, where his labours were successful in the conversion of many souls unto God.

He was one who abounded in *liberality* and *hospitality;* and his house was always much resorted unto. He was for twenty years, a conformist; but yet a pious non-conformist was all this while very dear unto him; and such persecuted servants of Christ as Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Goodwin, and Mr. Nye, then molested for their non-conformity, were sheltered under his roof. At last, being present at the conference between Mr. Cotton and some other famous divines, upon the controversies of *church-discipline*, there appeared so much of *Scripture* and *reason* on that side, that Mr. Whitfield also became a non-conformist. But now, finding it impossible for him to proceed in the public exercise of his ministry, he obtained a *godly successor*, he embraced a *modest secession*, and he resigned his place with the true spirit of *self-denial.*

He now sold his personal estate, and came over to New-England in the year 1639, with a multitude of poor people, out of Surrey, Kent, and Sussex, who could not live without his ministry. With these he began a new plantation, about twenty miles from New-Haven, and called it Guilford: where he mightily encouraged the people to bear with a Christian patience and fortitude the difficulties of the wilderness which they were come into; not only by his exhortations, but also by his own exemplary contentment with low and mean things, after he had once lived in a more splendid manner than most other ministers.

His way of preaching was much like Dr. Sibs'; and there was a marvellous majesty and sanctity observable in it. He carried much *authority* with him; and using frequently to visit the particular families of his flock, with profitable discourses on the great concerns of their interiour state, it is not easy to describe the reverence with which they entertained him.

He sojourned eleven years at Guilford, living with his large family of ten children mostly on his own estate, which was thereby exceedingly exhausted. But the *inconveniences* of *New*-England, and *invitations* to Old, at length overcame him to return into his native country: and at the time of parting, the whole town accompanied him unto the water-side, with a spring-tide of tears, because "they should see his face no more."

This was in the year 1650.

How highly his ancient friends then welcomed him; how highly the greatest persons in the nation then respected him; how faithfully he then

discharged his ministry in the city of Winchester; how many services he occasionally did for New-England; and how triumphantly at last he flew away to heaven; must be no part of this history.

But let the excellent words of Lupichius, in his epitaph, be borrowed for an EPITAPH to this rare person; inasmuch as no words can more *livelily* express the very spirit of all his *life:*

Dum mihi Vita fuit, Tibi, CHRISTE, *Fidelis ut essem,*
Mente Pia Studui, Dogma Sonando Tuum.
Tu mihi Dœlitiæ,—Tu Divitiæque fuisti;
*Tu mihi Defuncto, Gloria, Vita, Salus.**

CHAPTER V.

REMAINS OF THE SECOND CLASSIS.

OF our second catalogue are now fallen asleep ARNOLD, the author of a savoury discourse, published under the title of "*David serving his Generation:*" BISHOP, BULKLY, CARTER, DEAN, HANFORD, [of which worthy man, let the reader, here in a crotchet, as we go along, refresh himself with one *crotchetly passage:* he was near forty years a faithful, painful, and pious minister at Norwalk, even from the first settlement of that plantation; but though he had the comfort of seeing a good and great success to his ministry there, yet there were times wherein the *fire* of *contention* annoyed the affairs of that church exceedingly: and in this *fire* there once happened such a *smoke* that the people made this one of their articles to the council against him, that in a certain paper of his, he had opprobriously called them "Indian devils:" the council thereupon with wonder, calling for the paper wherein the reproachful terms was to be looked for, found his expression to have been only thus, "Every individual among them:" which occasioned a very joco-serious reflection upon the ridiculous errors and follies that attend a quarrelsome disposition;] HOUGH, NEWTON. And into this catalogue I am content that there should be received (for the saints of this catalogue already departed have received him) honest Mr. NICHOLAS BAKER of Scituate; who, though he had but a private education, yet, being a pious and zealous man; or, as Dr. Arrowsmith expresses it, so good a *logician*, that he could offer up to God a *reasonable service;* so good an *arithmetician*, that he could wisely *number his days;* and so good an *orator*, that he *perswaded himself* to be *a good Christian;* and being also one of good natural parts, especially of a strong memory, was chosen pastor of the church there; and in the pastoral charge of that church he continued about eighteen years, until that *horror of mankind*,

* Long as I lived, O Christ, I strove to be
True to thy doctrine, faithful unto thee.
Thou wast my joy, and wealth, and consolation,
And now thou art my glory and salvation.

and *reproach of medicine*, the STONE (under which he preached *patience* by a very memorable example of it; never letting fall any word worse than this, which was an usual word with him, "A mercy of God it is no worse!") put an end unto his days.

But he that brings up the rear is Mr. JOHN WOODBRIDGE, of whom we are able to speak a little more particularly.

He was born at Stanton, near Highworth in Wiltshire, about the year 1613, of which parish his father was minister; and a minister so able and faithful as to obtain an high esteem among those that at all knew the invaluable worth of such a minister. His mother was daughter to Mr. Robert Parker, and a daughter who did so *virtuously*, that her own personal character would have made her highly esteemed, if a relation to such a father had not farther added unto the lustre of her character.

Our JOHN was by his worthy parents "trained up in the way that he should go," and sent unto Oxford, when his education and proficiency at school had ripened him for the university; and kept at Oxford until the *oath of conformity* came to be required of him; which neither his *father* nor his *conscience* approving, he removed from thence unto a course of more private studies. The rigorous enforcing of the unhappy *ceremonies* then causing many that understood and regarded the second commandment in the laws of Heaven, to seek a peaceable recess for the *pure* worship of the Lord Jesus Christ in an American desart, our young Woodbridge, with the consent of his parents, undertook a voyage to New-England about the year 1634, and the company and assistance of his worthy uncle, Mr. Thomas Parker, was not the least encouragement of his voyage.

He had not been long in the country, before Newberry began to be planted; where he accordingly took up lands, and so seated himself, that he comfortably and industriously studied on, until the advice of his father's death obliged him to return into England; where, having settled his affairs, he returned again unto New-England, bringing with him his two brothers; whereof one died by the way. He had married the daughter of the Honourable Thomas Dudely, Esq., and the town of Andover then first peeping into the world, he was by the hands of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Worcester, September 16, 1644, ordained the teacher of the congregation there.

Here he continued with good reputation, discharging the duties of his ministry, until upon the invitation of his friends he went once more to England, in the year 1647, where he soon found employment, (besides his being a chaplain to the commissioners treating with the King at the Isle of Wight,) first at the considerable town of Andover, and afterwards at Burford St. Martins, in Wiltshire; at the last of which places he continued until the return of Episcopacy first sequestred him, and they being ousted of the school at Newberry, the infamous *Bartholomew-act* caused him, in the year 1663, (with his now numerous family,) to come once more unto New-England. Here it was not long before the church of Newberry soli-

cited him to become an assistant unto his aged uncle, Mr. Parker; and in answer to their solicitations, he bestowed his constant, learned, and holy labours upon them.

At last, there arose little *differences* between him and some of the people upon certain points of church-discipline, wherein his *largeness* and their *straitness* might perhaps better have met in a *temper;* and these differences ended not without his putting an end unto his own ministry among them; after which, the remarkable blessing of God upon his own *private estate*, abundantly made up to him the *publick stipend* which he had parted withal. The country hereupon, in token of their value for him, chose him a magistrate of the colony, that so he might, in yet a more extensive capacity, be "a minister of God unto them for good;" and upon the alteration of the government, he was made a Justice of Peace, in which office he continued unto the last.

He had issue twelve children, whereof eleven lived unto the age of men and women; and he had the consolation of seeing three sons, with two sons-in-law, improved in the ministry of the gospel, and four grandsons happily advancing thereunto. A person he was truly of an excellent spirit; a pious disposition accompanied him from his early childhood, and as he grew in years, he grew in *proofs* and *fruits* of his having been sanctified from his infancy. He spent much of his time in holy *meditations*, by which the "foretastes of Heaven" were continually feeding of his devout soul; and he abounded in all other devotions of serious, heavenly, experimental Christianity.

He was by *nature* wonderfully composed, patient, and pleasant; and he was, by *grace* much more so: he had a great command of his passions, and *could*, and *would*, and often *did* forgive *injuries*, at a rate that hardly can be imitated. It was rarely or never observed that *worldly disappointments* made any *grievous impressions* upon his mind; but as once when word was brought him that a sore disaster had befallen many of his cattel, the messenger was exceedingly surprized on his beholding the only resentments of this good man thereupon to be in these humble expressions, which were the first he uttered, "What a mercy it is, that this is the first time that ever I met with such a disaster!"

This was the frame of mind with which he still entertained all disasterous occurrences. Only he was observably overwhelmed by the death of his most religious, prudent, and faithful consort, when she was (July 1, 1691) fifty years after his first marriage unto her, *torn* away from the "desire of his eyes." His value for the *whole world* was, after a manner, extinguished in this loss, of what was to him the *best part* of it; and he sometimes declared himself desirous to be gone, whenever the Lord of heaven should please to call him thither.

At last, about the beginning of March, 1695, the *strangury* arrested him; and he, who had been a great *reader*, a great *scholar*, a great *Christian*, and

a pattern of *goodness* in all the successive stations wherein the Lord of Hosts had placed him, on March 17, the day of the Christian-sabbath, after much pain, went unto his everlasting rest; having a few minutes before it refused a glass of offered wine, saying, "I am going where I shall have better!" His age was about eighty-two.

Let him now report the rest himself, in an EPITAPH like that on the tomb of Christianus Machabæus:

Quam Vivens Potui tantum sperare, Quiete
*Mortuus in Solida nunc Statione fruor.**

CHAPTER VI.

REMAINS OF THE THIRD CLASSIS.

SEVERAL in our third catalogue have, upon the late revolutions, returned back to Europe, and several are yet living in service and esteem among our selves.

ARTICLE (I.) But of those that are gone unto the better world, we have cause particularly to remember Mr. THOMAS GILBERT, whose *history* is, it may be, sufficiently related in his *epitaph*, which is at this day to be read on his tomb in Charlestown:

Here is interred the body of that reverend, sincere, zealous, devout and faithful minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. THOMAS GILBERT, sometime Pastor of the Church of Christ at Chedle, in Cheshire: also, sometime Pastor of the Church of Christ at Eling, in Old-England: who was the proto-martyr, the first of the ministers that suffered deprivation, in the cause of non-conformity in England: and, after betaking himself to New-England, became Pastor of the Church of Christ in Topsfield; and at sixty-three years of age departed this life. Interred October 28, 1673.

Omnia præterunt, præter amare Deum.

These things pass for ever, vain world, away;
But love to God—this, this endures for ay.

Gilberti *hic tenuem, Lectores, Ceruitis, Umbram,*
Longè hâc Clara Magis Stella Micausque fuit.
Sic fuit in Vitâ Gilbertus, *sicque Recessu,*
Sicce detur nobis Vivere, sique Mori.

Lo here of Gilbert, but a shadow flight;
He was a star of more illustrious light.
Such Gilbert was in life, such in his death;
God grant we may so live, so yield our breath.

ARTICLE (II.) On December 28, 1674, died Mr. JOHN OXENBRIDGE, a successor to four famous JOHNS, in the pastoral charge of the first church in Boston. He was born in Daventry, Northamptonshire, January 30, 1608. Both Cambridge and Oxford contributed unto his liberal education; and in one of those universities he proceeded Master of Arts in the year 1631. The year following, he became a publick preacher of the gospel;

* The rest for which in life I could but pine, | A Christian death hath made for ever mine.

and after this, taking successively two voyages to Barmudaz, he at length returned into England, and in the year 1644, became a pastor to a church in Beverly. I find him after this a fellow of Eaton-Colledge: but in the general *shipwrack* that befel the non-conformists, A. C. 1662, I find him *swimming* away to Surrinam, in America. From thence he came to Barbados, in the year 1667, and to New-England in the year 1669, where he succeeded Mr. Davenport, and continued until his last remove, which was to the "City of God."

The abilities and inclinations of this worthy man are discovered in several of his published composures. In England he published several discourses on, "*The Duty of Watchfulness.*" He also published, "*A Proposition of Propagating the Gospel by Christian Colonies, in the Continent of* Guianai, *being some Gleanings of a larger Discourse.*" That larger discourse is yet sleeping: but upon perusal of the MSS. I am sensible that there is in it a grateful variety of entertainment. After he came to New-England, he published a sermon, preached at the anniversary election of our governour and assistants. And he likewise published a sermon about "*Seasonable seeking of God.*"

The piety which breathed in these composures was but what he maintained in his *daily walk;* and sometimes he found the leisure to *articulate* the breathings of it in writing. We read concerning Balaam, "The Lord put a word in his mouth:" it should seem, his *heart* was not holily affected with what was expressed by his *mouth.* But the *word* was in the *heart,* as well as in the *mouth* of our Oxenbridge; and his *pen* also sometimes transcribed his *heart.* Once thus particularly:

"*Certain late experiments of the grace of God in Christ, to J. O., a poor worm, who desires to record them, to the praise of his grace.*

"November 19, 1666, was a dark day; my *bodily spirits* being very low, (though without pain,) and my heart shut up, that I could not look up to God. This made me to apprehend the sad condition of a soul deserted of God in a time of affliction; but the Lord suffered not this dark maze to continue. For that night he thawed my heart, and opened it with some freedom to himself.

"But what shall I say for the strange and strong consolations, with which he filled my soul, on the 20 and 21st of November? No words can express what I have felt in my heart. I was wholly taken up with the thoughts of the kindness of God. I said, 'What love is like this love? and who is a God like unto thee? and what remains for me, but to love and to praise thee for ever?' Now *death* was no dark thing to me, neither was any concern of this *life* considerable. And now I have said, 'Who can lay any thing to my charge, since Christ hath satisfied by his death, and hath gotten a release by his resurrection, and lives for ever to perfect my salvation?' This hath been a great stay to me in my solitary condition; though bereft of such relations, a precious wife, and two such children. But the Lord Jesus liveth for ever, to do all for me, and be all to me. And I do the more admire and adore the great God, in his condescending so much to so vile a worm, that hath been so full of fears and doubts, and hath so much displeased my Lord Jesus and his Holy Spirit. That which grieved me most, of late months, is, the *unfixedness* of my thoughts on God: and, Oh! that the Lord may, by his establishing spirit, confirm these comforts on me, so that I may enjoy

them in *death*, and improve them for the good of others in *life*. I know Satan is a wrangler; but my Advocate is able to silence him!"

When the Lord of this faithful servant came to call for him, he was found in his Master's work. Towards the close of a sermon, which he was preaching at Boston-lecture, he was taken with a degree of an Apoplexy (as John Cyril, the worthy Bohemian pastor was in the beginning of the former century, *Apoplexia in media ad populum concione correptus*,)* which in two or three days ended his pilgrimage. Thus he had the wish of some great men, *Oportet Concionatorem, aut precantem aut Predicantem, Mori.*†

EPITAPHIUM.

Vixi, et quem dederas Cursum, in Te Christe peregi.‡

ARTICLE (III.) On March 24, 1678-9, expired that excellent man, Mr. THOMAS WALLEY, about the age of sixty-one. I can not recover the day of his birth; let it content my reader that the primitive Christians did happily confound the distinction of the two *times* mentioned by the wise man, "a time to be born, and a time to die," calling the day of a saint's *death* by the name of their *Natalitia*.§

This "man of a thousand" was a well accomplished scholar; but his accomplishments especially lay in that which the great Gregory asserts to be, *Ars Artium, et Scientia Scientiarum*,‖ namely, *Animarum Regimen*.

He was a Christian in whom the *graces* of Christ very richly adorned, but *most* of all, that which has most of Christianity in it, HUMILITY; the happy vertue which we may address with the acknowledgment once made unto Fœlix, "By thee we enjoy great quietness:" and by that vertue he was eminently serviceable to make all *quiet* wherever he came. He was a divine, well furnished with the knowledge necessary to a *master builder* in the Church of God, and particularly knowing in those points of divinity, which *Non Lectio docet, sed Unctio, non Litera, sed Spiritus, non Eruditio, sed Exercitatio*.¶

He was a preacher who made CHRIST the main subject of his preaching and who had such a regard for *souls*, that he thought much of nothing by which he might recommend a CHRIST unto the souls even of the meanest, as well as of the greatest: being disposed, like that great king of France, who, being found instructing his kitchen-boy in the matters of religion, and being asked with wonder the reason of it, answered, "The meanest has a soul as precious as my own, and bought by the blood of Christ as well as mine!" It may be I cannot give a truer description of this our WALLEY, than in the words of him that writes the life of the famous Belgic WALLÆUS: "He was diligent in visiting his parishioners, whereby

* Struck with apoplexy in the middle of an address to the people.

† It becomes a minister to die preaching or praying. ‡ In thee, O Christ, my mortal race is run.

§ Birth-day festival. ‖ The art of arts and science of sciences—the ruling of the spirit. [ence.

¶ It is not reading that instructs, but the unction of grace; not the letter, but the spirit; not learning, but experi-

he reformed many which were given to viciousness. He satisfied doubting consciences, and extricated them out of the snares of Satan. He comforted those that were cast down with the apprehension of God's wrath for their sins. He ministered relief to widows, orphans, and such as were destitute of humane help. His company was never grievous."

His being such a one did but render him the more likely to be found a non-conformist, when the act of uniformity struck *dead* so many faithful ministers of the gospel in the English Nation. When the Church of England, under the *new form* which its canons after the year 1660 depraved it into, was pressing its unscriptural rites, our Walley replied, with Tertullian, *Si ideo dicetur, licere, quia non prohibeat Scriptura, æque retorquebitur, ideo non licere, quia Scriptura non Jubeat.**

If the Church of England, in the days of New-England's first planting, did so want reformation that these colonies must be planted for the sake thereof, how much more would the *second model* of it affright such conscientious dissenters as our Walley, unto congregations that were more thoroughly *reformed?* For, as one writes, "Though the Church of England was never so reformed as Geneva, France, Holland, and other reformed churches, yet there is as vast a difference between the *old* Church of England and the *new* one, as between Nebuchadnezzar when sitting on his throne and glittering in his glory, and Nebuchadnezzar when grazing among beasts in the field, with his hair like birds' feathers, and nails like eagles' claws."—The effect of all was, that Mr. Walley was driven from the exercise of his ministry in London to New-England, where he arrived about the year 1663.

Here he had a "great service" to do; for if the Apostle Paul thought it beseeming an apostle to write a part of canonical Scripture, about the agreement of no more than *two* godly persons, [Phil. iv. 2,] certainly it must be a "great service" to bring a divided church of godly persons unto a good agreement. In Thebes, he that could reconcile any quarrelsome neighbours, was honoured with a *garland.* The honour of a garland was on that score highly due to our Walley.

The church of Barnstable had been miserably broken with divisions until this prudent, patient, and holy WALLEY appeared among them, and

Quum Pietate Gravem, ac Meritis hunc Forte
Virum jam Conspexere, Silent.†

As among the Suevians it was a law that in a fray where swords were drawn, if any one did but cry *peace,* they must end the quarrel, or else he died that struck the next blow after peace was named. Thus, after our WALLEY, with his charming wisdom, cried *peace,* that flock was happily

* If it is claimed that one thing is right because the Scripture does not forbid it, it will of course be replied with equal force, that another is wrong, because the Scripture does not command it.

† Hushed into silence at the sight of one | In whose calm look a reverend grandeur shone.

united; and he continued in much peace, and with much fame, feeding of it all the rest of his days.

I will now so far discover *my self* as to applaud this worthy man for two things, which it may be many good men will count worthy rather of *reproach* than *applause.*

One is this: in my father's preface to his discourses on the New-Jerusalem, I meet with this passage: "Though it hath been generally thought that the *first resurrection* spoken of in the Apocalypse, is to be understood only in a mystical sense, yet some of the first and eminent teachers in these churches believed the *first resurrection* to be corporal. So did Mr. Davenport, Mr. Hook, and, of later years, that man of an excellent spirit, Mr. Thomas Walley, pastor of the church in Barnstable."—Thus did our pious chiliast, Walley, it seems, come to his thoughts as Joseph Mede before him did, and as in the times of more illumination learned men must and will: *Postquam alia omnia frustra tentassem, tandem Rei ipsius Claritudine perstrictus, paradoxo Succubui.**

Another is this: on a great occasion, our Walley declared himself in these words: "It would not consist with our profession of love to Christ or saints, to trouble those that peaceably differ from the generality of God's people in lesser things; those that are like to live in heaven with us at last, we should endeavour they might live peaceably with us here. A well-bounded toleration were very desireable in all Christian commonwealths, that there may be no just occasion for any to complain of cruelty or persecution; but it must be such a toleration, that God may not be publickly blasphemed nor idolatry practised."—With such *candor* did he express himself against the way well decryed by Gerhard, *A Verbo ad Ferrum, ab Atramento ad Armamenta, a Pennis, ad Bipennes, confugere.*†

I cannot find any more than one published composure left behind, which is entituled, "*Balm in Gilead to heal Sion's Wounds:*" being a sermon preached before the General Court of the colony of New-Plymouth, June 1, 1669, the day of election there: in which, let it be remembred, he expressly foretels that New-England would "ere long lose her holiness, her righteousness, her peace, and her liberty."

EPITAPHIUM.

O Mors, Qualem Virum Extinxisti!
Sed bene habet;
Virtus WALLÆI *Immortalis est.*‡

ARTICLE (IV.) The *small stay* of the Reverend Mr. SAMUEL LEE in this country, where he was pastor of the church at New-Bristol, [from the year 1686 to the year 1691,] will excuse me, if I say *little* of him; and

* After I had tried every thing else to no purpose, I was at last drawn by the self-evident truth of the conclusion, to acknowledge it to be an incomprehensible paradox.

† Of rushing from words to the sword, from ink to arms, from pen to battle-axe.

‡ O Death, what a life thou hast destroyed! Yet it is well; for WALLEY's virtues are immortal.

yet the *great worth* of that renowned man, will render it inexcusable to say *nothing* at all.

All that I shall say is, that if *learning* ever merited a *statue*, this great man, has as rich an one due to him as can be erected; for it must be granted, that hardly ever a more *universally learned* person trod the American strand.

Live, O rare LEE! live, if not in *our* works, yet in *thy own;* ten or twelve of which, that have seen the light, will immortalize thee. But, above all, thy book "*De Excideo Antichristi*"* shall survive, and assist the *funeral* of the *monster* whose *nativity* is therein, with such exquisite study calculated; and thy book entituled, "*Orbis Miraculum;*† or, *The Temple of Solomon,*" shall proclaim thee to be a *miracle* for thy vast knowledge, and a *pillar* in the *temple* of thy God!

In his return for England, the French took him a prisoner, and uncivilly detaining him, he died in France; where he found the grave of an heretick, and was therein (after some sort, like Wickliff and Bucer) made a *martyr* after his death.

CHAPTER VII.

A GOOD MAN MAKING A GOOD END.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF THE REV. MR. JOHN BAILY.

COMPRISED AND EXPRESSED IN

A SERMON, ON THE DAY OF HIS FUNERAL, THURSDAY, 16 D. 10 M. 1697.

Pulchra sunt Verba ex Ore
Ea Facientium.—ADAG. JUDAIC.‡

READER: We are not so *wise* as the miserable Papists! Among them, a person of merit shall at his death be celebrated and canonized by all men agreeing in it, as in their *common interest*, for to applaud his life. Among us, let there be dues paid unto the memory of the most meritorious person after his decease; many of the survivers are offended, I had almost said enraged at it: they seem to take it as a reproach unto themselves (and, it may be, *so it is!*) that so much *good* should be told of any man, and that all the little frailties and errors of that man (and whereof no *meer man* was ever free!) be not also told, with all the unjust *aggravations* that envy might put upon them. This *folly* is as inexpressible an *injury* to us all; as it cannot but be an *advantage* unto mankind in general for interred *vertue* to be rewarded with a *statue*.

* Concerning the cutting off of Antichrist. † The wonder of the world.

‡ Sweet are words from the lips of the doers of them.—*Jewish Proverb.*

If ever I deserved well of my country, it has been when I have given to the world the histories and characters of eminent persons which have adorned it. Malice will call some of those things romances; but that *Malice* it self may never hiss with the least colour of reason any more, I do here declare, let any man living evince any one *material mistake* in any one of those composures, it shall have the most publick recantation that can be desired. In the meantime, while some impotent cavils, nibbling at the *statues* which we have erected for our *worthies*, take pains to prove themselves the enemies of New-England and of religion, the statues will out-live all their idle nibbles; "the righteous will be had in everlasting remembrance," when the wicked, who "see it and are grieved," shall "gnash with their teeth, and melt away."

A GOOD MAN MAKING A GOOD END.

UTTERED, THURSDAY 16 D. 10 M. 1697.

I bring you this day a text of sacred Scripture, which a faithful servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, lately gone unto him, did before his going order for you as his legacy. Give your attention: 'Tis *that* in Psal. xxxi. 5: "Into thine hand I commit my spirit."

THAT holy and worthy minister of the gospel, whose funeral is this day to be attended, having laboured for the conversion of men unto God, at length grew very *presagious* that his labours in the evangelical ministry drew near unto an end. While he was yet in health, and not got beyond the fifty-fourth year of his age, he did, with such a presage upon his mind, (having first written on this wise in his diary, "Oh! that Christ's death might fit me for my own!") begin to study a sermon on this very text, "Into thine hand I commit my spirit." But his great Master, who favoured him with such a presage, never gave him an opportunity to finish and utter what he had began to study. His *life* had all this while been a practical commentary upon his doctrine; yea, it was an endeavour to imitate our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, who is said [Acts i. 1,] first to *do*, and then to *teach:* and now, behold! his death must expound and apply the doctrine which he would have preached unto us. He must show us how to do that important work of "committing a departing spirit into the hands of God," no otherwise than by the actual doing of that work himself. While therefore he lay dying, he asked one of his dearest relations, "Dost thou know what I am doing?" She said, "No;" he then added, "I am rendring, I am rendring!" meaning, I suppose, his own *spirit* unto the Lord. But while he was doing of that work, and with humble resignation "committing his own spirit into the hands of God," he desired of me that I would preach upon the text about which he had been under such intentions. Wherefore (if at least I may be thought worthy of such a character!) you are now to consider me—shall I say—as "executing the will of the dead?" or, as "representing a man of God, whom God hath taken." The *truths*

which we shall now inculcate, will be such as you are all along to think, "these are the things which a saint now in glory would have to be inculcated." And when we have briefly set those truths before you, we will describe a little that excellent saint, as from whom you have them recommended: we will describe him chiefly with *strokes* fetched from his own *diaries*, out of which, in the little time I have had since his death, I have collected a few *remarkables*.

Our Psalmist, the illustrious David, now, as we may judge, drew near unto his end: and we may say of the Psalm here composed by him, "These are among the last words of David, the man who was raised up on high." The *sighs* of the Psalmist here collected, seem to have been occasioned by the *sufferings* which he underwent when his own subjects took up arms against him. Nevertheless, as our psalter is all over "the Book of the Messiah," so this particular Hymn in it is contrived elegantly to point out the sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ unto us. In the text now before us, the Psalmist, apprehending himself in danger of *death*, does the great work of a *dying man:* which is, "to commit a surviving spirit into the hand of God." But in doing this, he entertains a special consideration of God, for his encouragement in doing it: this is, "Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth." It is the Messiah that hath redeemed us; it is the Messiah whose name is *the Truth;* David, upon a view of the Messiah, said, "This is the man, who is the Lord God." Wherefore, in "committing our spirits unto God," our Lord Christ is to be distinctly considered; and he was, no doubt, by David considered. The power of God is called his *hand;* the wisdom of God is called his *hand;* but, above all, the Christ of God, who is the *power* of God, and the *wisdom* of God, he is the *hand* of God; by Him it is that the God of heaven doth what he doth in the world: and he is for that cause also styled, "The arm of the Lord." It is therefore to the *power* and *wisdom* and *goodness* of God, in Christ, that our expiring *spirits* are to be committed.

There was indeed a wonderful *time*, when our Lord Jesus Christ himself made a wonderful *use* of this very text. We read in Luke xxiii. 46, "When Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, 'Father, into thy hands I commend my Spirit;' and having said thus, he gave up the Ghost." Sirs, God uttered his voice, at this rate, and the earth trembled at it! And well it might, for never did there such an amazing thing occur upon the earth before. Now, our Lord having said, "Into thy hands I commend my Spirit," stopped at those words; for he was himself the "Redeemer, the Lord God of Truth." But as for *us*, we are to consider God, as in our Lord Jesus Christ, when we commit our spirits into his hands. As Luther could say, *Nolo Deum Absolutum*—I tremble to have to do with an absolute God; that is to say, a God without a Christ—so, we may all tremble to think of committing our spirits into the hands of God, any otherwise than as he is "in Christ reconciling the world unto himself."

We are truly told in Heb. x. 31, "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." Our spirits are by sin become obnoxious to the fearful wrath of God; and wo to us, if our spirits fall into his hands, not having his *wrath* appeased! Sirs, we commit briars and thorns, and wretched stubble to infinite flames, if we commit our spirits into the hands of God, not in a Christ, become our friend. We deliver up our spirits unto a "devouring fire," and unto "everlasting burnings," if we approach the "Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God Almighty" any otherwise than through the Immanuel, our Mediator. We are to "commit our souls unto our faithful Creator;" but if he be not our "merciful Redeemer" too, then "He that made us will not have mercy on us." When Hezekiah was, as he thought, a dying, he "turned his face to the wall:" I suppose it was to that side of the *upper chamber*, the *praying chamber*, where he lay, that had "God's window" in it, the window that opened it self towards the ark in the temple. When we commit our spirits into the hand of God, we are to *turn* our *face* towards that *ark* of God, our Lord Jesus Christ. We have this matter well directed by the words of the dying martyr Stephen, in Acts vii. 59. He said, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

And now there is a weighty CASE that lies before us:

After what manner should we commit our spirits unto our Lord Jesus Christ, that so the eternal safety and welfare of our spirits, may be effectually provided for?

If our faithful BAILY were now alive, I do not know any one CASE that he would more livelily have discoursed among you: but I know that he would have discoursed on this with a soul full of inexpressible agonies. He was a man who had, from a child, been full of solicitous cares about his own soul; and from hence in part it was, that when he became a *preacher* of the gospel, he preached nothing so much as the cares that all men should have about the conversion of their souls unto God, and the sincerity of their souls before him. There were many great points of our Christian *faith* which he still treated with shorter touches, because his thoughts were continually swallowed up with the *vast concern* of not being deceived about the marks of a regenerate and a sanctified soul, and hopes of being found in Christ at a dying hour. He was none of those preachers, *Qui ludunt in Cathedra, et lugent in Gehenna.** Those two words, *a soul* and *eternity*, were great words unto him; and his very soul was greatly and always under the awe of them. Hence the very spirit of his preaching lay in the points of turning from sin to God in Christ, and the tryal of our doing so, and the peril of our not doing it. Wherefore, as far as, alas! one of my sinful coldness in those dreadful points can do it, I will set before you in a few minutes what I apprehend my dead friend would have to be spoken, upon these points, in relation to the case that is now to be considered.

* Who play in the church and weep in hell.

I. Let every mortal man be very sensible that he hath an *immortal spirit* in him, and prize that spirit exceedingly. How shall we *commit* a *spirit* into the *hands* of the Lord Jesus Christ, if this thing be not realized unto us, that we have a spirit, which will be horribly miserable to all eternity, if the Lord Jesus Christ look not after it!

Could that mouth, which is this day to be laid in the dust, once more be opened among us, I know what voice would issue from it: with a very zealous vivacity, I know this voice would be uttered: "Man, thou hast a soul, a soul within thee; a soul that is to exist throughout eternal ages. Oh! prize that soul of thine at the greatest rate imaginable."—I say, then, we must be sensible that we have *spirits* which are distinct from our bodies, and which will out live them: spirits which are "incorporeal substances, endued with rational faculties; and though inclined unto our humane bodies, yet surviving after them." An infidel Pope of Rome once, lying on his death-bed, had such a speech as this: "I shall now quickly be certified and satisfied whether I have an immortal soul or no!" Woful man, if he were not until *then* certified and satisfied! God forbid that there should be so much as one *Epicurean swine* among us, dreaming, that *man* is nothing but a "meer lump of matter put into motion." Shall a man dare to think that he has not a rational soul in him, which is of a very different nature from his body? Truly, his very *thinking* is enough to confute his monstrous unreasonableness: meer *body* cannot *think;* and, I pray, of what figure is a rational atom? The oracles of God have therefore assured us that the *fathers* of our *bodies* are not the *fathers* of *spirits;* no, these have another father! And, that the spirits of men may go from their bodies, and be caught up to the third heaven too! Well; but when our bodies crumble and tumble before the strokes of death, are not our *spirits* overwhelmed in the ruines of our *bodies*, like Sampson, when the Philistian temple fell upon him? No; they are "sparks of immortality" that shall never be extinguished; they must live, and move, and think, until the very heavens be no more. Among other evidences that our spirits are immortal, there is no contemptible one in the *presages* which the spirits of such good men as he which is anon to be interred have had of their speedy passage in a "world of spirits." Our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave his own blood for the purchase of our souls, and can tell, sure! what it is that he has purchased; he has expressly told us in Matth. x. 28, "They which kill the body, are not able to kill the soul." Our blessed Apostle Paul, a mighty student and worker for souls, was not fed with fancies, when he took it for granted, in Phil. i. 21, that when he should "be dissolved," he should "be with Christ" immediately. Do try, thou fool-hardy creature, to perswade thy self, *that thou hast not an immortal soul:* thou canst not, for thy soul, render thy self altogether and evermore perswaded of it: with very dreadful suspicions of its immortality will thy own conscience, a certain faculty of thy soul, terrify thee, when God

awakens it. I have known a sturdy disputer against the immortality of the soul, go out of the world with this lamentable out-cry: "Oh! my soul, my soul; what shall I do for my poor soul?" Sirs, let this principle stand like the very pillars of heaven with every one of us, *that we have immortal souls to be provided for.* But if a man have an immortal soul within him, what will be the natural consequence of it? The consequence is plainly this: that since the soul is immortal, it should be very *precious.* It was infinitely reasonable for the soul to be called, as it was in Psal. xxii. 20, "My soul, my darling!" Oh! there should be nothing so dear to a man as that soul of his, that shall endure when all other things are changed: for, "O my soul, of thy years there shall be no end." The interests of our spirits are to be much greater things unto us, than the interests of our bodies. What will become of our souls? That, that is a thing that should lie much nearer to our hearts, than what will become of our lives, our names, our estates. We should set an high value on our spirits, and often meditate on the text which was once given to a great man for his daily meditation in Matt. xvi. 26: "What is a man profited, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

II. Let every man in this world that hath an immortal spirit be, above all things, thoughtful for the welfare of that spirit in another world. When we commit a spirit into the hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, it is that so it may escape that wretchedness, and attain that blessedness in another world, whereof our Lord hath in his word advised us. When that embassador of Christ, who is lately gone back unto him, was resident among us, there was no one thing that he more vigorously insisted on than this: "Oh! there is nothing so dreadful as that hell which every wicked soul shall be turned into: there is nothing so joyful as that heaven which is prepared for every godly soul: and there is nothing of so much concernment for you, as to flee from that wrath to come, and lay hold on that life eternal." I say, accordingly, there are astonishing dangers whereto our souls are exposed by our sins. Our spirits are in danger of being for ever banished from the communion of the Lord Jesus Christ, into a state of easeless and endless horror; our spirits are in danger to be plunged into doleful torments, among the devils that have been our tempters: our spirits are in danger to be seized by the justice of that God against whom we have sinned, and laid under everlasting impressions of his indignation. There are "spirits in prison;" there is danger lest the vengeance of God chain up our spirits in that fiery prison. (It was but a little before he went unto heaven that our Baily, in twenty-six discourses on Rev. vi. 8, opened the treasures of that wrath among us.) And we should now be so thoughtful of nothing upon *earth*, as how to get our spirits delivered from this formidable *hell.* The fittest language for us would be like that in Psal. cxvi. 3, 4: "The pains of hell are getting hold

on me; O Lord, I beseech thee to deliver my soul." But then there is a great salvation, which our Lord Jesus Christ has wrought for us; and that salvation is, "the salvation of the soul." Our spirits may be released from the bonds which the "sentence of death," by the *law* of God passed upon them, has laid them under. Our Lord Jesus Christ, satisfying of the law, by his death in our stead, hath procured this release for the spirits of his chosen. There are the "spirits of just men made perfect;" and there is perfect *light*, and perfect *love*, and perfect *joy*, among those glorified spirits. Our spirits may be advanced into the society of angels, and be with our Lord Jesus Christ in heaven the spectators and partakers of his heavenly glory. Now, we should be more thoughtful to make sure of such a heaven for our spirits, than to ensure any thing on earth. We should wish for nothing so much as that in 1 Sam. xxv. 29, "A soul bound up in the bundle of life." There are souls which our Lord Jesus Christ has bundled like so many slips, to be transplanted into the sweet garden of heaven; say now, O man, with all possible ardour of soul, "Oh! may my soul be one of them."

When our father Jacob was a dying, he seems, upon the occasion of mentioning a serpent, immediately to call to mind the mischiefs which had been done by the old serpent unto our spirits: whereupon he cried out, (Gen. xlix. 18,) "I have waited for thy Salvation, [for thy JESUS!] O Lord." That our spirits may not be destroyed in our dying, this, this is the thing that we should be concerned for; that they may be saved by a Jesus from the mischiefs which the old serpent has brought upon them.

III. When we commit our spirits into the hands of our Lord Jesus Christ, we must believe in him, as fully able to "save our spirits unto the uttermost." It is by faith acted unto the uttermost that we are to commit our spirits into the hands of our Lord Jesus Christ. Now, the acts of this faith are admirably expressed in 2 Tim. i. 12: "I know whom I have believed, and I am perswaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him." We would have our spirits preserved from the direful anger of God, which threatens to swallow them up: say now, "Lord Jesus, I am perswaded thou art able to preserve me." We would have our spirits enriched with the knowledge and image and favour of God in his kingdom: say now, "Lord Jesus, I am perswaded thou art able to enrich me." We are therefore to place our faith on the sacrifice which our Lord Jesus Christ hath offered unto God, on the behalf of his people. We read in Job xxxiii. 22, "When a soul draws near unto the grave, if there be a messenger with him, an interpreter, then he says, deliver him from going down to the pit, I have found a ransome." Some of the ancients take that, *Angelus Interpres*, to be, "Christ the Mediator." Sirs, when your souls are "drawing near unto the grave," it is high time to believe on that *ransome*, which "*One* among a thousand" has paid unto

God for us. We must believe that the *sacrifice* of the *soul* of the Messiah, when "he was cut off, but not for himself," is a valuable sacrifice, a sufficient sacrifice, and a sacrifice which the wondrous grace of God invites us to depend upon; and with a firm dependance on that sacrifice, we must plead, "O let my soul be delivered from going down to the pit, since God has found such a ransom for me!" But while we rely on our Lord Jesus Christ, as he has been sacrificed for us here below, we must also rely upon him, as he is now above, in the Holy of holies, interceding for us. And that our faith in committing our spirits unto our Lord Jesus Christ, may be a truly *Christian faith*, we must believe him to be no less than "the Lord God of Truth;" to be God as well as man; to be God and man in one person. That man is a very foolish man who will trust his own soul with any one less than the God who made our soul, and who alone can save it. Our belief must pronounce our Lord Jesus Christ the same that his Bible has pronounced him; "the true God, the great God, and God over all;" one who is every where, and who knows every thing. This article of our faith, which the modern Jews deny, is indeed so incontestable, that I could presently overwhelm them with an army of testimonies, from the Rabbies among the ancient Jews, confessing that the Messiah must be very Jehovah himself. I beseech you, let no man dare to die in any doubt whether the Lord Jesus Christ, unto whom he commits his own soul, be not more than a meer man. Believing him to be God, let us believe that his blood is price enough to obtain for us the everlasting happiness of our spirits; what can our spirits want that the blood of God cannot obtain? Let us believe that his Holy Spirit can fit our spirits for, and fill our spirits with eternal glories; the Spirit of Christ is the Spirit of God: What can't he do for us? Let us believe that he has legions and myriads and millions of blessed spirits to be our convoy and safeguard from those evil spirits which are waiting to arrest our spirits at our dissolution: he is God among the thousands of his angels in "his holy place:" they will fly like swift flashes of lightning to succour us when ever He shall command them so to do. What shall we say? When Jacob fell asleep with his head lying upon a stone, he had a vision of angels concerned for him. Truly, our Lord Jesus Christ is, "the stone of Israel." If you do not fall asleep till you have laid your heads and hopes on that Stone, you shall then see armies of angels about you to secure you.

IV. When we commit our spirits into the hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, we must submit unto all his gracious operations upon our spirits. We commit our spirits into the hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, we say: well, he then demands of us, as in Mark x. 51, "What wilt thou that I should do unto thee?" And, I pray, mark it: if there be any *article of grace* always wrought by the Lord Jesus Christ, for the spirits of his elect, which you do not consent unto, he will not receive your spirits; no, he will

destroy them dreadfully. Some commit their spirits into the hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, they say; but they are not willing that the *hand* of the Lord Jesus Christ should ever do for them all that must be done in all that are brought home unto God. Perhaps they would have their spirit rescued from the hands of the devils hereafter; but they do not heartily commit their spirits into the hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, for to have all the lusts that make their spirits like devils here embittered and eradicated. They would have easy spirits, it may be, but oh! they are loth to have holy spirits. This halving of it, thou hypocrite, this halving of a Christ, will hang the millstones of damnation about the neck of thy soul for ever. The Lord Jesus Christ puts this question unto us: "Poor sinner, what shall I do for thy spirit?" No man can aright commit a spirit into the hand of the Lord Jesus Christ until he have seriously pondered on that question. Ponder it, sirs, in the fear of God! but then let our answer to it be according to that in 2 Thess. i. 11, "That he would fulfil all the good pleasure of his goodness in you, and the work of faith with power." In committing your spirits into the hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, Oh! let your hearts, "being made willing in the day of his power," declare themselves willing to have him do for you all that he is willing to do. It is the proposal of the Lord Jesus Christ, "Shall my obedience to my Father furnish thee with that atonement, and that righteousness whereby thy spirit shall stand without fault before the throne of God?" Reply, "Lord, I commit my spirit into thy hand, for thee to justify it." The proposal of the Lord Jesus Christ unto us is, "All the maladies of thy spirit, shall I heal them all?" Reply, "Lord, I commit my spirit into thy hand, as into the hand of the Lord my healer; O let that hand of thine open this blind mind, and subdue this base will, and rectifie all these depraved affections; and on all accounts renew a right spirit within me." Man, commit thy spirit into the hand of the Lord Jesus Christ with such a disposition and then rest assured that spirit shall never be lost.

V. If you would successfully commit your spirits into the hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, when you die, you are to do it for your spirits before you die. Indeed, what should all our life be but a preparation for death? And all of our life truly is little enough. So thought our devout Baily. It was the counsel which he often gave to his friends, "Let not one day pass you without an earnest prayer that you may have a Christ for to stand by you in a dying hour." And his own practice was according to that counsel, as is well known to them that lived with him in his family. Sirs, you are not sure that when the *decretory hour* of death overtakes you, you shall have one minute of an hour allowed you to commit your spirits into the hand of the Lord Jesus Christ. Is not a *sudden death* a *frequent sight?* There are very many so suddenly snatched away by the whirlwind of the vengeance of the Almighty, that they have not opportunity so much

as to say, "Lord have mercy upon me!" And let me tell you, that a sudden death is most likely to be the portion of those who most presumptuously put off to a death-bed the work of committing their spirits into the hand that can alone befriend them. I have read that of old, according to the laws of Persia, a malefactor had liberty, for an hour before his execution, to ask what he would, and what he asked was granted him. One that was under sentence of death, being admitted unto the use of this liberty, desired neither one thing nor another, but only "that he might see the king's face;" which being allowed him, he so plied the king in that hour, that he obtained his pardon: whereupon the Persians altered their custom, and covered the face of the malefactor, that he might never see the king any more. I will not now enquire, how far this passage will illustrate the story of Haman; but I will observe, that the "face of God" is the name of the Messiah; and in this observation I have given you a golden key to come at new treasures in scores of scriptures. And I will apply it with saying, you have, it may be, an hour and no more allowed you to address the "face of God" in the Lord Jesus Christ. In this hour you may obtain his favour and mercy and pardon. Do not slip this hour, lest it be too late. Or, peradventure (and, alas! it is but a peradventure!) you should upon a death-bed have space enough to commit your spirits into the hands of the Lord, are you sure that you shall then have the grace to do it? It is a solemn caution that is given us, in Phil. ii. 12, 13: "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God that works in you, both to will and to do of his own good pleasure." Even so fear and tremble to delay committing your spirits into the hand of the Lord, so much as one day longer; you do not know that God will please to work in you for the doing of it when your last moments are upon you.

I have read it, as the observation of some very experienced ministers, that they never handled in their ministry any subjects more successfully than those which led them to discourse against procrastination in the concerns of their souls. Our Baily was much in making of this experiment. Many a man inserts that clause in his last will, "I bequeath my soul unto God that gave it." But, in the name of God, art thou certain that he will accept of it? The law says, *Legato renunciari potest;* and *Legatum accipere nemo nolens cogitur*—"One may refuse a legacy; there is no compelling one to accept it." It is true, our compassionate Lord will ever accept a poor soul, whenever it is with a true faith brought unto him. Yea, but it may be, he will not accept of thy soul, inasmuch as thou hast no true faith to bring it withal; faith, which "is not of our selves, it is the gift of God!" wherefore, O man, if thou hast any regard unto thy never-dying soul, go thy ways presently, and earnestly commit it unto the Lord before a dying hour. As the apostle said, "This I say, brethren, the time is short:" even so, this I say, my friend, thy time it may be shorter than thou art well

aware of. What shall I say? I say, "Boast not thyself of to-morrow." I say, "This night thy soul may be required."

And if thy faithless heart have the assistances of the Divine grace withheld from it, when the damp sweats of death are upon thee, there is yet another objection, with which the God of heaven will thunder-strike thy attempts to commit thy spirit into his hand. That is this: "That spirit of thine, is it thy own to dispose of? Hast thou not already otherwise disposed of it?" It is a rule in law, *Nemo potest legare, quod suum jam non est*—No man can by will demise, devise, dispose of that of which he had made sale before." It is said of a very ungodly man, in 1 Kings xxi. 25, "He sold himself to work wickedness in the sight of the Lord." Ungodly sinner, the devil has often bargained with thee about thy soul; he hath said, "By deliberate sinning against Heaven, do thou make over thy soul to me, and thou shalt have the short pleasures of sin for it." God knows how often thou hast thus bargained away thy soul to the devil; and since thou hast not in all thy life revoked that bargain, then, though thou do at thy death cry unto him, "Lord, receive this poor soul of mine!" how justly may he say, "No, not I! thou hast sold that soul to another; and let him keep it for ever!" There will also be this further to be said, "What power hast thou to dispose of thy spirit? hast thou any thing at all at thy own disposal?"

It is a rule in law, *Servus non potest Condere Testamentum*—"a slave cannot make a will: he has nothing of his own to dispose of." It is said in Joh. viii. 34, "Whosoever practiseth sin, is the slave of sin." It may be, thou hast all this while been a very slave; thy lust is thy lord, a lust of uncleanness, of drunkenness, of worldliness, it hath utterly enslaved thee. And, what? not got out of that slavery before thy dim eyes, and cold lips, and faltering tongue, and failing breath, hath put over thy soul into the hand of the Lord! How justly may he say, "Slave, thou art not able to do for thy wretched soul what thou dost now pretend unto." The Lord Jesus Christ will not cast off thy soul with such objections, if thou "seek the Lord while he may be found, and call upon him while he is near." I earnestly testify unto you, the vilest and oldest sinner among you all may *come* and be *welcome* unto the Lord Jesus Christ, if you will come now, while it is "the acceptable time," now while it is "the day of salvation." Though thou art never so bad, yet come and heartily complain to him of all thy badness, and he will do good unto thy soul!

I am sure my BAILY would have said nothing more heartily than this among you; you heard him often say it, "Come in to the mercy of my Lord, for yet there is room!" But it is to be feared, that if thou stay till the last assaults of death are made upon thee, the door of mercy will be shut, and so when the shrieks are, "Lord, Lord, open to me!" all the answers will be rebukes and fiery thunders.

VI. Often committing our spirits into the hand of the Lord Jesus Christ while we live, let us endeavour after such characters upon our spirits as may assure us that he will receive us when we die.

Indeed, when we first commit our spirits into the hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, we are to bring them with no other characters but those of sin and hell upon them. If we then commit our spirits into the hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, under the encouragement of any laudable qualifications and recommendations in them, "Ah! Lord, thou wilt abhor us and cast us off!" In our first believing on the Lord Jesus Christ, he enquires of us, "What spirit is that which thou dost now commit into my hand?" our answer must be, "Lord, it is a guilty spirit, a filthy spirit, a spirit full of sin and hell as ever it can hold, and a spirit horribly under the curse of God."

Sirs, if you answer any otherwise than so, the Redeemer of spirits will not receive your spirits. But when we commit our spirits into the hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the last actions of our life, it is to be supposed that we only repeat what we have done before, and that our Lord Jesus Christ has already received our spirits on our doing of it. Oh! it is a dreadful thing for a dying man to think, "The Lord never yet received this poor soul of mine; for I never till now committed it unto the Lord!" When such persons commit their spirits into the hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, under the dimness of the anguish of death, it is as one says, "As if one should bequeath unto an honourable person some greasy dish clout, or some dirty shoe-clout."

It is of unutterable concernment for every man to get the symptoms of a received soul upon him, now before his last surrender of a distressed soul: and for a man to be able to say at the last, "Lord, I commit a poor sinful spirit now into thy hand; but it is a spirit upon which thy blood has been sprinkled, and it is a spirit which thy spirit has long since taken possession of." Now, to render this unquestionable, we are to examine our selves, "whether our spirits have been renewed by the Holy Spirit of God?" and be restless in our own spirits till we are sure of such a renovation. The apostle once concluded that, when our spirits depart from hence, the Lord Jesus Christ will receive them into "an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens:" and upon what was it that he raised this conclusion? He says, in 2 Cor. v. 5, "For He that wrought us for this self-same thing is God." The Greek word used there is the same that the LXX. use for the curious works about the tabernacle.

When Bezaleel had neatly wrought a board, for to be set up in the silver sockets of the tabernacle, he would not throw it away among the rubbish. Man! if thou hast a well-wrought soul within thee, God will receive it, and advance and improve it, in his house for ever. A work of grace produced by the spirit of God, upon the spirits of men, is a sure token of his purpose to bestow a state of glory upon them at their departure from

their bodies. The primitive martyrs were bidden in 1 Pet. iv. 19, to "commit the keeping of their souls unto God, as unto a faithful Creator." But it is probable the new creation experienced by renewed souls is especially therein referred unto. Has the Spirit of God made a new creature of the spirit? This will be a demonstration that the Lord Jesus Christ has already received thy spirit, and that when thou dost again commit thy spirit unto him, he will receive it. When we do, in our last actions, commit a spirit into the hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, what is it for? It is that he may put an *upper garment* of glory upon that spirit. But he will demand, "Where is the under garment of grace upon it?" If thou art without that garment, he will doom thy spirit unto outer darkness; that is to say, (for *outer darkness* was the name of the prison among the Jews,) he will make a perpetual imprisonment the portion of thy soul. Wherefore, let us enquire diligently into the signs of a *new-born soul* upon us before we come to die. Wo to us, if we are not *born twice* before we *die once!* Why should we incur this desolation upon our souls, that when at last we go to commit them into the hand of the Lord, he shall reject them, and say, "No, I know them not; they are none of mine; they are the workers of iniquity."

The more certainly to prevent this desolation, let this one comprehensive duty of the new creature be often renewed with you. Receive the Lord Jesus Christ into thy soul when he does command it of thee, and the Lord Jesus Christ will receive thy soul into heaven when thou dost at last commit it unto him. As Jotham said, in Judg. ix. 7, "Hearken to me, that God may hearken to you:" even this do I now say to you; and I carry it on to this issue: do you hearken to the Lord Jesus Christ, when he bids you to receive him, and when you pray him to receive you. He will then hearken to you.

The Lord Jesus Christ is often knocking at the door of thy soul: there would he enter, with all his gracious influences: open to the Lord, by resigning up thy soul to the sweet influences of his grace: reply, "O come in, thou blessed of the Lord; why standest thou without?" So when thy last sands are running, thou mayest joyfully think, "My Lord Jesus Christ will now receive me, more heartily than ever I received him: if I have had an heart—alas, a vile heart!—for him, I am sure he has an heaven for me! Lord, I now commit into thy hand a spirit into which thou hast been received, when thy wondrous grace demanded it for an habitation; and thou wilt now receive this unworthy spirit of mine into a better habitation." Think thus, and "rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory."

VII. When we come to commit our spirits into the hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, at and for our last resignation, let us do it very humbly, but very willingly, but very chearfully.

How humbly ought we to commit our spirits into the hand of the Lord

Jesus Christ! With how much loathing and judging of our selves, and with what shameful reflections on all our past behaviours, we are bitterly to acknowledge the disorders and corruptions of our own spirits, when we commit them unto the Lord, and acknowledge the numberless errors whereinto our spirits have betrayed us! When we lift up our soul unto the Lord, let it be in terms like those in Ezra ix. 6: "O, my God, I am ashamed, and blush to lift up my face to thee, my God!" And therefore, whatever blessing we may expect for our souls, let us with all possible self-abhorrence found our expectations on the pure mercy of God in our Lord Jesus Christ. Most sweetly did our dying Hooker express the frame of spirit wherewith a spirit is to be committed into the hand of the Lord: when one that stood weeping by his bed-side said unto him, "Sir, you are going to receive the reward of all your labours," he replied, "Brother, I am going to receive mercy!" What shall I say? The frame of spirit necessary in this glorious transaction I cannot better paint out unto you, than by reciting the words which I remember I once had from an eminent old servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, at my taking leave of him: said he, "Sir, I am every day expecting my death; but I desire to die like the thief, crying to the crucified Jesus for mercy. I am nothing, I have nothing, I can do nothing, except what is unworthy. My eye, and hope, and faith, is to Christ on his cross. I bring an unworthiness, like that of the poor dying thief unto him, and have no more to plead than he. Like the poor thief crucified with him, I am waiting to be received, by the infinite grace of my Lord, into his kingdom. And pray tell me, did not aged Paul mean something of this, when he said, 'I am crucified with Christ?'"

Sirs, this is the frame wherewith we are to do what we do. But then how willingly—how chearfully! God forbid, that we should commit our spirits into his hand, as only dragged and forced unto it by unavoidable death. Our dying Lord said, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." When God calls for our spirit, we are to think, "'Tis my Father that calls for me; and shall not I go to my Father?"

It was a good speech even of an heathen, *Bene Mori est Libenter Mori*—"one thing in well dying, is to die willingly." It is a dismal thing for the spirit of a man to be torn from him, and be pulled away with roaring reluctanҫes—with horrid convulsions. Where would be the sense of it, if a dying man should say, "Lord, into thy hand I commit my spirit; but, if I could have my choice, my spirit should never come there!" When we perceive that call from our Lord Jesus Christ, "Go up and die!" let us freely surrender our spirits unto our great Lord, and *go up and die:* he is the Lord of our lives. Freely, did I say? yea, and gladly too. When we have aright committed our spirits into the hand of the Lord, then take up that conclusion in Psal. xlix. 15, "God will receive my soul." And then let us wonderfully comfort our selves in the thoughts of that spiritual world which we are going into. Think, "I shall quickly rest from sin

and all temptations, and all affections, and all the cursed effects of sin, and all the annoyances of ill spirits for ever. I shall quickly be lodged among the pure spirits that see God, and serve him day and night in his temple, and God shall wipe away all tears from my eyes. Yea, I shall quickly be with my Lord Jesus Christ, which is by far the best of all. Oh! rejoice in the hope of this glory of God!" And let not your joy be interrupted by any fear of what may become of your friends when you shall be dead and gone. The Lord that calls you to commit your spirits into his hand, calls you at the same time to commit your widows, your orphans, and all your friends, into that Omnipotent Hand: he says, "Leave them all with me, and I'll take the care of them all!"

It was noted of the English martyrs, which dyed at the stake in the bloody *Marian* persecution, "that none of them went more joyfully to the stake, than those that had the largest and the dearest families then to commit unto the Lord:" and afterwards those large families were wondrously provided for. The excellent Mr. Heron, a minister that had a family of many small children in it, when he lay a dying, his poor wife said, with tears, "Alas, what will become of all these children?" he presently and pleasantly replied, "Never fear; he that feeds the young *ravens* wo'nt starve the young *Herons!*" And it came to pass accordingly.

Sirs, thus you are to commit your spirits into the hand of the Lord Jesus Christ. My reverend BAILEY did so; and it is as from him that I do this day bespeak your doing like him; yea, not from him only, but from the Lord Jesus Christ, the God "whose he was, and whom he served." If you would more particularly be told after what manner he did commit his own spirit into the hands of the Lord, I can faithfully recite you his own account of the transaction. He gives it thus:

"I spent half a day alone in seeking of God, desiring to give up my self unto God in Christ wholly, and to be his in soul and body. The particulars I omit. I hope God in Christ will accept of me, and enable me by his spirit to keep touch with him: for I owned my self wholly unworthy to enter into covenant, and also unable to keep it; but Jesus Christ is both worthy and able."

It is from one who thus did it, that you are now called upon to do likewise.

When you see the coffin of this man of God anon carried along the streets, imagine it a mournful pulpit, from whence, "being dead, he yet speaks" thus unto you: "Whatever you do, commit your perishing souls into the hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, as you have been advised."

That these admonitions may have the more emphasis, a short account of this worthy man must now be given you:

He was born on February 24, 1643, near Blackbourn in Lancashire; of a very pious mother, who, even before he was born, often, as Hannah did her Samuel, dedicated him unto the service of the Lord.

Of this his birth-day, in the return of every year, he still took much notice in his diaries: and made his humble and useful reflections thereupon.—Once particularly, I find him thus entertaining it:

"This is my birth-day; I am ready to say of it, as Job doth of his: but I forbear any unadvised words about it: only, I have done little for God, and much against him; for which I am sorry."

When this day last arrived unto him, he thus wrote upon it:

"I may say, with a great sigh, 'This was my birth-day!' O, how little good have I done all this while! O, what reason have I to stand amazed at the riches of God's forbearance! Much may happen this year! 'Lord, carry me through it!'"

"From a child he did know the holy Scriptures;" yea, from a child he was "wise unto salvation." In his very childhood he discovered the fear of God upon his young heart; and prayer to God was one of his early exercises.

There was one very remarkable effect of it. His father was a man of a very licentious conversation; a gamester, a dancer, a very lewd company-keeper. The mother of this elect vessel one day took him, while he was yet a child, and, calling the family together, made him to pray with them. His father coming to understand at what a rate the child had prayed with his family, it smote the soul of him with a great conviction, and proved the beginning of his conversion unto God. God left not off working on his heart until he proved one of the most eminent Christians in all that neighbourhood. So he lived; so he died; a man of more than ordinary piety. And it was his manner sometimes to retire unto those very places of his former lewdnesses, where, having this his little son in his company, he would pour out floods of tears in repenting prayers before the Lord.

This hopeful youth having been educated in grammar-learning under a worthy school-master, one Mr. Sager, and in further learning under the famous Dr. Harrison, at length, about the age of twenty-two, he entred on the publick employment of preaching the gospel. In so doing, he was not one of those of whom even the great Papist Bellarmine complains: *Qui non valde solliciti esse solent, an ea qua par est preparatione accedant, cum Finis eorum magis sit cibus Corporis, quam Animæ.** He began at Chester; but afterwards went over to Ireland, where his labours were so frequent and fervent, that they gave those wounds unto his health which could never be recovered. About fourteen years of his time in Ireland he spent at Limrick, and saw so many seals of his ministry in that country, that he seemed rather to fish with a net, than with an hook, for the kingdom of God.

I am not willing to relate how grievously, and yet how patiently, he

* Who are not very solicitous, whether they undertake their duties with suitable preparation; inasmuch as the end they have in view is rather to obtain food for the body than for the soul.

suffered long and hard imprisonments from those men, concerning whom a conformable divine of the Church of England very truly says, "That they were Atheists, with the inventions of ceremonies habited like Christians, for the service of the devil, to corrupt and destroy true Christianity:" I should relate but little of this, because that spirit of persecution has been repented by an happy act of Parliament.

And yet, for the admonition of our inexcusable young men, "the sin of which young men is very great before the Lord!" above that of those who have been brought up, as many very godly Christians have, in those ways of the Church of England, for a secession from which this country was first planted: young men who, notwithstanding their descent from fathers and grandfathers that were great sufferers for their non-conformity to an uninstituted worship of Christ, and notwithstanding their education in the knowledge of what is required and what is forbidden in the second commandment, and notwithstanding their being urged by no temptation of persecution, or being tempted by any thing but the vanity of their own minds, do yet so "rebel against the light;" as to turn apostates from the first principles of New-England; it may be seasonable to repeat so much of the history of this worthy man as a little further to illustrate this article.

He no sooner began to preach the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, but his fidelity to that gospel was tried by an hard imprisonment, which he underwent because his conscience could not conform to humane inventions in the sacred service of Heaven. Yea, while he was yet a young man, he often travelled far by night in the winter, as well as in the summer, that so he might enjoy the ordinances purely administred in the meetings of the faithful; and was laid up sometimes in Lancashire gaol for being found at those meetings. When he was at Limrick, the attendance of a person of great quality and his lady (who were nearly related unto the Duke of Ormond, the lord lieutenant of Ireland,) upon his ministry, provoked the bishop to complain unto the lord lieutenant. This gentleman then profered unto Mr. Baily that, if he would conform, he would procure his being made chaplain to the duke, and having a deanery immediately, and a bishoprick upon the first vacancy: but he refused the profer. Albeit, another eminent non-conformist minister, not far from Limrick, a godly and an able man, and one who had appeared much against conformity at the first pressing thereof, did afterwards accept of the aforesaid chaplainship, and by degrees conformed, and arrived unto several places of preferment: pretending, that "he did it for the sake of opportunities to preach the gospel." But it was remarkable! God so disabled him with distempers after this, that he was very seldom, if ever, able to preach at all.

Mr. Baily went on in the exercise of his ministry, not pursuing any factious designs, but meerly the conversion of men to Christ, and faith, and holiness, which the devil counts the worst of all designs. And now,

although he were so harmless and blameless in his whole conversation that he was always much beloved wherever he came, yet another long imprisonment was inflicted on him, while the Papists in the neighbourhood had all manner of liberty and countenance. When he was before the judges, he told them, "If I had been drinking and gaming and carousing at a tavern with my company, my lords, I presume that would not have procured my being thus treated as an offender. Must praying to God, and preaching of Christ, with a company of Christians, that are as peaceable and inoffensive and serviceable to his Majesty and the government as any of his subjects, must this be a greater crime?" The recorder answered, "We will have you to know, it is a greater crime."

While he was imprisoned, his church being divided into seven parts, visited him one part a day, so that preaching to them, and praying with them every day, he once in a week served them all. But this in a little while gave such offence, that a violent obstruction was given thereunto; and though his flock, particularly his dear young men, (as he called them,) did pray without ceasing, and not without fasting, for his release; and humble applications were also made unto the judges at the assizes for it, yet no release could be granted him, without his giving security to depart the land within a little time then limited unto him.

It was not long before a wrath unto the uttermost came upon the city which had thus persecuted this faithful minister of God; and that person particularly who had been the chief instrument of his persecution was (as we have been told) within a while, upon other accounts, himself run into prison, where he cried out with horror of the wrongs done by him to Mr. Baily, and then running distracted, he died miserably. But New-England, a country originally a retreat for persecuted non-conformists, hereupon afforded unto our Baily an opportunity of labouring near fourteen years more in the work which he loved above all things in the world; the work of "turning the souls of men from darkness to light, and from Satan to God:" wherein for some time his younger and godly and sweet natured brother, who came over with him, was his comfortable companion and assistant; until he got the start of him in his departure to the glories of the better world. They were indeed *Fratrum dulce par**—a David and a Jonathan. Death, which for a while parted them, has now again brought them together. This Mr. Thomas Baily died January 21, 1689, as this his brother and colleague notes in his diary: "He died well, which is a great word; so sweetly as I never saw the like before! But as for this elder brother, he was a man of great holiness, and of so tender a conscience, that if he had been at any time innocently chearful in the company of his friends, it cost him afterwards abundance of sad reflection, through fear lest, ere he had been aware, he might have "grieved the Holy Spirit of Christ." A savoury book of his about "*The Chief End of Man*," pub-

* A charming pair of brothers.

lished among us, has fully described unto us that savour of spirit which was in his daily walk maintained:

*Sic Oculos, Sic ille manus, Sic ora ferebat.**

The desire of this holy man was (as himself expressed it) to get up unto three things: to patience under the calamities of life; to impatience under the infirmities of life; and to earnest longings for the next life.

And his desire at another time he thus expressed: "Oh! that I might not be of the number of them that live without love, speak without feeling, and act without life! Oh! that God would make me his humble and upright and faithful servant!"

From this holy temper it was, that when some kind presents were made unto him, he wrote in his diary thereupon, "I have my wages quickly; but, Oh! that God may not put me off with a reward here! Oh! that God may be my reward!"

We will more particularly note a few notable, wherein the holiness which irradiated him will be described unto us.

We might begin with observing, that the holy word of God was very dear to him, as indeed it is to every holy man. Hence, I find this passage in his diary, January 11:

"I finished the reading of the Bible in my family (as formerly). Oh! it is a dear book; it is always new. In the beginning of every chapter it is good to say, 'Lord, open my eyes, that I may see wonders out of thy law;' and when we shut it up to say, 'I have seen an end of all perfection, but thy law is exceeding broad.' Oh! how terrible are the threatnings; how precious are the promises; how serious are the precepts; how deep are the prophecies of this book! but we will pass on to some further observations."

What is holiness but a dedication to the Lord Jesus Christ? This holy man was often breathing in himself, and pressing on others, that great point of dedicating every thing to the service of the Lord. Thus in his diary there frequently occur such strains as these:

"Oh! that I may glorifie God with all I am or have; even with all the faculties of my soul, all the members of my body, and in all the places and relations that I stand in, as man, master, minister, husband, kinsman, and neighbour. Oh! I stand in need both of a justifying Christ and a sanctifying Christ. When shall I sensibly find a Christ swaying his scepter in my soul!"

Thus whatever house he came to live in, it came under a dedication; and once upon a remove, he wrote this passage in his diary: "I could not but leave my old house with a prayer in every room of it for pardoning mercy."

But it was particularly expressed, when one of his children was to be baptized. He thus wrote upon it:

"I spent some time in offering up my self and my child unto the Lord, and in taking hold of the covenant for my self and him. It is actually to be done to-morrow [in baptism]. I

* Such was his glance, his gesture, and his look.

prayed hard this day, all this day, that I might be able in much faith, and love, and new-covenant obedience to do it to-morrow. It is not easy, though common, to offer a child unto God in baptism. Oh! that's a sweet word, 'I will be a God to thee, and thy seed after thee.' No marvel Abraham fell on his face at the hearing of it!"

Hence, when he parted with the greatest enjoyment he had in this world, he thus wrote upon it in his diary:

"If I can but exchange outward comforts for inward graces, it is well enough: Oh, for an heart to 'glorify God in the fire!'"

From this holiness proceeded that watchfulness which discovered a singular fear of God in his whole conversation. I find him entring in his diary such passages as these:

At one time.—"I did not watch my tongue so as I ought; which cost me much trouble afterwards, and made me walk heavily. It is a mad thing to sin!"

At another time.—"I spoke two unadvised words to-day. Though there was no great harm in them, yet I was rebuked by my conscience for them. Let the Lord forgive them; and for the future set a watch before the door of my lips. Let my thoughts and words be acceptable in thy sight, O Lord!"

At another time.—"That is a serious word, methinks, in Eph. v. 30: I have grieved the Holy Spirit by my unedifying communication. Oh, that in speaking I might administer grace to the hearer! Oh, that honey and milk were under my tongue continually."

At another time.—"I was too forgetful of God, and exceeding in tobacco. The Lord pardon that, and all other sins, and heal this nature, and humble this heart."

At another time.—"This day I have been more chearful than I have been of a long time. It hath afflicted me since, fearing it was not suitable. Oh! I ought to walk in the midst of my house in a perfect way. I ought every day to be writing copies; and to leave a stock behind me that others may trade for God withal when I am dead."

And behold, you see this day that he did so. And as holy men use to be full of hearty prayers and wishes for the good of other men, thus this holy man has filled many places in his diaries with his prayers for the welfare of those with whom he was concerned; from whence we may gather how full his heart was of blessings for his neighbours. Once particularly I find him thus writing:

"I desired to know of Dr. O. what I was indebted to him for those many rich things I have had from him: he told me, *nothing;* [which was a great favour!] only desired my prayers for him. Oh, that I could pray! Whenever I can pray, I will heartily say to God in the name of Christ for him, 'The Lord bless him indeed! let thy hand be with him, and keep him from all evil, that it may not grieve him.'"

Moreover, it was not only among the great signs, but also among the great means of his holiness, that he was very solicitous, as well in his preparation for the table of the Lord, as in his observation of what communion he enjoyed with the Lord Jesus Christ at his table. His diary abounds with passages of this importance: the expressions of a careful soul. The last time of being at the Lord's table, he wrote the ensuing passages:

"I was encouraged to carry my late bad frame to the cross of Christ, and to bewail there my late prayerlessness and unthankfulness. Of late it hath troubled me to think how little I have admired Christ for bringing me out of some late plunges of temptation. I now come to him for two things; namely, for pardon, and also for double power; both to receive him and to shew forth his praises."

Let me add: sometimes, as he was able, he would set apart half a day for extraordinary prayers, he still did so when there were any extraordinary cares upon him. Thus he records in his diaries:

At one time.—"Being of late in so ill a frame, I spent some time to seek the fair face of Jesus Christ; and I did, on purpose, address my self to him, who is the most admirable Saviour. I left my self with him; my mind, heart, mouth; especially my *conscience*. Oh, how many wonders are to be wrought in me! I know the loving and wonder-working Jesus can do them all."

At another time.—"I spent some time alone in prayer, from eight to three. I was much tired. Oh! that I might wait for returns, and never more to turn to folly. I cannot tell how God should admit me near him, considering how I have grieved his Spirit. Having prayed in the morning in the family, I retired; and first sought at large unto God for help to go through the day: especially begging repentance, and not only so, but faith; that I might not rest in the bare work; that Satan might get no advantage after it; that I might have reason to desire more such days. Then, after a little meditation and breathing, I went to prayer again, only to confess my sin before God, and to set my soul as before the Lord; labouring to judge and loath my self for all my sin from first to last. God helped a little; but Oh! that my heart was broken in pieces, and humbled to the dust. After a little more meditation, I went to prayer in way of petition, and that at large. Oh! Lord, hear me, and give me the wisdom that I want. I hope God will hear, pity, pardon, and help me. After a little more meditation, I fell to praise and bless God for my mercies, by sea and land; but was somewhat short in this part, for which I am sorry. At last I concluded all in praying for the Church of God in general, for London, Lancashire, and Limrick; and for New-England also. Here I brought all my relations to the Lord. Oh, Lord, accept of me and my poor services in Christ. Oh! that I may watch afterward, and never more be sensual, unbelieving, proud, nor hypocritical. Lord, say *Amen*."

And that praises, as well as prayers might not be forgotten with him, I find him once particularly in his diary thus expressing himself:

"December 15, 1691.—I resolved, through the grace and strength of Jesus Christ, even in the midst of all my sorrows and sinkings, despairings and distractions, to keep as much of this day as I could in thanksgiving; which I did; but could not go thorow with it through bodily faintness. I spent five hours somewhat comfortably; but after that I flagged. I resolved to do three things: *First*, to spend some time in praising God for his excellencies. God was with me, I hope, in that part of it, and I spent my self so much therein, that I was disabled for the rest. To help it forward, God brought to hand Mr. Burroughs, of the nature of God; I bless God for it. After that I went to prayer; labouring to exalt God; (it was a good time!) after that I sang the 148th Psalm. *Secondly*, after that I set my self to bless God for his benefits and kindnesses to me. But being spent, I did not much; only going to prayer, I made mention of some mercies; such as these, viz: for Christ; his covenant of grace; and the promises of it (some of which were particularly mentioned and pressed): also my education; my manifold preservations by land and sea (especially that in Ipswich Bay) and manifold tedious sicknesses since; for the long day of God's patience, notwithstanding many sins; for my comfortable provisions all along; for preserving his great name, that I

have in nothing openly dishonoured it; for my success and acceptance in my work; for my dear wife, that I had her so long; and that my brother and my dear wife died both of them glorifying of God; they are in heaven, and I am out of hell! that I have hitherto been kept from distraction and despair, and kept to my work; that I have any friends (in this strange land), and any in my family to mind me and tend me; that I have work here, and opportunities of service; for my sore crosses and losses of late afflictions and temptations, hoping they may work for good. *Thirdly*, to conclude all, with a chearful accepting of Christ, and devoting my self to his service; to do for him, that had done all this for me: saying, if God would help me to study, he should have all the glory of it."

Thus did he walk with God.—His ministry was very acceptable to the people, whose good he most aimed at wherever he came: great auditories usually flocking thereunto, proclaimed it. But that he might not be *lifted up*, it seemed meet unto the wisdom of Heaven to humble him with sore and long *temptations*, often recurring to *buffet* him. In his *days*, he saw many disconsolate *hours;* he was filled with desponding jealousies, lest "after he had preached unto others, he should be himself a cast-away;" and he often intreated those who saw the distresses of his mind, "that they would by no means take up any prejudice against the sweet and good ways of religion from what they saw of his disconsolate uneasinesses."

It may be, it will be profitable unto some discouraged minds, to understand how he expresses himself on such occasions. In sermons on those words, "I am oppressed, undertake for me," he much described it unto us. But in his diaries it was thus:

At one time.—"I was almost in the *suburbs of hell* all day; a meer *Magor Missabib*. I saw *death* and *sin* full of terror: I thought I never sought the glory of God: Ah! what a matchless wretch am I! Oh! that I could love above all things, and seek the glory of God, and live contentedly on him alone! Oh! that I could see the blood of Christ on my soul, and at the bottom of my profession. Oh! for a sight of the mystery and majesty of the grace and love of Jesus Christ; so that all excellencies might fall down before it!"

At another time.—I am in a woful frame; far from saying, with Dr. Avery, 'Here I lie, not knowing what God will do with me; but though I thus lie, God doth not terrify me, either with my sin, or with my death, or with himself.'"

At another time.—"If God should yet save my soul, and his work in my hand, it would be amazing. There is a *may be!* If these inward troubles hold, I shall be forced to lay down my work. O Lord, step in for my relief! O the worth of the sense of God's love in Christ!"

At another time.—"I am oppressed unto death, and filled with the angry arrows of God: it ariseth not at present from any *particular cause*, but the sense of my woful estate *in general*. Oh! that the issue may yet be *peace*, and that I may not fetch comfort unto my self but by *faith in Jesus Christ*."

At another time.—"Oh! that Jesus Christ would undertake for me! If God marvellously prevent not, I shall lay down my work. O Lord, appear! Oh! for one saving sight of the love and loveliness of Jesus Christ. I wish I could say, as my dear tutor Dr. Harrison said, 'That he could not live a day without a fresh manifestation of God unto his soul!'"

At another time.—"The eclipse of the moon last night made one think, 'Oh! that I could mourn bitterly, who have sinned my self into darkness!' How is the earth interposing! Lord, remove it. Let the Son of Righteousness in his glory and strength yet be seen by me!"

At another time.—"I have much reason to bless God for rebuking of Satan. I have been many a time ready to give up all, and lay down my ministry, thinking that God had utterly forsaken me, and hid Jesus Christ from me; which I would justify him in. But by the consideration of the brazen serpent, I was somewhat recovered."

At another time.—"I was now supported by the thoughts of a precious JESUS. I should for ever sink, but for him! When I look backward or forward, upward or downward, I die, I sink; but when I look at the sweet JESUS, I live. I may resolve, with Dr. Preston, (O that I could!) saying, 'I have often tryed God, and now I'll trust him.' It is a good resolution; Lord, help me to it!"

At another time.—"I would gladly think 'that God is my father.' And, if so, Oh! what glory is due to the riches of free grace! Oh! how glorious is that grace, and how will it shine through all eternity! If ever I see my self safe at last, I must for ever cry out, 'I am wonderfully saved!'"

In fine, one thing that much relieved him in his internal troubles was what he had occasion (thus) to write in his diary, a little before his end:

"I do more see into the great mystery of our justification by faith, meerly of grace. There is no respect in it, unto this or that; but Jesus Christ having wrought out a redemption for us, and by his active and passive obedience procured a sufficient righteousness, and making a *tender* of it in the gospel, it becomes mine by my accepting of it, and relying on it alone for salvation. And shall I not accept of it? God forbid!

"I see (saith he) there are two things wherein I can't easily exceed, viz: in ascribing to the grace of God the freeness and richness of it in man's salvation; and in ascribing to the righteousness of Christ in man's justification.

At length, dismal pains of the gout, with a complication of other maladies, confined him for a quarter of a year together. Under the pains of his confinement, he took an extraordinary contentment in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, which represents the sorrows of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby all our sorrows are sanctified: and he would often roll over those words of our Saviour, elsewhere occurring, "They pierced my hands and my feet." When the remainders of his flock, which waited on him to New-England, visited him, his usual and solemn charge to them was, "I charge you, that I find you all safe at last!" My brethren, God make the charge of your dead pastor abide upon you. For some time in his last sickness, his heavenly soul was harrassed with terrible discouragements; under all of which, it was yet a common expression with him, "The Master hath done all things well!" But at last he arrived unto a blessed satisfaction, that the Lord Jesus Christ had made his peace in Heaven, and that he was going into eternal peace. Yea, at the worst, he would say, "That his fear was not so much about the end of all, as about what he might meet withal in the way to that end." He had begun to prepare a sermon for our South-church, upon those words, "Who is this that comes up from the wilderness, leaning on her beloved?" and he now spoke of it, as expressing his own condition; "Thus am I going," said he, "out of the wilderness of all my temptations, leaning on my blessed Jesus!" When his affectionate friends were weeping about him, he bestowed this rebuke upon them: "Away with your idols! away with your idols!" It was not

very long before he fell sick, that he wrote this passage in his diary: "I was affected with what I read of Mr. Shewel of Coventry, who died in the pulpit. 'Lord, let not me die meanly, but in dying bring much glory to thee.'" And now it shall be so! At last, just as he was going to expire, he seemed as if he had some extraordinary apprehensions of the glory in which our Lord Jesus Christ is above enthroned: he strove to speak unto his vertuous consort, and anon spoke thus much: "Oh! what shall I say? He is altogether lovely!" His worthy sister-in-law then coming to him, he said, "Oh! all our praises of him here, are poor and low things!" and then added, "His glorious angels are come for me!" upon the saying whereof he closed his own eyes, about the time when he still opened his Bible for his publick labours—on the Lord's day, about three in the afternoon—and he never opened them any more.

This was he whom you are now going to bury; but, I pray you, bury not with him all the holy counsels and warnings that we have heard from him; *remember how you have received and heard.*

He was one who took much notice of what was from the oracles of God, spoken to him in the sermons of other men. He has much replenished his diaries with remarks of this importance: "I have heard a good word to-day!" And he would often decline going to feasts, whereto his friends invited him, that he might go to *private meetings* in some other parts of the town, where he might at the same time *feast* on the word of God. Thus, more particularly:

At one time.—"I heard a very good word: 'Are ye not carnal?'—Ah, Lord, I am carnal. The Lord give me his spirit to make me spiritual! I was in many things justly reproved: let me take it, and be wrought into the likeness of this good word."

At another time.—"To-day I heard a most precious word, with which I was much edified and refreshed, viz: 'Christ is all.' Oh! that I might never forget it! Oh! that it might be written upon the table of my heart! Let my soul feed upon it for ever. It was very seasonable. Though it was a day most intolerably cold; so cold, that there was little writing it; yet it heartily warmed me. I needed a Christ. Oh! that I could get him, and keep him for ever! I would make him my *all*, and count him my *all*. I need a *whole* Christ: Oh! that I may prize a whole Christ, and improve a whole Christ. I have of late thought that this may be one evidence of my right unto glory, that Christ is more precious to me than ever."

What I say upon it is, imitate him in a point so imitable. This preacher is well worthy to be imitated, as he was an hearer.

You can all testify, that he was none of those *cold* preachers, whereof one complains, *Verba vitæ in quorundum Doctorum Labiis, quantum ad Virtutem et efficaciam, Moriuntur: Adeo enim tepide, adeo remisse, verba Dei annunciant, ut Extincta in Labiis Eorum penitus videantur; unde Sicut ipsi Frigidi sunt et Extincti, sic Frigidos et Extinctos relinquunt, et utinam non facerent Auditores.**

* The words of life die on the lips of some teachers, so far as all their virtue and efficacy are concerned: for in such a lukewarm, listless manner do they announce Divine truth, that it seems to have fallen lifeless on their very tongues; so that, as they are themselves cold and lifeless, they leave their hearers cold and lifeless. Would that they did not make their hearers sometimes permanently so!

For his preaching, he particularly prescribed unto himself, according to a memorandum which I found thus entred in his diary:

"Old Mr. Thomas Shepheard, when on his death-bed, said unto the young ministers about him, 'that their work was great, and called for great seriousness.' For his own part, he told them three things. *First*, that the studying of every sermon cost him tears; he wept in the studying of every sermon. *Secondly*, before he preached any sermon, he got good by it himself. *Thirdly*, he always went up into the pulpit, as if he were to give up his accounts unto his Master. 'Oh! that my soul [adds our Baily] may remember and practice accordingly!'"

To this his preaching, when he saw God gave any success, he would still in his private papers take as thankful notice as if great riches had been heaped in upon him. And yet he would add (such passages I sometimes find):

"Let my soul rejoice. But, Lord, keep me from pride. I desire to be humbled for it. Do I not know that God makes use of whom he pleases, and usually of the *weakest*? 'No flesh shall glory.'"

But if the word preached by this lively dispenser of it live not in our lives, after he is dead, he will himself be, which he often told you he feared he should be in the day of God, a *witness* against many of you.

That we may then meet him with joy, "Let us remember them who have spoken to us the word of God, and follow their faith, considering the end of their conversation."—But be thou sensible, O all my country of New-England, how much thou art weakened by the departure of such blessings to the world of the blessed!

Thy Baily could sometimes write such passages as this (I find) in his reserved papers:

"There was a day of prayer. God was with me in prayer, helping me to plead with him an hour and half *for this poor land*, and in some measure to *believe* for it. I hope God will hear and help."

Such an one taking flight from thee, let thy lamentations thereupon be heard: "My Father, my Father!"

THE END OF VOL. I.

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